

THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY AND I Q HODAYOT: A REASSESSMENT

IMPRIMERIE A. BONTEMPS
LIMOGES (FRANCE)
Dépôt légal : 2^e trimestre 1980

SCHOLARS have repeatedly drawn upon the *I Q H* psalm collection from Cave 1 to illumine both the more personal, experiential side of life at Qumran (1) and the religious ideas of the sect concerning dualism, predestination, human nature, etc. (2) Yet *I Q H* remains virtually untapped as a source for the study of the Qumran community's view of itself vis-à-vis the rest of the world. (3) This question is usually subsumed under the more all-encompassing rubric of dualism at Qumran. Communal self-understanding then emerges as an outgrowth of or corollary to the doctrine of the two spirits in *I Q S* III, 17-IV, 1. Passages from *I Q H* are merely plugged into the two spirits schema without being examined in their own right. It therefore becomes necessary to conduct a fresh analysis of *I Q H* in order to determine what the collection itself reveals about the sect's attitude toward the

(1) A. DUPONT-SOMMER (*The Essene Writings from Qumran*, Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967, p. 199) maintains that out of the mysticism of these hymns come no less than "outpourings of the soul." For R. E. BROWN ("The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. STENDAHL, New York: Harper and Bros., 1957, 198) the hymns are representative of "the ideal of personal piety" at Qumran and such piety in M. BURROWS' view (*More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York: Viking, 1958, p. 382) was not merely a "formal, mechanical legalism" but rather a piety of intoxication with the sense of God's reality, presence and grace.

(2) M. MANSOOR, *The Thanksgiving Hymns* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1961) p. 52 and J. P. HYATT, *The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot'*, in the *Journal of Semitic Studies*, vol. 2 (1955/56) p. 276.

(3) G. FORKMAN (*The Limits of the Community*, Coniectanea Biblica, NT Series, 5, Lund, 1972, 74ff) for example only draws upon *I Q S*, *I Q Sa*, and *Dam. Doc.* in his study of the 'limits', i.e. that which separates members from non-members, of the Qumran religious community. He sees such 'limits' in the entrance requirements and rules for expulsion at Qumran and attempts to analyze their theological significance by discussing the themes of sin and forgiveness which he sees emerging from them. His study suffers from the fact that he does not take into account the very prominent themes of sin and forgiveness in *I Q H*.

rest of the world. We must take another look at several issues which will shape our conclusions about this question: what types of poems are found in *IQH*, how is the "I" of the poems to be understood, what use was made of *IQH* in the community, what does *IQH* have to say about dualism, predestination and human nature at Qumran, how does *IQH* treat the problem of individual freedom and God's sovereignty, etc. Such an investigation will also meet the need for synthesizing and bringing up to date research in these areas. In addition, a new way of looking at several key words and phrases in the collection that have a bearing upon our analysis of the sect's relation to the rest of the world will be suggested.

I. TYPE

Many scholars agree that the *IQH* compositions fit GUNKEL's psalm category of Individual Thanksgiving (*Die Danklieder des Einzelnen*). (4) GUNKEL identifies the Introduction, which sets forth the purpose and content of the praise of God, as the first of the four parts of this *Gattung*. The Introduction is followed by the Narration, which describes in vague terms the psalmist's distress; this description is a definite characteristic of the type. The Narration also includes the cry for deliverance and a description of the deliverance itself. An Acknowledgment of God as the deliverer follows and the psalm closes with an Announcement of the thank offering (*lôdâh*).

Turning to *IQH*, we see that lacunae in the manuscripts make it difficult to establish exact correspondences between the *Gattung* features and clearly demarcated psalms. (5) Nevertheless,

(4) H. GUNKEL and J. BEGRICH, *Einleitung in die Psalmen* (HKAT, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933), pp. 267-273. SUKENIK was the first to assign the title 'Thanksgiving Hymns' to the collection. See also Th. GASTER, *The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation* (3rd ed., Garden City, Doubleday, 1964, pp. 119-120); J. LICHT, *The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll*, in *Israel Exploration Journal* 6 (1956) p. 12. M. BURROWS (*More Light*, p. 380) agrees that despite elements of individual psalm of complaint, the 'prevailing tone' of *IQH* is one of thanksgiving for deliverance, whether past or future; see also L. SILBERMAN, *Language and Structure in the Hodayot (IQH 3)*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature* 75 (1956) pp. 96-98.

(5) HYATT (*View of Man*, p. 276) warns that it is "idle" to number the separate poems in the collection, since we do not always know where one poem stops and a new one begins. GASTER (*The Dead Sea Scriptures*, 119) notes that the end of each hymn was probably marked by a blank space but that the lower portion of the 18 *IQH* columns has been eaten away. See also L. ROSE (*Judaism Outside the Hebrew Canon*, Nashville, Abingdon, 1976, p. 187) who argues that one can no more than 'guess' at hymnic outlines and that in at least one instance (XI, 32) the phrase *bārûk attâh* does not introduce a new hymn but only a new stanza (perhaps also in XI, 29).

a major theme corresponding to the Introduction emerges: thanksgiving or gratitude for the Lord's continuous acts of deliverance and mercy. This theme is keyed in by an 'opening formula' which occurs 13 times in the poems of *IQH*: "I thank you, O Lord" (*ôdkâh 'ădônây*). (6) The Narration is well-attested in the generalized description of the psalmist's plight, which corresponds to the community's understanding of its own existence of persecution and suffering in the midst of an evil world, e.g. II, 23-30; V, 28; VIII, 32-34: "my strength is ceased from my body, and my heart is poured out like water, and my flesh melts like wax...". The Narration reference to deliverance is also well-attested in *IQH*, e.g. V, 6: "you have helped my life against destruction." The Qumran sectarians believed that such deliverance had already been affected within their community of elect. Thus, in the midst of persecution, thanksgiving is made for the deliverance already experienced as well as for that anticipated at the imminent last judgment.

The Covenanters also consistently acknowledge the sovereign Lord as their deliverer, e.g. II, 23: "and in your mercy you save me." These frequent declarations of assurance of being saved by a merciful God correspond to the expressions of confidence in the biblical psalms, with one difference. At Qumran this confidence stems from the certainty of election as one of the "sons of Light;" rather than from a certainty of innocence and freedom from sin. (7) *IQH* stresses one's sinfulness and weakness rather than one's innocence; see *IQH* VII, 17-18; XV, 12-14; *IQS* XII, 10. These expressions of certainty and thanksgiving for deliverance and election have been used to reinforce the view of a mutually exclusive stance of the community vis-à-vis the world and are seen as consequences of the dualism of the two spirits doctrine.

The thanksgiving *Gattung* of *IQH* breaks down, however, at

(6) *IQH* II, 20.31; III, 19.37; IV, 5; VII, 6.267.347; VIII, 47; XI, 3.15 (*ôlay* instead of *'ădônây*); XIV, 237. In the O.T. this exact introductory formula occurs only in *Isaiah* 12, 1; see similar formulas in *Pss* 9, 2; 52, 9; 75, 2; 111, 1; 118, 21; 138, 1; 139, 14. In *IQH* V, 20; X, 14; and XVI, 8 the usual introductory formula is marked with dots by the scribe and replaced by: "Blessed are you, o Lord." H. RINGGREN (*The Faith of Qumran*, Philadelphia, Fortress, 1963, p. 129) claims that *IQH* as a whole is only "one great elaboration" of the theme of acknowledgment of God's gift of grace.

(7) H. BARDTKE, *Considérations sur les Cantiques de Qumran*, in *Revue Biblique* 68 (1956) pp. 225-226. The psalmist is confirmed in his faith in God and God's deliverance in face of enemies, "mais cette confirmation n'a pas été un mérite de sa foi, ou de sa fermeté de caractère, ou de sa fidélité persévérante; elle a été plutôt la manifestation de son élection par Dieu." See also J. VAN DER PLOEG (*The Excavations at Qumran*, London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1958, p. 119) who argues that the Covenanters' "...consciousness of their own sinfulness suppressed the thought of their own perfection."

one important point: the announcement of the thank offering is missing. For this reason, HYATT and others feel that "Thanksgiving Psalms" is not an appropriate designation for *1QH*. (8) The Announcement does not appear because sacrifices were not offered at Qumran; the corrupt and illegitimate Jerusalem priesthood and its Temple sacrificial cult were condemned by the Covenanters, though sacrificial rules were preserved by the community for a future time. (9)

Thus, instead of offering the "cup of salvation" and the "sacrifice of thanksgiving" as in *Ps.* 116, 12-19, the Qumran Covenanters offered "songs of praise" (*tôdâh*, *1QH XI*, 4) to the Lord. HYATT notes that this view is closer to that found in OT *Ps.* 40, 6; see *1QH IX*, 3-5, "the offering of the lips". HYATT insists that the thanksgiving *Gattung* also does not fit *1QH* because the introductory formula, "Blessed are you, O Lord" (*bârûk 'attâh 'âdonây*) is used in *1QH V*, 20; *X*, 14; and *XVI*, 8; see the 'blessing' in *1QM XXIX*, 4-5. This is the formula for the Shemoneh Esreh and other early Jewish prayers. For this reason, Gaster suggests a new title for *1QH*, "Blessings and Thanksgivings".

Some scholars differentiate in *1QH* between thanksgivings and hymns. (10) One of the characteristics of the hymn is its insistence upon the greatness of God and the smallness of the individual; the human being disappears behind the power of God. A. MARX (11)

(8) HYATT, *View of Man...*, p. 276. J. LICHT (*Doctrine...*, p. 12) notes that although the "dominant emotion" in *1QH* is "deep thankfulness" expressed in the stereotyped introductory formula, what follows this formula is "free form."

(9) This is the view of Y. YADIN (*mêgillat-hamiqdôš*, *The Temple Scroll*, Jerusalem, Israel Exploration Society, 1977) who argues that the Scrolls offered a polemic against the Wicked Priest and the Jerusalem cult, especially as far as the status and role of the Levites, the Temple and the festivals were concerned. But see F. M. CROSS (*The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, Garden City, Doubleday, 1958, pp. 75-76) who insists that sacrifices were offered at Qumran. He supports this view by pointing to the animal bones found buried in jars in open areas of the community, the independent calendar of feasts, and the fact that the sect patterned its existence after the Mosaic wilderness. The sect stressed ethical and ritual laws to be observed as a prerequisite to valid sacrifices: *1Qp Hab II*, 8; *4Qp Ps 37*, II, 15; *1QM XVII*, 2-3.

(10) S. HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot Psalms from Qumran*, Aarhus, Universitetsforlaget, 1960, p. 320) divides *1QH* into these two groups on the basis of content, style, and use of Scripture. See VAN DER PLOEG (*Excavations...*, p. 116) who speaks of the "hymnic style" in *1QH* which leads to a "preoccupation with man's weakness." This is in line with the O.T. hymnic psalms; the Israelite sought God's favor by making himself out to be as miserable as possible. See also L. ROST, *Outside the Canon*, p. 187.

(11) A. MARX, *Y a-t-il une prédestination à Qumran?*, in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. VI, fasc. 2, n° 22 (1967) p. 169. See also CROSS, *The Ancient Library...*

warns that this hymnic expression of human weakness is not "une pieuse hyperbole poétique" but rather the authentic faith of a person who knows that without God he or she can do nothing. The discovery of this weakness leads to the praise of God's greatness and thanksgiving for his merciful dealings with such an individual.

BROWNLEE argues that this preoccupation with one's sinfulness gives rise to another element in *1QH*, that of confession of sin (e.g. *1QS I*, 25-26). This confession in turn leads to the acknowledgment of God's justice and grace. (12) Whether or not scholars choose to call this juxtaposition of God's power and human frailty 'hymnic' in style and content, they draw from it to support their theory of a rigid predeterminism at Qumran which basically denies one's individual freedom and responsibility in the face of an all-powerful God who bestows the gift of election. The problem of human freedom versus God's power is thus seen as an irreconcilable conflict or a theoretical, rather than a practical problem. MARX rightly warns, however, that this is an argument from silence; "on ne trouvera jamais dans un hymne l'insistance sur la libre volonté de l'homme. Mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'elle n'existe pas." (13)

Other scholars argue that *1QH* is neither simply thanksgiving nor hymn but rather a more complex mixture of individual complaint or lament and individual thanksgiving. LICHT (14) maintains that lamentations were traditional features of the OT thanksgiving, as for example, in *Pss 30*, 9ff and *41*, 5-6. The OT evidences two traditional complaint motifs: 1) sickness and 2) conflicts with personal enemies. In *1QH* the author's sickness becomes his mental despair over human depravity and baseness, while his conflict with enemies becomes a doctrinal and political rather than a personal one. Both motifs function in *1QH* to stress the wonder of divine deliverance; vivid descriptions of the dangers and attacks from which the psalmist is saved underscore God's power. BARDTKE (15) agrees that elements of individual lament are found in *1QH* but he insists that they center on the continuous human return to sin; these frequent descriptions of

p. 122. He compares *1QH* compositions to the apocalyptic hymns of the apocrypha and NT where sapiential forms and language greatly influence the hymnic style.

(12) W. H. BROWNLEE, *Anthropology and Soteriology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament*, in *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays* (ed. J. EFIRD, Durham (N. C.), Duke University, 1972) p. 231. This confession of sin is the response to the Levitical rehearsal of Israel's sins and the priestly recounting of God's deeds; see *1QS I*, 21-23.

(13) MARX, *Y a-t-il prédestination...*, p. 169.

(14) LICHT, *The Doctrine of...*, p. 95.

(15) BARDTKE, *Considérations...*, pp. 224-225. See BURROWS, *More Light...*, p. 380.

human misery have no actual significance because they are related from a standpoint of salvation already experienced. More frequent are the expressions of confidence that God saves and will save. These recitals of deliverance experienced constitute the main element of the genre of individual thanksgiving, which predominates in *IQH*.

THIERING's study (16) of suffering at Qumran puts the question of form in a new light. She agrees that *IQH* comes closest to the biblical mixed psalms of thanksgiving and lament in respect of form, but suggests that *IQH* combines the form themes in a much different way and thus departs from the biblical mixed psalm 'model'. Whereas laments usually require detailed descriptions (*Ps.* 6, 2-3 6-7) thanksgivings offer only brief generalized descriptions because they are written from the standpoint of salvation already won (*Ps.* 18, 4-5). In the thanksgivings of *IQH* however the psalmist dwells upon suffering with much detail and "intensity", see VIII, 31-35; VII, 2-5, and thanks is frequently unrelated to salvation from suffering. In *IQH* laments the characteristic plea for help does not occur in connection with descriptions of suffering. (17) These facts, along with abrupt transitions to descriptions of suffering (VIII, 26-40) imply a disinterest in the immediate causes or relief of such suffering. THIERING rightly concludes that suffering was described in isolation at Qumran because it claimed its own value apart from demonstrating God's greatness or serving as a punishment for sin. Thus, the biblical mixed psalm 'model' does not apply to *IQH*.

BARDTKE (18) also maintains that both the individual lament and thanksgiving forms in *IQH* break down, but he attributes this to reflection rather than to suffering. He claims that *IQH* comes close to the OT wisdom literature in that it adds a general didactic note to the account of personal experience. What others have called 'hymnic' BARDTKE terms 'didactic', viz. reflection on

(16) B. THIERING, *Suffering and Asceticism at Qumran as Illustrated in the Hodayot*, in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. VIII, fasc. 3, n° 31 (1974) pp. 393-407.

(17) BARDTKE (*Considerations...*, p. 224) also notes this. He insists that where this demand does occur in *IQH* it is couched in very general terms and functions as a non-essential element, e.g. XI, 30-31; XVI, 18. He never satisfactorily explains why this observation is important, however, other than to claim that *IQH* laments are not "de portée actuelle;" they are merely "un regard en arrière."

(18) BARDTKE, *Considerations...*, pp. 227-229. See also G. MORAWE, *Vergleich der Aufbaus der Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnistlieder (IQH) von Qumran mit dem Aufbau der Psalmen im Alten Testament und im Spätjudentum*, in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. IV, fasc. 3, n° 15 (1963) p. 355 and L. ROST, (*Outside the Canon...*, p. 187) who sees a "plethora of meditative interpolations and reflective passages" in *IQH*.

the smallness of the individual and the greatness of God. BARDTKE argues that ultimately *IQH* should be seen as a particular genre of the psalmic poetry of late Judaism, poetry with a tendency to teach, to warn, to reflect, and to speak of the individual in the third person in the 'wisdom style'. *IQH* XI, 3-14, for example, sums up the way of salvation for each member of the sect in a six-part catechism which recapitulates the doctrine of the sect. Burrows also thinks that *IQH* exhibits a new type of composition representing a "later literary and religious development" than the canonical psalms and he agrees that BARDTKE has succeeded in showing a "didactic purpose" for *IQH*. (19) 'Didactic purpose' cannot of itself however prove that *IQH* belongs to the wisdom genre. (20) Further, some biblical psalms themselves have a didactic purpose. Two good examples are the Torah liturgies, *Pss* 15 and 24, in which the priests set forth their ethical instruction or Torah on 'right' behavior; the worshippers are admitted to the sanctuary on condition they pledge to follow these demands. (21) This leads us into a discussion of the *Sitz* of *IQH* however; that question is treated below.

It has become clear in our study of the form of *IQH* that no single element dominates or molds the collection. Thanksgiving, lament, hymn, and praise combine with meditative reflections to produce varied compositions which do not conform to any of the categories of the biblical psalm literature. What does stand out clearly in the collection is a constant shifting of emotions and themes; (22) this shifting creates a thematic and emotional tension

(19) BURROWS, *More Light...*, pp. 170, 294. But see his earlier work (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York, Viking, 1955, p. 219) where he claims that "there is actually nothing in the DSS that belongs to the category of wisdom literature." (1). Ringgren (*Faith...*, p. 15) speaks of the "meditative style" of *IQH* which was conducive to its repetition in the sect.

(20) See E. GERSTENBERGER, *Didactic or Wisdom Psalms*, pp. 218-221 and J. L. CRENSHAW, *Wisdom*, pp. 225-264 in *Old Testament Form Criticism* (ed. J. HAYES, San Antonio, Trinity University Press, 1974).

(21) See L. PERDUE's work (*Wisdom and Cult*, Society of Biblical Literature, Dissertation Series 30, Missoula, Scholars Press, 1977) which shows that sages did write didactic prayers for use in cultic worship and that the wisdom/cult dichotomy can no longer be maintained in the realm of prayer and worship.

(22) As HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot Psalms*, p. 320) observes, "...the more one busies oneself with the *Hodayot*, the more their apparent uniformity disappears." So also DUPONT-SOMMER (*Essene Writings*), p. 199. BARDTKE (*Considerations...*, p. 231) speaks similarly of the alternation of moving and calm passages, of impersonal descriptions of the enemy following intimate addresses of thanks or despair to God. Such alternation constitutes an intentional 'spiritual exercise' "car l'âme a besoin de tension et de détente, de combat et de paix." BARDTKE seems to suggest that *IQH* furthered mind control at Qumran since this exercise is meant "à pénétrer et dominer la pensée de ses membres" even outside of cultic moments.

It is because of this range and variation in *IQH* that we must fault the

and it is this tension which must be recognized as the most important element in *IQH*. An appreciation of this tension has been frustrated first of all by the very title *Hodayot* which has been affixed to the collection from the beginning; this emphasis upon the introductory formula of thanks obscures the varied content of *IQH*. Secondly, recognition of the shifting of themes and diversity in *IQH* has been blunted by the unusually harsh assessment of the literary quality of the collection. Most scholars agree with LICHT who claims that though *IQH* is modeled on the OT Psalter, it makes "awkward use" of many biblical passages and is repetitive "to the point of monotony." (23) But this view is certainly exaggerated and in no way compelling. The use of biblical words and phrases in *IQH* is not accidental or indiscriminate, but expressive of the deep inner tensions, thoughts and feelings of the community. (24) Thirdly, the various attempts to classify the entire collection according to one biblical psalm *Gattung* or another have actually underscored *IQH*'s diversity

methodology of E. MERRILL, *Qumran and Predestination* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975) pp. 2-3. MERRILL exegetes a few "selected passages" in *IQH* where a "systematic treatment" of predestination can be found, and then bases his analysis of the rest of *IQH* upon this exegesis. He claims that the remaining references lack "orderly presentation." This approach cannot give us a complete picture of the theology of *IQH*, and it robs the collection of its rich diversity.

(23) LICHT, *Doctrine...*, p. 2. He claims that the author develops a single theme in a long series of variations with biblical phrases. See also GASTER (*Dead Sea Scriptures*, p. 120): *IQH* hymns are "mosaics of Biblical quotations" filled with " cliché-ridden language." Cross (*Ancient Library*, p. 121) also speaks of *IQH* as "a patchwork of phrases" from the Psalter and the prophets. G. MORAWE (*Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder*, p. 355) argues for "einer gewissen Armut im Wortschatz und einer formelhaften Diktion" in the *IQH* hymns as compared to the biblical psalms; *IQH* falls far short of the psalms in terms of originality.

(24) So HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot Psalms*, pp. 301-313) even though *IQH* does show a greater use of the O.T. than the other Dead Sea Scrolls. The psalmists of *IQH* cultivated a theology of their own by the use of their O.T. style. Similarly, M. DELCOR (*Les Hymnes de Qumran (Hodayot)*, Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1962, p. 32) insists that "si les thèmes sont traditionnels, la pensée est neuve et c'est en cela que consiste l'originalité du psalmiste." See also D. N. FREEDMAN (*The Old Testament at Qumran*, in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, ed. by D. N. FREEDMAN & J. C. GREENFIELD, New York, Doubleday, 1969, pp. 118-119) who claims that the Psalter informed Qumran piety and offered a model widely imitated in the sect but that the Covenanters used the O.T. "selectively", stressing some elements and neglecting others. So G. MORAWE (*Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder*, p. 355): praise is given God for Creation rather than for Hells Geschichte. O. J. F. SERTZ (*Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis*, in *New Testament Studies*, vol. 6, 1 (1959) pp. 82-95) argues that the Qumranians were closer to the method of the Shepherd of Hermas with his allusions to phrases and ideas in the O.T. rather than to the rabbinical method of quotation of proof texts.

while trying to prove its uniformity. Given these three considerations, we should adopt RINGGREN's label for the *IQH* collection, viz. "rhythmic prose." (25) We are really able to claim no more than this for *IQH*; to say more is to say too much. Any further attempts to identify psalm *Gattungen* in *IQH* should be abandoned, especially given the damaged nature of the texts, the arbitrariness of delineating psalm units, and our lack of knowledge about the extent of the collection and its original form. Only then will the diversity and tension of the *IQH* collection emerge and claim its rightful place in *IQH* studies.

II. AUTHOR

The scholarly concensus backs the one author theory on the basis of the supposed similarity of the psalm types, with a few off-repeated themes and phrases throughout. Such an interpretation is also based upon the assumption that the "I" of the psalms is autobiographical, i.e. identical with the author who writes of his own vivid experiences. So maintain LICHT, HYATT, NÖTSCHER, (26) RINGGREN, BARDTKE, VAN DER PLOEG, MERRILL, et alii... A few such as EISSFELDT claim instead that the "I" of *IQH* in most cases represents the collective, the Qumran community as a whole. (27) But the majority argues for the "I" as individual, pointing to the content of *IQH* as expressive of rich personal experience and agreeing with BURROWS that it is "quite incredible" that such experience could ever have been typical of the whole community. (28) Support is drawn for this view from the places in *IQH* where it is clear that the psalmist stands in a special position in relation to a plurality, (29) i.e. the members of the community, as for example in VII, 20-21: "you make me

(25) RINGGREN, *Faith*, p. 14. He maintains that it is difficult to refer *IQH* to any of the psalm *Gattungen* and that the combination of diverse elements found in the collection is typical of late Jewish psalms. See here G. MORAWE (*Danklieder und hymnischen Bekenntnislieder*, p. 355) who argues that Qumran's hymns represent a further development or alteration of the O.T. psalm *Gattungen* and thus stand between the Psalter and the late Jewish psalms in respect of form.

(26) F. NÖTSCHER, *Hodayot*, in *Biblische Zeitschrift* (1958) pp. 128-133.

(27) O. EISSFELDT, *The Old Testament, An Introduction* (New York, Harper & Row, 1965) p. 656.

(28) BURROWS, *More Light*, p. 381. See also ROST, *Outside the Canon*, p. 188: *IQH* is "the most personal work" among the Scrolls and "bears witness to the introversion of its author through its restriction of experience to a single person," although on p. 187 he concedes that the psalms were composed by several authors.

(29) RINGGREN, *Faith*, p. 15. Also HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot Psalms*, pp. 323-329 and J. LICHT, *Doctrine*, p. 2.

a father unto the children of mercy"; also II, 30; IV, 23-24; VIII, 21-24; XIII, 17; XIV, 18; XV, 23. When it is a question of the community as collectivity, the author uses the plural, as for example, in II, 7; XIII, 17.

Many carry this argument for the "I" as individual one step further and insist that these personal experiences described by the psalmist provide information about the history of the community, its founder, its persecution and flight, and its inner life. The psalmist is seen as a real historical person, specifically THE Teacher of Righteousness or *Môrêh Sedeq* (so HYATT, VAN DER PLOEG, MERRILL, BROWNLEE, and VERMES) or A Teacher of Righteousness, if it is true that several persons bore that title. That the author is the *Môrêh Sedeq* is plausible for HYATT if one makes a comparison between what is said of the Teacher in *IQ p Hab* and *Dam. Doc.* with the "obvious" autobiographical passages in *IQ H*: the author claims that he has received a revelation from God, that he is a teacher of the community, that he has experienced much suffering and sorrow, that he is persecuted by the wicked priest, etc. (30)

One methodological problem encountered in such a discussion of the authorship of *IQ H* centers on the assumption of the uniformity of the collection. We have seen above how the psalms express a whole range of themes and feelings and are not at all similar in type, fitting no one particular psalm *Gattung*. This observation weakens the one author theory and its corollary, the Teacher of Righteousness as author of *IQ H*. The second methodological problem rests in the confusion surrounding the term *Môrêh Sedeq*. For some, such as GASTER, the term denotes a title or a continuing office rather than a particular individual; various people who led the community at different times would have held this office and borne this title. In this connection, GASTER warns against "forced attempts" to historicize the Dead Sea Scrolls; he criticizes the tendency to weld several references to the Teacher "into a single constant biography." (31) THIERING

(30) HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 277.

(31) GASTER, *Dead Sea Scriptures*, pp. 27-29. Similarly, BARDRE (*Considerations*, p. 232) claims that too little information exists to argue for Teacher authorship of *IQ H*. See also BURROWS, *More Light*, p. 326. We must apply WERNBERG-MOELLER's (*A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (IQ Serek III, 13-IV, 26)*," in *Revue de Qumrân*, vol. III, fasc. 3, n° 11 (1961) pp. 413-441) directive here: begin with *IQ H* itself and draw conclusions from its internal evidence before turning to other scrolls. Thus MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 9) incorrectly compares *IQ H* and *IQ p Ps 37*, *IQ p Hab* and *Dam. Doc.* before he looks at *IQ H* and argues that the author of *IQ H* and the Teacher are the same; he brings all the Teacher baggage to bear upon *IQ H* without letting *IQ H* speak for itself. Such faulty methodology distorts *IQ H*'s theology.

notes that what some list as signs of an historical situation and as individual characteristics of the writer, e.g. his care for other members of the community, his gift of knowledge, his position as a source of judgment and strength, etc., are rather qualities that would be applicable to any leader, and that they say nothing about history. (32)

The argument for the Teacher of Righteousness as author of *IQ H* also carries with it heavy baggage which weighs on other questions concerning the collection, such as salvation at Qumran. RINGGREN, for example, argues that *IQ H* proclaims that one's stand regarding the Teacher determined one's place among the righteous or the wicked, e.g. III, 8-9.13-14; VII, 11-12: "for all who attack me you declare guilty in judgment, so that in me you may divide between the righteous and ungodly"; VII, 20-21. (33) RINGGREN argues that the Teacher instructs the sect in an eschatologically motivated ethically based dualism and that those who listen will be saved. MERRILL theorizes that this instruction or 'doctrine' expounded in *IQ H* represents the "official" or orthodox viewpoint of the sect as a whole if we assume that the Teacher of Righteousness in his special role as teacher and mediator proclaimed it. (34) This official 'doctrine' in MERRILL's view is one of double predestination; the elect were members of the Qumran community destined for salvation, while the rest of the world had been rejected by God for destruction. For MERRILL, Teacher authorship forms the basis for his evaluation of the problem of predestination and individual freedom in the sect. (35)

If the Teacher did not author *IQ H* then statements such as RINGGREN's and MERRILL's need to be reevaluated because they distort our understanding of salvation at Qumran. Before embracing MERRILL's theory, for example, we must first of all ask about the use of *IQ H* in the sect, a question which will be

(32) THIERING, *Suffering*, p. 394, e.g. *IQ H* II, 8; XIV, 19, etc. GASTER (*Dead Sea Scriptures*, pp. 120-122) argues that the *IQ H* VIII reference to one who teaches law to his brethren but is thwarted by 'preachers of lies' describes not the Teacher but "the normal and typical frustration of the mystic—the experience of every man who believes that he has seen God and that he is burning a small candle in the darkness of a world unredeemed." See also BURROWS, *More Light*, p. 296 and LICHT, *Doctrine*, pp. 2, 101.

(33) RINGGREN, *Faith*, pp. 185-187: "the spiritual weal or woe of the community are entirely dependent on the activity of the Teacher," see VIII, 16-20:22-26. MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 47) agrees that the Teacher is "the touchstone in judgment" for the sect and that (p. 57) "one's whole relationship to God and truth could be measured by his relationship, first of all, to the Teacher."

(34) MERRILL, *Predestination*, pp. 9-11, 14-15.

(35) MERRILL, *Predestination*, pp. 41-42. MERRILL does not draw out the implications of this 'official' doctrine for the sect/world relationship.

treated below. MERRILL argues for the didactic nature of *IQH*, which seems "almost assured if we bear in mind again the role of the Teacher of Righteousness in the community and his possible authorship of this...document." (36) Circular reasoning cannot prove this theory. Secondly, we must ask whether 'doctrine' is actually being expounded here at all. MERRILL analyzes only a few passages where he claims a 'systematic' treatment of the predestination doctrine is found and interprets the rest of the collection in light of this analysis. RINGGREN warns however that one must "carefully avoid regarding these personal and subjective outpourings as dogmatic statements designed to be universally applicable." (37)

This claim leads us to a third methodological consideration in the debate over authorship of *IQH*, namely, does *IQH* actually reflect the personal experiences of its author(s)? Many different answers are given to this question. HYATT takes the middle way; the author is at least a person of high standing in the Qumran sect, who "generalizes for all mankind" from his own experiences. (38) K. G. KUHN on the other hand, argues that the "I" style of *IQH* is not at all meant individually or biographically, but is rather "gnomic" descriptive of human existence." (39) THIERING focuses on one aspect of the experiences described in *IQH*: suffering. She argues that if descriptions of suffering in *IQH* refer to a concrete individual in history, they lack much detail. Because declarations of spiritual authority and election are closely juxtaposed with descriptions of suffering, e.g. XI, 15-22, it seems that suffering was accepted as a function of one's role as an elect member of the sect and as productive of the future messianic age. (40)

Many scholars argue that the 'personal' experiences of *IQH* are specifically those of the Teacher. RINGGREN admits that much of what is said in *IQH* could apply to any devout member

(36) MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 12.

(37) RINGGREN, *Faith*, p. 95.

(38) HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 283.

(39) K. G. KUHN, *New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament*, in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, edited by Krister STENDAHL, 1957, Harper, New York, p. 102.

(40) THIERING, *Suffering*, pp. 394, 400, 403. Lack of detail is seen in *IQH* IV, 8 which offers a general picture of suffering by combining biblical phrases from *Isaiah* 53, 8 and *Prov.* 27, 8 to evoke prophecies. See also HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot Psalms*, p. 328) who also rejects "original portrayals of misery" in *IQH*. The author(s) felt himself to be in the same situation as portrayed in the O.T.: "The main consideration is thus not that these expressions suit in detail his own life, but that the Old Testament portrayals are now fulfilled in his own experience."

of the community, e.g. sorrow regarding sin, appreciation of God's grace, etc., but that some passages are "unimaginable" in the mouth of the average pious sectarian, especially those passages in which the psalmist clearly seems to occupy a special position in relation to a plurality, e.g. IV, 27: "through me you have illumined the faces of the many"; also VII, 12.20.21. Other terms for this plurality are "the children of mercy" (VII, 20); "the poor" (II, 32); etc., and these titles have been taken as references to the sect itself. In these passages RINGGREN argues that it would be better to think of at least a leading personality within the sect, if not of the Teacher of Righteousness himself, who emerges as the leader vis-à-vis this plurality and describes his own experiences. (41) As we will argue below, however, these terms have a much wider application and consequently, the stance and identification of the psalmist in relation to this plurality must be reevaluated.

BARDTKE insists rightly that the impression of truly personal experiences in *IQH* must be relinquished. Passages such as II, 8-9 and IV, 5-39 would be equally as probable in the mouth of any member of the sect; it was the duty of each sectarian to test his neighbor, warn him, introduce him into the covenant, etc. The Teacher is nothing more than the first in a series of those who have had the same experiences in gaining truth. In the supposedly personal experiences of the Teacher, "on a plûtôt des énoncés généraux sur la situation dans le monde de n'importe quel sectaire de Qumrán." (42)

We can conclude from the above study then, that the claims for one author writing a uniform *IQH* psalm collection infused with his own personal experiences do not stand up under scrutiny. These are actually two different questions which have nothing to do with one another. The claim that this single author was the Teacher of Righteousness falls even more quickly as a forced historicization. Psalm studies have faced similar problems; many scholars endeavored to link the biblical psalms to specific events or persons in Israel's history. Later scholarship recognized that the psalm laments, thanksgivings, etc., were typifications of life situations which the worshippers could apply to themselves at

(41) RINGGREN, *Faith*, pp. 15-16. See also J. CARMIGNAC (*Les Textes de Qumrán, traduits et annotés*, vol. I, Paris, 1961, p. 134) who notes that "par une appropriation spontanée, le 'Je' du 'Maître de Sagesse' devenait le 'Je' de tous ses disciples, présents ou futurs." DUPONT-SOMMER and ROST suggest that there may be several authors, probably the Teacher and some of his disciples who sought to imitate his experience and writing.

(42) BARDTKE, *Considérations*, pp. 232-233. See here BURROWS (*More Light*, p. 329, n. 28) who agrees that many of the passages need not refer to a leading figure but may be those of individual members of the community.

many different times in their lives, and thus were not historical. We must conclude that *IQH* is a varied collection of rhythmic prose authored by different people at different times and that none of the *IQH* material demands Teacher authorship. (43)

III. USAGE

The discussion of the "I" and author of *IQH* leads us to a consideration of the *Sitz* of the collection; the purpose for which *IQH* was originally composed cannot be determined from the "I" alone. Most of the scholarly assessments of the use of *IQH* at Qumran fall into two main categories: a collective use as a cult hymnal or a private non-cultic use as either a 'catechism' of religious instruction or a collection of private meditations. Those who argue for the latter take the minority view, for even scholars who back the one author/Teacher of Righteousness as author theory acknowledge that *IQH* with its account of the psalmist's personal experiences was intended for general devotional use within the sect. Scholars point to the great number of *IQH* manuscripts found at Qumran, a fact which speaks for its use in the community; even if *IQH* had been written originally as personal poetry, it was later transferred from the private to the public realm for use in the sect.

Among those who argue for the communal cultic use of *IQH*, HYATT maintains that the poems were used possibly in initiation rites but more probably in the daily morning and evening prayers in the manner of *IQS* IX, 24-XI, 22. One author wrote *IQH* to express his gratitude for God's delivering him from persecution and suffering, but *IQH* was used liturgically to arouse similar gratitude in the hearts of the worshippers. (44) According to LICHT, *IQH*'s theme is the author's personal, direct and passionate relationship to God. The psalmist wrote for readers well-acquainted with the underlying doctrine of the sect and who would appreciate its poetic elaboration; *IQH* is thus "doctrine offered to the spiritual needs of its (Qumran's) believers." (45)

Other scholars argue for the didactic, private nature of *IQH*. BARDTKE claims that from the broken prayer forms in the collection emerge teaching and warning in the wisdom style. *IQH* XI, 3-14, for example, describes the way of salvation for each member

(43) So HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot Psalms*, p. 331.

(44) HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 276. See also G. VERMES (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, London, Collins, 1977) who sees *IQH* as private poetry describing the poet's personal experience, used by the group at initiation or covenant renewal in the cult.

(45) LICHT, *Doctrine*, p. 3-4.

of the sect in the manner of a 'catechism'; descriptions of deliverance and of the enemy in other passages recapitulate the dogma of the sect. That the individual recited such 'catechisms' in the presence of others in the cult is possible but not necessary; the lack of information about cultic activity at Qumran, the existence of this catechetical presentation, and the constant use of "I" all suggest individual rather than communal cultic usage of *IQH* as a kind of spiritual exercise meant "à pénétrer et dominer la pensée de ses membres, même en dehors des moments du culte." (46) RINGGREN (47) notes that choosing between these two views of individual or corporate use is difficult, since it is almost necessary to assume that the sect used some cult hymns for its meetings even though the style and character of *IQH* point to the meditative, private usage of the collection.

The most cogent assessment of the problem of the *Sitz im Leben* of *IQH* however rests with HOLM-NIELSEN, who rejects Teacher authorship as well as the strongly personal stamp imposed by others upon what they see as the free poetry of *IQH*. He argues rather that *IQH* contains the community's liturgical prayers and songs of praise expressive of the sectarian faith, prayers which were used both privately and communally and which were composed by various cultic personnel who were versed in Scripture, especially in the psalm literature. (48)

We can easily see how these *IQH* psalms originally created by cultic personnel for communal worship would have found their way into the private meditations of the people in the same way that the biblical psalms had done. In like manner, private compositions from other individuals in the sect could have been taken up by the cult for public use in worship; HOLM-NIELSEN does not consider this. The "I" of *IQH*, as in the biblical psalms, does not represent a particular author in a particular historical situation espousing an official group doctrine, but rather any individual member of the congregation as well as the community of individuals at the same time giving expression to their faith.

(46) BARDTKE, *Considérations*, p. 231. See also pp. 229-230, and G. MOLIN (*Die Söhne des Lichtes, Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften von Tolen Meer*, Vienna, Herold Verlag, 1954, pp. 102-104) who argues for the didactic value of *IQH*.

(47) RINGGREN, *Faith*, p. 16.

(48) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot Psalms*, p. 348. See also his chapter on the purpose of *IQH*, pp. 332-348. See here D. N. FREEDMAN (*The Old Testament at Qumran*, p. 119) who agrees that piety at Qumran was expressed in corporate worship and public festivals, as well as in private and during many personal occasions of prayer. D. S. RUSSELL (*The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, O.T. Library, Philadelphia, Westminster, 1964, p. 44) argues for *IQH*'s use in the sect's festivals or worship services.

The *IQH* collection was meant to convey the pervasive and wide-ranging feelings of this faith such as sin, thanksgiving, hope and fear. It is to an analysis of these feelings that we now turn.

IV. DUALISM AND PREDESTINATION

We have said above that Qumran's self-understanding in relation to the rest of the world usually emerges as a by-product of the discussion of dualism in the sect. To analyze this dualism, most scholars begin with the doctrine of the two spirits in *IQS* III, 17-IV, 26; in this passage dualism presents itself in two aspects: the human (psychological) and the cosmic (cosmological). According to this passage, God created two personified spirits of good/light and evil/darkness to preside over the two divisions or 'lots' of humankind: the 'sons of light' and the 'sons of darkness'; this follows logically from God's absolute sovereignty. God allows these spirits to struggle against each other until the 'time of visitation' when God had preordained the victory and dominion of the spirit of truth over the spirit of darkness; in this sense, the dualism of the Qumran community is not ultimate, but relative. God also allows these two spirits to struggle within the human heart (*IQS* IV, 15-18.23-24). God created every person and predestined each one from birth for either the lot of good or the lot of evil; none can escape their predetermined 'lot' (*gōrāl*), although the spirit of darkness and his agents constantly try to make the sons of light stumble (*IQS* III, 24). Thus, the present disposition or character of an individual depends upon his or her predestined lot or inheritance in life (*IQS* IV, 24-25) and also previsions his or her final fate at the time of visitation: "the lots are assigned in an eschatological sense, so that a person's present state in one group or the other is an anticipation of his ultimate destiny." (49) Predestination thus dictates this dualistic struggle of the two spirits on both the cosmic and human planes now and in the future.

As a consequence of this cosmological and psychological dualism

(49) W. BEARDSLEE, *The Casting of Lots at Qumran and in the Book of Acts*, in *Novum Testamentum* 4 (1960) p. 247. H. G. MAY *Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery*, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 82 (1963), p. 3) also speaks of the "apocalyptic framework" of the Qumran doctrine. See J. VAN DER PLOEG (*Excavations*, p. 110) who argues that the dualism of Qumran makes it easy to accept the idea of immortality; the immortal spirits exercise such a decisive influence on the lot of men during their earthly lives that "the thought of being received into their company after death cannot be very far away." But note that *IQS* IV states that God controls these two spirits and they struggle only until the 'final age.'

of the two spirits doctrine in *IQS*, the Qumran community emerges as the predestined 'lot' of the righteous elect standing in a mutually exclusive relationship with those outside of the community who have been predestined to the 'lot' of the wicked; in other words the Qumran sect takes its stand over against the rest of the human race in a context of double predestination. (50) This gap between Qumran and the rest of the world is reinforced by the demand for 'eternal hatred' of all 'men of perdition' in *IQS* IX, 21ff; *IQS* I, 3-4.10-11; X, 25; *Dam. Doc.* II, 1; also see the levitical curses invoked during initiation against those who have 'cast their lot with Belial' (*IQS* II, 4-18), especially II, 15: "may he (the wicked one) be cut off from the midst of all the children of light because of his idolatry." STENDAHL feels that this hatred grounds itself in the eschatological intensity of life at Qumran, "for eschatological intensity always means that all stages of grey disappear; there is only black and white." (51) The line between the two 'lots' of humankind becomes more firmly entrenched as the Day of Vengeance draws near.

Most scholars acknowledge that *IQH* nowhere offers an explicit statement of this *IQS* cosmological dualism of the two spirits but that this idea acts as 'the underlying principle' of the

(50) HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot Psalms*, p. 290): "Mankind is thus divided into two groups, which, in view of the relationship of each to God, have no fellowship with one another;" and p. 292. MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 41): "Naturally the members of the Qumran community, in their own view, at least, were the Elect, while the rest of the world, including mainstream Judaism, made up the 'sons of Darkness'." LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 6) insists that one's 'lot' in life determines his or her whole personality: "no account is taken of the possibility that a person may be neither wholly good nor wholly bad: all personal traits of character are seen as determined by the great division." K. G. KUHN (*New Light on Temptation...*, pp. 97-98 [see note 39]): "The situation of man in the world is determined... by his belonging either to the 'sons of light', ... or to the 'sons of darkness'... This allegiance is determined by primeval divine predestination." See also VAN DER PLOEG (*Excavations*, p. 101) who speaks of an "unbridgeable chasm dividing mankind."

(51) K. STENDAHL, *Hate, Non-Retaliation, and Love: IQS x, 17-20 and Rom 12, 19-21*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. 55 (1962) p. 344. STENDAHL argues (pp. 344-346) that the non-retaliation of *IQS* X, 17-20 is a special case of this eternal hatred rather than of love. Because God is sovereign and his judgment is drawing near, the sect can afford to practice non-retaliation toward its enemies and defer to God's judgment. RINGGREN (*Faith*, pp. 134-136) argues that because the sect lives in the final age its ethic is eschatologically motivated. See VAN DER PLOEG (*Excavations*, p. 92) who claims that 'hate' in *IQS* means more "than merely 'not choose'... such language can only be used with reference to people whom one positively dislikes, and whom one is determined to ignore;" see FORKMAN, *Limits*, p. 45. But VERMES (*The Scrolls*, p. 172) insists that Qumran concentrated more on the blessedness of the chosen than on the damnation of the unjust.

collection. (52) Passages from *IQH* are merely plugged into the *IQS* schema as illustrations of the doctrine on a personal level. MAY argues that MANSOOR "reasonably" takes the phrase "before you created them" in *IQH* I, 7-8; and *IQH* I, 18-20; X, 27-28; *IQS* III, 15, as a fixed formula of predestination (see also XV, 14). (53) Many passages attest to the division of humankind into 'lots': e.g. *IQH* XV, 13-15 speaks of the destiny of the righteous; *IQH* XV, 17-20 describes the fate of the wicked; (54) *IQH* IV, 38 simply states "you have created the righteous and the wicked." In *IQH* VII, 34, the psalmist rejoices that his lot has not been cast with the 'false ones' or among the 'dissemblers'; see also here I, 16-18, which tells of the allotment of 'generations', etc., at creation; III, 22, which declares "and for man you have cast (apportioned) an eternal lot." (55) God has formed every person's spirit and that person acts according to it: *IQH* I, 9; IV, 31; X, 22; XV, 13-14.22; XVI, 10; XVII, 17. This division

(52) LICHT, *Doctrine*, pp. 3, 6. MAY (*Cosmological Reference*, p. 5) says that *IQH* supports the predestination and cosmological dualism of the two spirits doctrine. MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 28) maintains that *IQH* XIV, 11-12 is the only passage in *IQH* where the two spirits are clearly mentioned, but other "allusions" to dualism are found. But this passage by no means offers clear evidence for the two spirits doctrine since the text is damaged and much reconstruction is necessary. LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 91) argues that *IQH*'s dualism is less sharp than that of *IQS*. The act of predestination is the act of granting the appropriate spirit which is the "carrier of divinely ordained characteristics... i.e. man's personality." The meaning of spirit or *rūah* is ambiguous in the scrolls; there are many spirits in *IQH* with diverse qualities ordained for humans, e.g. the spirit of knowledge (XII, 11-12; XIII, 19), of holiness, of the tongue (I, 27-28), of purity, of steadfastness, etc. MAY (*Cosmological Reference*, p. 2) however argues that "all their kinds of spirits" in *IQS* III, 14 denotes the many manifestations of the one spirit or the other.

(53) MAY, *Cosmological Reference*, p. 6. See also MANSOOR, *Hymns*, pp. 55-58 and HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 280. RINGGREN (*Faith*, p. 54) takes the word *lē'ādāh* as meaning eternal decree or predestination.

(54) BROWNLEE (*Anthropology and Soteriology*, p. 236) explains that God punishes the wicked whom he has predestined for wickedness because he has foreseen that they would behave in this way, see *IQH* XV, 18-19: the *kl* ('because') means that this is predestination based upon foreknowledge. NÖTSCHER (*Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte, Bonner Biblische Beiträge*, n° 10, 1956, p. 175) sees a "relative Prädestination auf Grund des göttlichen Vorauswissens," cf. *Dam. Doc.* II, 6ff. Also RINGGREN (*Faith*, pp. 107, 112) on *IQH* XV, 19.

(55) NÖTSCHER (*Zur Theologischen Terminologie*, pp. 171-172) says that 'lot' here, and VI, 13; XI, 10-11; means 'fate', 'final reward', akin to 'inheritance' in *IQS* IV, 24-25; XI, 7 or to 'eternal life' as in *Dam. Doc.* III, 20; *IQS* IV, 7. The N.T. makes use of the idea of eternal inheritance as a reward for the faithful believer in the world to come: *Col* 1, 12; *Heb* 9, 15.

between righteous and wicked is reinforced by hatred in *IQH* XIV, 11: "to abhor all that which (you hate)." (56)

A few scholars argue that the approach outlined above, viz., looking for *IQH* passages which 'fit' the *IQS* model of cosmological, mutually exclusive dualism, puts the cart before the horse. P. WERNBERG-MOELLER for example, (57) advocates the exact opposite way of getting at the question; he reexamines the meaning of *IQS* III, 17-IV, 26 in light of the anthropology of *IQH*. He finds as a result that dualism is an "oversimplification" of the attitude of the Qumran community to the world at large. (58) He bases his conclusions upon a psychological, rather than a cosmological interpretation of the word *rūah* or 'spirit'. The two spirits do not represent two opposed cosmic principles but rather dispositions or temperaments in the individual along the lines of the rabbinic doctrine of the good and evil *yēser* or 'inclination'; (59) individuals choose between the two impulses in their hearts with their own free will. Curses and calls for hatred of the wicked serve to instruct, warn, urge and frighten members of the community to live up to the sectarian standards. Within this schema, the dichotomy rests not between the two opposing classes of humankind, i.e. the righteous and the wicked in their respective lots ruled by their respective opposing spirits, but rather in the tension within the community itself between what it is in reality and what it ought to be ideally; repentance rather than sin separates a person from other persons. God's election sets the pious apart from the rest of humanity (*IQS* IV, 20-22). For WERNBERG-MOELLER the 'sons of righteousness', i.e. the community, are seen as a section *within* the larger whole of the 'sons of perversion'; this generates a feeling of "solidarity" with the rest of humankind which is "very characteristic of the anthropology of the Qumran community."

It is my contention that neither of the two approaches outlined above adequately deals with the questions of dualism at Qumran

(56) See E. LÖHSE, *Die Texte aus Qumran* (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971) pp. 162-163, 293 n. 55 (cf. *IQS* I, 3-4) and HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot Psalms*, p. 218) for their reconstructions of this verse.

(57) WERNBERG-MOELLER, *A Reconsideration*, pp. 413-441.

(58) M. TREVES (*The Two Spirits of the Rule of the Community*, in *Revue de Qumran*, vol. III, fasc. 3, n° 11 (1961) p. 451) also claims that the predetermination of the author of *IQH* has been "exaggerated."

(59) WERNBERG-MOELLER, *A Reconsideration*, p. 449. So also HYATT (*View of Man*, p. 280) who points to the *Testament of Asher* 1, 3-5, 2 and *Sir.* 15, 14. In *IQH* *yēser* often means 'creature', 'that which is formed', yet in several places it means 'impulse' with stress on the evil impulse. TREVES (*Two Spirits*, p. 449) speaks of "the tendencies or propensities which are implanted in every man's heart."

and the sectarians' relation to the rest of the world. Theirs was not an either/or situation of mutual hate for or solidarity with the rest of the world, but rather a kind of middle way between the two. Both the black and white dualism theory and the psychological solidarity theory bristle with difficulties. On the one hand, the cosmological reference in the two spirits doctrine cannot be ignored as WERNBERG-MOELLER would have it. MAY correctly argues that the two spirits idea is not just a psychological concept, and that the identification of the rabbinic concept of the good and evil inclination with the sectarian idea of the two spirits ignores the apocalyptic framework of the Qumran doctrine (*IQS* IV, 15-16) and denies the creation context as well. (60)

Yet on the other hand, this cosmological dualism must not be exaggerated, as the majority of scholars do, into a rigid double predestination of mutual exclusion; this will become clear below. A rejection of this exclusive hatred theory does not mean, however, that we must endorse WERNBERG-MOELLER's argument for mutual solidarity. *IQS* passages calling for hatred and setting forth curses on the wicked may have been designed to instruct and frighten sect members to amend their ways, but in reality they surely advanced a different end, viz. they promoted hatred of the wicked and the sharpening of the division between the elect in the sect and the wicked outside of it who did not feel compelled to overcome their wickedness. The result was not at all conducive to feelings of solidarity with humankind. WERNBERG-MOELLER is correct, however, in insisting upon *IQH* rather than *IQS* as our starting point for the evaluation of dualism and the sect/world relationship at Qumran, but he errs in forcing *IQS* to 'fit' his *IQH* model. *IQS* must also be evaluated on its own terms; the cosmological reference in the two spirits passage emerges very clearly and cannot be explained away. For the moment, we must leave this question of approach open until an analysis of individual freedom and God's sovereignty at Qumran is carried out.

V. INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY

Many scholars insist that the main concern of *IQH* is not with the division between the predestined righteous and wicked, but rather with the contrast between the righteousness and absolute sovereignty of God and the inherent weakness and

(60) MAY, *Cosmological Reference*, pp. 2-3. Others who argue for cosmological dualism and predetermination in the two spirits passage are LICHT, *Doctrine*, pp. 5-7; HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot Psalms*, pp. 277-280; MERRILL, *Predestination*, pp. 22-32; BURROWS, *More Light*, pp. 291-294; MANSOOR, *Hymns*, pp. 55-58; and HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 284.

sinfulness of humankind. According to LICHT, (61) this conviction of human sinfulness is a logical consequence of the absolute divine righteousness; God is Creator and Sustainer of the Universe and of humans and nothing is done apart from God and his will: *IQH* IV, 31; X, 2,9; and XV, 22. In contrast to this awesome power of God, the human being is "a creature of clay, kneaded with water (*IQH* I, 21; III, 23-24; IV, 29; XIII, 14); one who is formed from and returns to dust (X, 4; XII, 31; XIII, 14-15; XVIII, 12); "born of a woman" (XVIII, 12-13.16); dirt (X, 3); sinful (I, 22-23: "a spirit of error and perversity without understanding"); "in iniquity from the womb" (IV, 29-30; cf. *IQS* XI, 9-11.20-22). HYATT claims that the vivid poetic descriptions of the individual's personal experiences of sinfulness and utter dependence upon God present a view that is consistently more pessimistic than is usually encountered in Hebrew and Jewish writings. (62)

The psalmist's overwhelming sense of sin and weakness points up the deep chasm which separates humans from God. (63) The psalmist knows that "no one can be righteous in God's judgment" (IX, 14); "to you, O God of knowledge, are all the deeds of righteousness" (I, 26); "righteousness is not for man nor to the son of man the perfection of way" and belonging to God Most High are "all deeds of righteousness" (IV, 30-31; also VII, 28-29; IX, 15; XII, 19.30-31). The psalmist in his unworthiness is "terrified by the judgments of righteousness" (I, 23; X, 34). (64)

(61) LICHT, *Doctrine*, pp. 12 and 9-11. See HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot Psalms*, p. 277: "The concept of man is, thus, in reality, determined on the basis of the destiny of man as seen in the contrast between the immortal, eternal God and mortal, corruptible man." See also RINGGREN, *Faith*, pp. 65 and 94; HYATT, *View of Man*, pp. 277-278; VERMES, *The Scrolls*, p. 172, who speaks of *IQH*'s emphasis on the sectary's frailty, unworthiness and total dependence on God as an attack on the danger of the sin of pride; and BROWNLEE, *Anthropology and Soteriology*, pp. 225-233, for his discussion of the sources of man's inherent sinfulness in *IQH*.

(62) HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 278. See MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 37. HYATT (p. 284) does insist, however, that the ideas of the sect regarding man's nature can be traced to one line of O.T. tradition: *Gen.* 2-3 (J), *Job*, *Qoh.* and *Psi.* 51. RINGGREN (*Faith*, pp. 95-96) traces these ideas back to *Psi.* 8, 4 and *Gen.* 2, 7; 3, 19. Because of his total dissimilarity to God, man has a 'pre-disposition to sin'; he has experienced his sin as "a frightening reality" and it is thus no mere theory but psychologically based (pp. 103-104). LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 10) speaks here of "chains of abuse" which express "an almost pathological abhorrence of human nature" and "deep sexual disgust" for human nature at its basest.

(63) H. W. HUPPENBAUER (*Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten. Der Dualismus der Texte von Qumran (Höhe 1) und der Damaskusfragmente*, Zurich, Zwingli, 1959) pp. 65-75. See also HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 276) who insists that such a radical concept of sin can only be imagined in relation to God rather than to man alone or to his relations with the world.

(64) RINGGREN (*Faith*, pp. 65-66) contra LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 9) rightly insists that God's righteousness is not his unquestionable right to do as he

The psalmist therefore praises God and pours forth his gratitude in recognition of the divine mercy which redeems him from his sin and baseness (which he shares with all other humans, including the wicked), and which places him in the lot of the elect and in fellowship with the holy ones (II, 20; III, 19-22; IV, 35-37; VII, 34; XI, 6; and XIV, 12-14; cf. *IQS* XI, 8.13-15). (65) Thus in V, 6 the psalmist declares "you have not judged me according to my guilt...but you have helped my life against destruction." Such forgiveness (*hesed*) is experienced continually and must be if the sectarian is to persevere in God's ways: V, 2; VI, 9; VII, 18.30.35; IX, 13.34; X, 21; XI, 9.31; XIV, 24. The psalmist forever grows weary and stumbles at the hands of the wicked, e.g. II, 23; V, 28; VIII, 32-33: "my strength is gone from my body, and my heart is poured out like water and my flesh melts like wax..." Yet God is always there to bolster his chosen one, to cleanse, e.g. IV, 34-37; IX, 8; XI, 30f (cf. *IQS* XI, 13-15) and to give knowledge and insight: I, 21; VII, 26-27; X, 4; XII, 11-13; XIV, 13; XV, 12 (cf. *IQS* XI, 15-18). (66) For sinners however

pleases, for God is righteous in all his works (*IQH* I, 6; XII, 31) and God's righteousness redeems (*IQS* XI, 12-15); it is grace and compassion; it punishes and cleanses in mercy (*IQH* XI, 8-9). BROWNLEE (*Anthropology and Soteriology*, p. 223) also insists that God's righteousness is not mainly forensic but rather the force of divine goodness; God's righteousness and grace is sufficient for all of man's sin (*IQS* XI, 2, 12).

(65) Consequently some scholars have argued that we must speak of 'grace' or 'election' rather than of 'predestination' in *IQH*. MARX (*Y a-t-il...?*, p. 181) for example suggests that it would be better "d'éviter le terme de 'prédestination' et de parler tout simplement de grâce!" WERNBERG-MOELLER (*A Reconsideration*, p. 424) insists that the pious are not separated from the rest of humanity "by a radical, constitutional difference due to opposed metaphysical principles, but entirely to God's election" (*IQS* IV, 22) and in n. 24 he explains that the pious in *IQS* III-IV are elected rather than predestined to their fate; election is a biblical idea, while predestination is a theological term stemming from the application of a deterministic philosophy upon Biblical theology. But as LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 89) rightly argues, divine grace and its gifts are bestowed not on all but only on those predestined to join the 'lot' of the righteous. The gift of election is not an automatic consequence of being predestined to the lot of the righteous, as we shall see below. See here NÖRSCHER (*Zur theologischen Terminologie*, pp. 174-175): "Auch Erwählung und absolute Prädestination ist nicht dasselbe. Erwählung ist wohl unverdiente Gnade, aber nicht unabänderliches Fatum."

(66) LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 92) speaks of a ladder of moral perfection here with God's gifts ranked in order of desirability. Partial enumerations of such gifts appear in *IQH* IV, 2-6 and VII, 6-20. The ability to praise is God's highest gift and both a sign of election and the duty of the elect (p. 99). See also KIMBROUGH (*The Ethic of Qumran*, p. 490) who argues that whatever qualities of morality one could get, they came from a merciful God: VII, 17-18; XV, 12-14 (cf. *IQS* XI, 10). RINGGREN (*Faith*, pp. 114ff) argues that knowledge and insight make up the first stage on the way to salvation; "I know that..." the biblical fixed formula of assurance, was taken over by the sect. Forgiveness and cleansing from sin comprise the second stage of salvation.

the truth remains hidden: *IQH* V, 25-26 (cf. IX, 24 and *IQS* X, 24-25). (67) The psalmist expresses continuous astonishment at this abundant compassion of the Lord: "what is a creature of clay to magnify wondrous deeds?" (IV, 29; see also VI, 9; VII, 18.30; IX, 32-36; X, 3-4; XI, 9.30-31; XV, 21). In almost every passage that stresses the sinfulness of the human being, the larger context emphasizes God's wonderful deeds toward the creature of dust. (68)

One is rescued from utter despair by this knowledge that God is merciful, and it is this knowledge which is the only source of human hope: "I know that there is hope in your mercy and confidence in the abundance of your strength" (*IQH* IX, 14); "I know that there is hope for the one you have formed out of dust" (*IQH* III, 20). (69) The psalmist often depicts how his despair gives way to hope and certainty of grace; he sees himself as a sinner whom God has graciously redeemed and enabled to rise above the common nature of humankind. (70) Most agree that the original situation of woe has been exaggerated in order to ensure God's favor and to highlight the wonder of God's saving mercy; e.g. III, 19-23; IV, 33-37; IX, 4-13; XI, 19-26. (71)

Given *IQH*'s picture of the sinful human thrown upon the mercy of an absolutely sovereign God, many scholars question the place of individual freedom and responsibility at Qumran. R. E. MURPHY, (72) for example, concludes that while human autonomy and power of decision are stressed in *Sirach*, this stress is totally lacking at Qumran. The *yēšer* in *IQH* refers to one's inclination to sin, to one's moral weakness. One cannot free oneself from such weakness because of one's corruptible nature;

(67) RINGGREN (*Faith*, p. 62) insists that Qumran's is an esoteric teaching, not for the uninitiated. HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 284) also speaks of the 'few' who are predestined for election (*IQH* VI, 8) and how the community keeps God's revelation a secret from the uninitiated; this gives the impression of a "marked exclusiveness." LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 89) maintains that the few righteous in the security of their election look down upon the many wicked without contemplating their struggle, e.g. *IQH* VI, 22; IV, 19.

(68) M. BLACK (*The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961, p. 126) speaks of God's grace toward sinful humankind as the recurring theme of *IQH*. RINGGREN (*Faith*, p. 104) declares that not one psalm "deals exclusively with nothingness, sin and guilt, but as a complement there is always a reference to God's grace and compassion."

(69) See also VI, 6; fragment 1, 8. LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 11) calls this feeling of hope for rescue from despair and from sin and its consequences the "basic emotion" of *IQH*. See also RINGGREN, *Faith*, pp. 121-124.

(70) MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 39.

(71) So VAN DER PLOEG, *Excavations*, p. 116.

(72) R. E. MURPHY, "Yēšer in the Qumran Literature, in *Biblica* vol. 39 (1958) pp. 334-344.

the *yēser* is usually the work of Belial (VII, 3-4; XI, 20-21). GASTER insists upon the opposite extreme of total human freedom; sin is individual and not the inherited lot of man, and "because it is incurred by his own personal disposition, it can be removed also by his own individual experience." (73) God gives every person at birth powers of discernment and charisma and thus the choice between using these powers for good or ignoring them and becoming entrapped by evil is left to the individual will; it is not the product of a sudden act of grace. KIMBROUGH (74) however takes the middle way (as do most scholars), arguing that although sin was seen as universal at Qumran, the human condition was not thought of as an "impairment" to free will; sect members volunteered for membership and their "disallowal of self" was crucial.

The Qumranians believed that they were "volunteers" (*nēdabīm*, *hammīnadēbīm*: *1 Q S I*, 7.11; *V*, 1.6.8.10) and that even though the volunteer service of the elect had been preordained, it was nonetheless truly voluntary because it was "sincere, given with a whole heart and a willing soul." (75) One made a free decision to enter the covenant community (*1 Q S VI*, 13), to turn away from evil (*1 Q S V*, 1-3), to submit to God's command (*1 Q S III*, 7-8; *1 Q H XVI*, 10), and to love God willingly (*1 Q H XIV*, 26; *XV*, 10). In this sense, the phrase "those who turn away from transgression" (*šēbē peša'*: *1 Q H XIV*, 24; and also *Isaiah* 59, 20) becomes a title for the sect: *1 Q H II*, 9; *VI*, 6; *1 Q S X*, 20; *Dam. Doc. II*, 5. (76) Repentance, or the proper disposition becomes a prerequisite for election, forgiveness, and cleansing. (77)

(73) GASTER, *Dead Sea Scriptures*, p. 19 and also p. 7. GASTER cites the *Testament of Levi* 19, 1 in this regard, in which man is charged to choose either the light or the darkness, and *1 Q H I*, 35, which shows that man can save himself from error and profanation by adapting "a sober and temperate mode of life," (p. 147, n. 1). Nothing in *1 Q H*, however, speaks of such discerning powers granted to all at birth. Sin is the inherited lot of the wicked.

(74) KIMBROUGH, *The Ethic of Qumran*, p. 489.

(75) LICHT, *Doctrine*, p. 94. He also insists that though the author is aware of his dependence upon divine grace, he is proud of his righteousness and calls attention to it (VII, 13.16; IX, 12; XVI, 8-9); he also accepts willingly whatever happens to him (*1 Q S IX*, 24).

(76) So LICHT, *Doctrine*, p. 96.

(77) MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 42, cf. p. 45) insists that man as moral agent has "the opportunity, even the full responsibility, to repent as a condition for his being admitted among the Sons of Light." See here H. A. BUTLER (*Man and Society in the Qumran Community*, Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1959, pp. 96 and 213) claims that the terms 'elect' and 'volunteer' are closely related: one must volunteer to become chosen; being in the covenant was a matter of man's willingness and was an active rather than a passive state. One must seek separateness to form a community of fellowship. See also RINGGREN, *Faith*, pp. 105-110.

Once within the sect, behavior is not determined to the extent that decision, punishments and expulsions are superfluous (*1 Q S VII*, 22-25; *Dam. Doc. VIII*, 21; *XIX*, 33); (78) temporary punishments presuppose that each member can fall and also raise himself up again. As KIMBROUGH insists, election at Qumran did not appear to be "final"; the decision to avoid evil was not sufficient; one needed a guide to achieve a life of perfection. Once forgiven and dedicated to God's will, the final salvation of the sectarians depended upon their careful observance of "the rightly interpreted Law." (79) The sect required a "religion of deed rather than of creed" and consequently, attaining a covenant relationship with God through a life of obedience and perfection could not simply be "a matter of duty" but involved a certain "contextuality" dictated by the eschatological conception of law at Qumran. (80)

BROWNLEE correctly notes, however, that although Qumran's stress on strict discipline and obedience, good deeds, the novitiate, periodic examinations, punishments and expulsions could lead us to conclude that salvation was due largely to human effort, it was nonetheless clear within the sect that the efforts of the human being were limited and that "true righteousness must come as a gift of God," (81) and then only to the elect. Even after his election to the covenant the psalmist sees himself as weak and feeble, wholly dependent upon God's grace and mercy. (82) Most scholars see in this situation an unreconciled conflict between God's sovereignty and determinism on the one hand and human freedom and responsibility on the other. HYATT, for example,

(78) NÖTSCHER, *Zur theologischen Terminologie*, p. 175. He also insists that "Die Leute sind in ihrem Handeln aber immer noch frei."

(79) F. W. FILSON, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament*, in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (ed. by D. N. FREDMAN, J. C. GREENFIELD, New York, Doubleday, 1969), p. 130. MARX (*Ya-i-il...?*, p. 165) argues that this impression of the importance of human collaboration with God's grace is confirmed when one considers the importance of instruction. See also MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 46) who speaks of the stress on the need for the proper relation to the Teacher of Righteousness, who interprets the law for the sect.

(80) KIMBROUGH, *The Ethic of Qumran*, pp. 490 and 495-498. See MARX (*Ya-i-il...?*, pp. 166-167) who claims that the variety of rules and commandments at Qumran shows that membership in the community was far from a kind of *status integritatis*; "la communauté savait qu'elle ne pouvait être suffisamment pure... il est possible de retomber même à l'intérieur de la communauté." G. VERMES (*Discovery in the Judean Desert*, New York, Desclée Co., 1956) calls this a "sectarian piety" whereby obedience to the communal rules and to God's laws was an expression of faith. W. J. WOLVERTON (*The Double-Minded Man in the Light of Essene Psychology*, in *Anglican Theological Review* 38 (1956), 172) thinks that the purpose of the community was to bring all its members to "a complete dedication in a covenant relationship."

(81) BROWNLEE, *Anthropology and Soteriology*, p. 221.

(82) MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 38.

insists that the Qumran elect did not see a conflict with their determinism in their insistence that theirs was a sect of 'volunteers' and in the fact that provisions were made for members who might backslide and be excommunicated; he concludes that this "testifies to the virtual impossibility of being either wholly deterministic or wholly voluntaristic, in both theory and practice." (83) RINGGREN; on the other hand, attempts to harmonize this apparent conflict by insisting that although such statements presupposing human cooperation in the election process are from a strictly logical viewpoint "irreconcilable" with the sect's teaching on predestination, they can coexist within the framework of "a living religious experience." (84)

Such language creates more problems than it solves. This 'conflict' of which most scholars speak does not need to be harmonized because it did not exist; certainly one cannot be 'wholly voluntaristic or wholly deterministic in both theory and practice' and Qumran did not attempt to be so. Scholars have fashioned this conflict out of their misinterpretations of three crucial questions:

(83) HYATT, *View of Man*, p. 283, n. 1. See HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 281): "the strict, systematic application of predestination cannot be maintained logically." Similarly, R. E. BROWN (*The Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel*, p. 190) argues that the sectarians never seem to have defined or attempted a speculative solution of the conflict between the O.T. notion of a man's free behavior resulting in reward or punishment and the Zoroastrian notion that man acts according to one spirit or the other. BURROWS (*More Light*, p. 292) notes that in *IQH* a man is judged according to his spirit, but his spirit as it has been given to him by God; "how this hard predestinarianism could be adjusted to human freedom and moral responsibility was a problem no more solved by the Qumran sect... than it was by later Christian theologians. Apparently it was not even felt as a problem." LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 7) asserts that the sect "seems unaware of the problem of moral responsibility, that is, the act of predestination granted the appropriate spirit to each man in the womb and thus his personality and actions were fixed." See RINGGREN, *Faith*, p. 111; MERRILL, *Predestination*, pp. 23, 37, 51; and J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR, *An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14-vi, 1*, in *Revue Biblique*, vol. 77 (1970) pp. 218-219 on III, 18 and IV, 9.

(84) RINGGREN, *Faith*, p. 110. See MAY (*Cosmological Reference*, p. 5) who agrees that although it may sound "illogical" that God on the one hand predestined each person for good or evil but on the other, a sinner could be saved only by God's sovereign grace, this idea "met the religious needs of the community." See MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 142) who argues that the sect reconciled the two in their "practical life and teaching." MARX (*Y a-t-il...?*, p. 171) advocates the same when he explains that everything thought to point to predestination at Qumran should be considered "comme une affirmation de la foi." He cites NÖRSCHER (*Biblische Zeitschrift*, vol. 3 (1959) p. 234) here who illustrates this with the verb 'fühlen': an individual chooses freely to join the sect yet nevertheless 'feels' or 'senses' his election; this is no dogmatic affirmation.

1) First of all, they have drawn an artificial line between what they see as the objective, doctrinal presentation of the two spirits doctrine in *IQS* on the one hand and the subjective, personal or psychological interpretation of this doctrine in *IQH* on the other. *IQH* is supposed to reflect the practical working out of these ideas on a personal level; the psalmist gives poetic expression to his own questions, hopes and fears growing out of the *IQS* doctrines. (85) This personal assessment supposedly contradicts the deterministic picture drawn by *IQS*. In this approach, the *IQH* collection is not allowed to speak for itself; it is incorrectly interpreted in the light of *IQS*, as we have argued above, and what is more, *IQS* itself is misunderstood. Surely the practical experience reflected in *IQH* also helped to shape *IQS*.

2) Secondly, scholars have misunderstood the concepts of dualism and free will at Qumran. Their estimation of the value of free will in the sect hinges directly upon their evaluation of its dualism belief. (86) This evaluation falls between two poles: 1) if the sectarians held to a rigid metaphysical dualism (much like Zoroastrianism), then humankind was separated at birth into two opposing 'lots' with fixed behavior and free will did not play a part; and 2) if the sect believed that what separated sinners from other sinners was their power of discernment (GASTER) or their free choice to repent and perfect their lives (WERNBERG-MOELLER), then free will was primary. Most scholars combine the two approaches and argue for a 'moderate' or 'relative' dualism, (87)

(85) So for example LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 89) who argues that *IQH* presents the subjective side of the two spirits doctrine (I have been allotted a portion among the righteous and elected to grace) while *IQS* and *IQM* present the doctrine objectively (God divided humankind into two lots, righteous and wicked). See MERRILL (*Predestination*, pp. 37-39) who insists that *IQH* tries to answer the questions arising from the practical application of the predestination doctrine to individual lives, e.g. does God eternally assign some people to one spiritual realm and some to the other?, etc. HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, pp. 281-282, n. 16) also insists that both predestination and dualism are "theoretical attempts" to create order in a world which no longer subscribes to the traditional dogmatic view of God's good governing of it. Practical experience rather than theory demonstrates man's own responsibility.

(86) See here HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, pp. 281-285) for his discussion of how the relationship between God and man is tied up with the interpretation of dualism in scholarly investigations.

(87) So for example VAN DER PLOEG, *Excavations*, pp. 112-119. See BROWNLEE (*Anthropology and Soteriology*, p. 234) who argues for this freedom later on in the election process: when God delivers those whom he has predestined for righteousness, the restrictive pressures on the soul of those delivered are lifted so that there is room for these righteous ones truly to be free. MARX (*Y a-t-il...?*, pp. 167-168) insists that the community in all its institutions appeals in the smallest details to the responsibility of the individual. Final

viz. the individual is in principle free; God created good and evil spirits and placed them in each human heart and it was up to the individual to decide which spirit to heed. This decision was made many times, and any good a person did was ultimately the work of God because the spirit listened to or chosen was sent by God to help the individual to behave well or ill as God had preordained. Just how this is possible remains a "mystery" to scholars who adopt this argument.

Yet as HOLM-NIELSEN rightly insists, the claim that one is responsible for one's deeds yet can do nothing by oneself is no 'solution' at all. (88) Instead, HOLM-NIELSEN correctly argues that according to the sect, a person truly exercises his or her free will in their attitude to God's revelation. Yet not everyone is allowed to do so; God appointed the righteous and the wicked at Creation (*IQH* IV, 38) and ordained their respective deliverance or destruction (*IQH* XV, 15ff). This cosmological dualism can be combined with the idea of predestination by saying that only those whom God has preordained for righteousness may receive his revelation, although they do not have to. Those predestined to wickedness, however, have been blinded to God's enlightening revelation, so that even if they wanted to they could not receive it. Thus, those who are predestined with the ability to respond to God's revelation may influence their own destinies by the attitude which they adopt toward such revelation. (89)

salvation is given by God's grace but the sectarian initiates his salvation: "il peut bien chercher Dieu, mais ne peut le trouver que si Dieu le veut," (p. 172). The lack of 'recruitment activity' toward those outside of the sect however is not a sign of predestination (p. 168). Further, one cannot argue from silence that the lack of stress on free will in *IQH* means that it does not exist (p. 169). MARX argues for 'grace' rather than predestination (p. 181) and insists that what has been predestined for all time is that those who stick to their free choice for good or evil will be blessed or cursed respectively (p. 174). His argument hinges upon the 'personal' nature of the *IQH* hymns (pp. 168-170) which we have refuted above.

See also MERRILL (*Predestination*, pp. 43-45) who claims that the sectarian understood that the wicked man was so by his own free will even though, "in some mysterious sense, he had been allotted by God to the realm of darkness from the womb." See also p. 45, where he sees in *IQH* XI, 10-11 a stress on "the union of God's sovereign grace and man's duty." He also formulates an 8-point "informal apology" to bridge the chasm between predestination and free will at Qumran (p. 51).

(88) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 281, n. 16. See MERRILL (*Predestination*, p. 54) who follows VAN DER PLOEG in a 'no solution' approach, concluding (p. 58) that predestination did not contradict free will but rather provided "the rationale as to why men chose 'freely' as they did." If this seems "irrational" to us, it must remain so because ultimate life and death issues must be accepted by faith.

(89) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, pp. 281-282, including n. 16. Similarly G. MOLIN (*Die Hymnen von Chirbel Qumran (IQ T)*, in *Festschrift für Prof.*

BROWNLEE also recognizes this situation and characterizes it in this way: "one finds then a hopeless situation for the damned and an ambiguous, though hopeful, situation for God's elect." (90) The ambiguity of life for the elect is reflected in *IQS* III, 22-24; even the righteous assigned to the lot of the 'sons of light' can sin and err because the Prince of Darkness and his attendant spirits constantly battle to bring the righteous under their dominion. The God of Israel and the Angel of Truth help the 'sons of light' to overcome their temptation (*IQS* III, 23-24). Other passages show that the Qumran community recognizes that the election of the righteous is ambiguous in the sense that it is never final; provisions for backsliders are found in *IQS* VII, 22-25; VIII, 21-23; also *Dam. Doc.* VIII, 21; X, 5-7; XIX, 33. Furthermore, the psalmist points to different degrees of righteousness exhibited by members of the community, e.g. *IQH* XIV, 19: "in accordance with this (insight) I will associate with him, and corresponding to the size of his inheritance I will love him."

3) These observations on the ambiguous situation of the elect lead to the third and final issue, often misinterpreted but more often neglected, namely, the attitude of the sect toward those outside of it. The prevailing scholarly view of a relative cosmological dualism at Qumran calls for a mutually exclusive sect/world relationship; the righteous (i.e. the sect) must hate the wicked (i.e. the rest of the world). Even BROWNLEE and HOLM-NIELSEN with their more judicious views of dualism at Qumran make too rigid a division between the righteous and the wicked; despite acknowledging the insecurity and opportunities of the righteous, the line is still very sharply drawn between the righteous as confused as they may be, and the wicked, who are always wicked. The implications of the assertion that while one's lot in life may be fixed by God before birth *this lot* does not necessarily manifest itself clearly in the life of the individual at all times have not been clearly drawn. In other words, we must ask how the community

Dr. Viktor Christian, ed. by K. Schubert et al., *Vorderasiatische Studien*, Wien, 1956, p. 78) claims that man feels the impact of God's call and responds; sanctification then follows. See MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 45.

(90) BROWNLEE, *Anthropology and Soteriology*, p. 214. He bases much of his argument on the translation of *IQS* III, 20-21: "in the hand of the prince of lights is the rule over ALL of the sons of Righteousness... and in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is ALL the rule of the sons of perversion." He interprets this as saying there is no chance that the sons of perversion will temporarily come under the sway of the prince of righteousness, while on the other hand, the sons of light can be influenced by the angel of darkness. See LIGHT (*Doctrine*, p. 96) who states that the wicked are not allowed to repent (*IQH* XV, 24: "you will not accept atonement for deeds of wickedness"); thus those who repent from transgression are those allowed to repent.

is able to distinguish between those outside of it who are predestined for perversity and those who are predestined for election but who are temporarily under the sway of the Angel of Darkness and thus unable to muster the proper attitude to God's revelation. God has drawn the line clearly between the two, but those on earth cannot do so with any certainty. For this reason, the community cannot maintain a rigidly exclusive relationship with the rest of the world for to do so would jeopardize the chance those predestined for righteousness but still outside of the sect would have for repentance and salvation within the sect, outside of which there is no salvation. Once this is acknowledged, the cutting edge of the assumption of mutual exclusion and hatred, which goes hand in hand with the cosmological dualism theory, must necessarily be blunted. The ambiguity of the situation of the elect must be recognized as influencing the sect/world relationship.

S. T. KIMBROUGH moves closer to such a recognition in his discussion of the ethics of the sect. (91) In opposition to those who maintain that the sectarian ethic was either totally open or closed, KIMBROUGH argues for an "ethic of limited flexibility" at Qumran, one based on the OT. Even though the Qumranians saw themselves as the elect of God, it cannot be assumed that they regarded everyone outside of the sect as sons of darkness. (92) Instead there was an openness about their ethic which admitted 'volunteers' into their ranks. The sectarians did not endeavor to convert the world but their "ethical flexibility" did permit the "trial" of those who volunteered. (93) Once within the sect,

(91) KIMBROUGH, *The Ethic of Qumran*, pp. 483-499.

(92) KIMBROUGH, *The Ethic of Qumran*, p. 488. See E. F. SUTCLIFFE, *Hatred at Qumran*, in *Revue de Qumrân*, vol. II, fasc. 2, n° 7 (1960) p. 351; he maintains that the sectarians realized that "there were many men of goodwill among 'outsiders' who might someday apply for admission to their ranks." BUTLER (*Man and Society*, p. 218) maintains that it is impossible to affirm that the sect considered itself alone to be the true remnant of Israel; the wicked are described in general terms and cannot be identified with any particular group. See J. MURPHY-O'CONNOR (*An Essene Missionary Document?* CD II, 14-VI, 1, in *Revue Biblique*, vol. 77 (1970) pp. 201-229) who argues that *Dam. Doc.* was originally designed "as a hortatory missionary work" for a group of returning exiles in the Maccabean period and that *Dam. Doc.* II, 14-VI, 1 especially was originally "an instrument of conversion" which sought to motivate a choice in its listeners. MURPHY-O'CONNOR assumes that its warning was addressed to "uncommitted outsiders whose normal way of life would bring them into contact with those criticized."

(93) See here MARX, *Y a-t-il...?*, pp. 164-166: one's entry into the community was a free act (*I Q S I*, 16) and once within, one voluntarily submitted to God's precepts (*I Q S V*, 1-10): "Cependant, si l'entrée est bien un acte volontaire, n'entre pas qui veut;" the candidate must first of all be an Israelite, *I Q S VI*, 13. Therefore, it was not possible for the sect to have a proselytizing mission in the midst of the 'heathens'. FORKMAN (*Limits*, pp. 76-78) claims that the scrolls list of persons not allowed to belong to the sect resembles *Lev.* 21, 17-23 which lists physical defects barring men from the priesthood.

however, "the community...reserved the right to determine to which category one belonged" on the basis of the individual's actions which supposedly exhibited domination by the spirits of truth or perversity. (94) Thus, KIMBROUGH's approach affords a glimpse of the tension both within the Qumran community and in relation to those outside of it.

There is no doubt that there exists a certain tension both within the community itself (psychological interpretation) and between the community and those outside of it (cosmological interpretation); both kinds of tension are operative at the same time and both grow out of the juxtaposition on a practical level of the concepts of solidarity and exclusion. This can best be expressed with the aid of the concepts *potential* and *actual*. Certain individuals (i.e. those predestined to the lot of the righteous) are *potentially* saved, but to be *actually* saved they must hear the word of salvation and attach themselves to the community of the elect, outside of which there is no salvation. (95) There may be those in the sect who acknowledge their own election with thanks and who at the same time agonize over those outside of the sect who have not yet heard the saving word. On the one hand, the community feels itself to be an island in the midst of the wicked world, constantly under attack by the powers of evil. Here we can see the tension which would exist between the community and those outside of it. On the other hand, there may be those who have heard the word of salvation and attached themselves to the community but who are not sure that they belong there, i.e. have been predestined to be saved.

I Q H V, 23-32, for example, reveals that all was not well within the covenant family; it was probably true that there were

(94) KIMBROUGH, *The Ethic of Qumran*, p. 488. MARX *Y a-t-il...?*, pp. 165-166) notes that after periodic examination (*I Q S V*, 20-21; *VI*, 14-23), a long novitiate (*Dam. Doc.* XV, 6), and perhaps a weeding out of the stupid or simple-minded (*Dam. Doc.* XV, 11, does God predestine only the intelligent?), there is no longer room for doubt: "celui qui a été admis est bien un élu." Yet even the sons of light must receive instruction, be exhorted (*I Q S I*, 1; *III*, 13-15; *Dam. Doc.* II, 2-4) and study the law day and night to perfect themselves.

(95) LICHT (*Doctrine*, p. 101) insists that none of the "personal attainments" of the chosen one, e.g. divine gifts of understanding, right behavior, etc. was possible outside of the company of the elect. See W. LASOR, *Amazing Dead Scrolls and the Christian Faith* (Chicago, Moody Press, 1956) p. 11; VERMES, *The Scrolls*, pp. 110-111; BARDTKE (*Considérations*, pp. 228-230) who describes the 6 stages for salvation: number 5 involves joining the community. See also HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, pp. 297-298: "Their being accepted into the community, their entering into the covenant signifies for them their salvation." The sectarians see a much greater difference between the situation within the community and life on the outside than between the present community and the coming glory.

both 'unbelievers' and 'disobedient brethren' in the community, the latter being inconsistent and contentious in behavior because they were temporarily under the sway of Belial, (96) and the former acting as infiltrators in order to cause the righteous to stumble and spurn the Lord (cf. IV, 7ff.13ff). Full members of the community constantly watch over and test the 'volunteers'. Here we can see the tension which would exist within the community itself. The lack of security and the anguish expressed in *IQH* may grow out of these concerns for those within and outside of the sect. The eschatological framework within which the sect operates serves to heighten this tension and insecurity and to open up the ethic of the sect, rather than, as STENDAHL would have it, to harden the division between righteous and wicked and create a black and white situation. (97)

These observations on tensions both within and outside of the sect suggest a new way of looking at the sect/world relationship. The two traditional approaches to the problem, as outlined above, can be schematized loosely with the aid of two circles: small circle 'A' representing the Qumran community and large circle 'B' representing the rest of humankind. According to the rigid cosmological dualism theory, these two circles rest side-by-side without touching; there is a nonrelationship between the preordained righteous/the community and the preordained wicked/those outside of the community: $A \textcircled{B}$. According to WERNBERG-MOELLER's psychological approach, circle 'A' rests totally within circle 'B': $A \textcircled{B}$; all people are sinners and only repentance distinguishes them. In light of our observations above, however, a third alternative suggests itself, viz. these two circles are neither mutually exclusive nor congruent, but rather intersecting: $A \textcircled{B}$. The area of intersection represents those outside of the community who are

(96) MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 48. This would explain the different types of punishment described in *IQS*. We have already refuted MERRILL's claims that the "I" of *IQH* is the Teacher. MERRILL does not apply his observations to the sect/outsider relationship.

(97) SUTCLIFFE (*Hatred*, p. 350) claims that *IQS* I, 10-11 makes it plain "that hate is not indiscriminate and has for its object only the sinfulness of the wicked." Hate is thus unequal (*IQS* IX, 15-16) and belongs exclusively to the time appointed for vengeance (*IQS* VIII, 10). BROWN (*Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel*, p. 198) maintains that although Qumran's brotherly love does not reach the height of *Matt* 5, 44, there is preparation in Qumran for the Christian precept of love. The hate formulae found in initiation ceremonies and the formalized instructions in *IQS* may be "ancient, stylized renunciations of evil as personified in the sons of Belial." KIMBROUGH (*The Ethic of Qumran*, p. 487) speaks of the two ethical thought spheres at Qumran, the 'historical' with its knowledge of the past and the problems of this world, and the 'suprahistorical' with its lure of the future after the visitation.

potentially saved but who have not yet heard the word as well as those inside the community who do not really belong there or who are not sure that they belong there.

The range of feelings and thoughts expressed in *IQH* witnesses to this 'grey' area of intersection. The Qumran sectarians used the poems of *IQH* both in the cult and for their private meditations, poems written by cultic personnel and/or private individuals. These poems express thanksgiving for election, fear of backsliding and of not reaching others outside of the community before the final, irrevocable spiritual division at the last judgment, as well as hope that God will bestow his gift of election and allow the righteous to triumph. *IQS* and *IQH* do not present two different sides of the two spirits idea, but rather together present an integrally whole picture of predestination and dualism at Qumran. The *IQH* collection allows us to interpret the 'black and white' picture most scholars see drawn in *IQS* in a much less rigid way; this in turn places the relationship between the sect and the world in a wholly different light.

VI. TOWARD A NEW UNDERSTANDING OF THE SECT/WORLD RELATIONSHIP

The "I" of *IQH* represents the Israelite who has been preordained for righteousness and who has freely accepted and responded to the divine revelation necessary for salvation. Whether the "I" is spoken by the Teacher of Righteousness, some other leader figure, any member of the community, or collectively by the sect itself (and all are possible), (98) God does not give this person his revelation as a personal possession but rather as something which must be imparted to others, e.g. VIII, 35: "You have strengthened the tongue in my mouth and it was not restrained;" VII, 10: "my tongue is like your disciples'." Those "who walk in the way of God's heart" hearken to the psalmist (IV, 24). Through the psalmist (i.e. any member of the community or the sect itself) God has enlightened the *rabbim* and shown his strength (IV, 27ff). The psalmist is a "healing" or "a cure" "for all those who turn from sin" (II, 8); a "sign" for "the chosen of righteousness" (II, 13); and an "adviser of truth and insight for the righteous of way" (II, 10). The psalmist declares in VII, 20-21: "you have made me as a father for the children of mercy (*hesed*) and they open their mouths as a (suckling child)."

(98) HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 90) correctly argues that the "I" of *IQH* can be used collectively of the sect members in general: "everyone who has shared in God's revelation of His mysteries to the community is called by God to enlighten His people, Israel, in the truth."

Who are these people to whom the psalmist imparts God's revelation? Most scholars understand the descriptive phrases listed above as technical terms for the members of the elect community, as over against the wicked and ungodly. *1 Q H* II, 8-9 for example is seen to contain several sect titles: "I have become a snare for sinners, but a healing (*marpē*) for all who turn from transgression (*ševē peša'*), prudence (*'ormāh*) for the simple (*pētāyīm*), and a steadfast mind (*yēšer sāmūk*) for the timid of heart (*nimhārē lēb*). (99) DELCOR argues that the community members here "sont désignés par les expressions parallèles: 'ceux qui se convertissent du péché', 'les simples', 'ceux dont le cœur est anxieux'." (100) Similarly, HOLM-NIELSEN maintains that I, 35: "hearken you wise ones, and you who meditate on knowledge, and you timid, and be of steadfast mind...increase prudence" (101) and II, 9.36 (cf. *1 Q S* IV, 5; VIII, 3; X, 25)

(99) With LÖHSE, *Die Texte*, p. 117 and HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 31 and p. 34, n. 17) who take "prudence" here in *bonem partem* as opposed to its use in the negative sense as "shrewdness", so *Josh.* 9, 4; see *1 Q H* I, 35; *Prov.* 1, 4; 8, 5.12 for the positive sense, parallel to 'knowledge' and 'wisdom'. Most scholars take *pētāyīm* as a positive term parallel to 'timid', with both designating members of the sect, see *1 Q p Hab XII*, 4.

In several passages in *Prov.* it is seen negatively: 1, 22.32; 8, 5 parallel to *kēšlīm* and *lēšīm*; *Prov.* 9, 4.16 parallel to *hāšēr lēb* and *Prov.* 14, 15.18 in contrast to 'arūm'. In *Ps.* 116, 6 God preserves *pēl*. In *Ezek.* 45, 20 the word parallels *sāgāh*, "transgressor through ignorance." HOLM-NIELSEN argues (*Hodayot*, p. 34, n. 17) that "the general impression, therefore, becomes that the word indicates those who without insight are in danger of ending in ungodliness, but who through 'ormāh can be brought to their senses, cf. *Ps.* 19, 8; 119, 130; *Prov.* 1, 4." He supports this claim with the parallel phrases "those who turn from transgression" and "timid of heart." HOLM-NIELSEN notes that Jastrow finds in rabbinic literature that *pēl* means "one who is easily persuaded, is inexperienced, a fool, a child." "Inexperienced" fits best here. In *1 Q p Hab XII*, 4, *pēl* is used of one who keeps the law, cf. *1 Q H*, fragment 15, 4. In *Dam. Doc.* XIII, 6 and in XV, 15, *pēl* connotes a 'fool'.

(100) DELCOR, *Les Hymnes*, p. 95.

(101) HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 340, cf. also p. 331, n. 26) claims that "the only place one can really speak of actual instruction is in I, 35;" the remainder of *1 Q H* is liturgical prayer. It must be noted here that it is not unusual that cultic psalms contain such a didactic element: see O.T. *Pss.* 15 and 24.

Because of *saddiqīm* in I, 36, HOLM-NIELSEN suggests that *hākāmīm* and other parallel expressions should be understood in *bonem partem*; he claims that these lines recall in style and content, the "message of deliverance that the supplicant bears to his fellow-countrymen and the world in general in the O.T. psalms of thanksgiving," (p. 27, n. 72).

In the phrase *wēšēhē da'at*, VERMES, LÖHSE, and HOLM-NIELSEN take this Qal present participle from the root *šh*, "to meditate" (cf. *1 Q S X*, 16) rather than from the root *šhh* or *shh*, "to be low." The script does not distinguish between *sin/shin*. Mansoor reads *sāhāh/sāhāh*: "ye of lowly knowledge;" GASTER (1964) reads "ye that are empty-headed," while his 1976 rendering is "sanely reflect." DUPONT-SOMMER and DELCOR follow BUHL and relate

contain expressions used "terminologically" of the membership of the community. Purely stereotyped religious terms are applied to the righteous, i.e. those in right relation to God, such as the timid (I, 35; II, 9; V, 21), the orphan (V, 20), the simple (II, 9; fragment 15, 4); the poor (II, 34; V, 14.20) and these terms are not used as real historical expressions depicting the social conditions of the members of the community.

Thus, most scholars assert that it is to the other members of the sect, the righteous elect, that the psalmist mediates God's revelation. Presumably, however, each member of the sect did not share in the same level of knowledge and enlightenment. Rank was very important at Qumran and members were re-evaluated every year and reassigned rank according to their purity and righteousness (*1 Q S* II, 19-25; V, 20-24; VI, 13-23; *Dam. Doc.* XIV, 5-6); priests and laity formed two distinct groups. FORKMAN speaks of "differentiated" community limits as "a series of concentric circles" rather than as absolute boundaries. (102) As *1 Q H XI*, 28

sh to the Arabic: "to be eager, diligent;" thus, "You that are diligent in knowledge."

The next word, *nimhārim*, occurs 4 times in *1 Q H* and once in *1 Q S*. It is translated here as "ye timid" by HOLM-NIELSEN. DUPONT-SOMMER translates "you that are quick." MANSOOR reads "impetuous" and LÖHSE "Voreiligen" or "hasty"; DELCOR translates "you who are eager." VERMES reads "o you fearful" and GASTER "ye that are simpleminded" (lit., "of low intellect"). The word is possibly preceded by the article or by *waw*. In the O.T. it appears in *Job* 5, 13: "overthrowing (the plans of the deceitful)," in *Isaiah* 32, 4 in the Niphal participle, "those without thought." In *Hab.* 1.6 it means "rash, impetuous" and in *Isaiah* 35, 4 with *lēb* a "timid of heart." HOLM-NIELSEN feels that it is best to understand the word as "timid" here because it is parallel to *pētāyīm* in *1 Q H* II, 9; cf. *nimhārē sedeq*, "the timid of righteousness" in V, 21-22 and *1 Q S X*, 26, "to strengthen the hands of the anxious timid." The word appears in *malem partem* in *1 Q H V*, 17: "wicked (peoples) rush against me." I believe with HOLM-NIELSEN that the expressions *šēh* and *nimhārim* should be understood in *bonem partem* in parallel with *saddiqīm*. Thus read "those who meditate" and "timid."

yēšer sāmūk: HOLM-NIELSEN and MANSOOR read *yēšer* here as "mind, character", cf. II, 9.36 and *1 Q S* IV, 5; VIII, 1, rather than as "creature" (cf. XVIII, 13). In other passages the word is seen as the character which God supports, VII, 6; IX, 32. The opposite quality is foolishness: "lest I should forsake your service... and exchange for foolishness (*hōlāl*) a steadfast mind (*yēšer sāmūk*)," II, 36. The expression is probably taken over from *Isaiah* 26, 3: "you keep him in perfect peace whose mind is steady on you." 'Prudence' (*'armāh*) here and in II, 9 is seen in *bonem partem* as a parallel to *da'at*. In the O.T. it connotes also "shrewdness, craftiness." In *1 Q S* it is found in the positive sense in X, 25; XI, 6 and in the negative sense in IV, 11; in *1 Q S* IV, 6 it is ambiguous. In *Dam. Doc.* II, 4 it is used as a compound subject with *da'at*.

(102) FORKMAN, *Limits*, p. 76. He maintains (p. 60) that many members of the sect probably never attained "higher than an associated membership," and perhaps worked and even raised families outside of the community, thereby giving up the possibility of becoming full members. From *1 Q S*'s viewpoint

declares: "according to their insight honored is one above the other" among the children of truth, cf. X, 29. In *IQH* I, 31, the psalmist recounts God's wonders "that they may know you according to their insight;" XII, 22-23 asserts "as is fitting to their insight you bring them near:" cf. XIV, 19-21; *IQS* III, 13ff; IX, 15-16. This is echoed again in *IQH* IX, 15: "a human being may be more righteous than another human being, and a man may be wiser...(than another man), one of flesh may be honored more than another creature, and one spirit may be stronger than another spirit." This passage makes the central point that despite these differences, the righteousness of all of these people, of whatever degree, is a gift from God who alone is righteous. Perhaps this passage was also used to warn full members of the sect against any pride or arrogance in connection with the novice members of the sect, who were on two-year probation before their final acceptance into the community: *IQS* V, 3-7; V, 24-VI, 1; a loving manner toward others was required (*IQS* IV, 2-6).

Within such a hierarchical schema, "the timid" and "the simple" could be the sect's novices who are exhorted to "increase prudence" and "make an end of wickedness." The psalmist encourages these novices as well as those of higher rank, viz. "the wise" and "those who meditate on knowledge." These "perfect of way" are "to strengthen the...of the wretched (*ānt*)," I, 36. These passages depict a support system within the sect; members needed to reinforce one another against the unrelenting onslaught of the wicked and the powers of evil; for the novices this struggle was especially fierce. Thus, a "double situation" of salvation in the midst of attack surfaces in *IQH*, cf. II, 20; III, 19-20.24. (103) Any one of the members of the community could have taken these passages upon their lips on the basis of their own experience and fellowship with God and thus encouraged their fellow sectarians.

Yet on the other hand, the psalmist feels moved to declare God's truth and glory to a much wider audience, viz. to all humankind so that they may acknowledge Him. (104) Thus, *IQH* VI, 12 proclaims: "and all peoples will acknowledge your truth, and all nations your glory;" and IV, 28-29: "proclaim to all the living your mighty deeds," cf. III, 23. The experience of salvation and election has given the psalmist insight into and understanding of the Lord and his work and thus moves him to praise; cf. *IQH*

these associates "stood on the periphery." This raises the question of the identification of the Essenes with the Qumranians, which will not be discussed here.

(103) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 128. Similarly LICHT, *Doctrine*, p. 97.

(104) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 300.

XI, 16: "I will relate your glory among the children of men." God's mighty deeds are enacted for his own glory (*IQH* I, 30). This rightly leads HOLM-NIELSEN to conclude that "the content of the song of praise is not limited simply to thanksgiving but has a missionary effect inasmuch as it contains a declaration of the character of God." (105)

HOLM-NIELSEN refuses to draw out the implications of this assertion; he seems to restrict such 'missionary' activity to the realm of the sect and its different membership levels, dismissing this "universalist thought" as "a stereotyped phrase" taken from the OT. (106) HOLM-NIELSEN is partially correct in denying the universalist thrust of the psalmist's words since such praise would be pointless as far as the wicked are concerned. Those preordained for wickedness may hear of God's deeds and may even make their way into the sect where they seek God with "a divided heart" (*IQH* IV, 14) and spread lies and deceit to God's people (IV, 10) but they are never allowed to repent and become one of the 'sons of light' in any ultimate sense; they are doomed to inevitable destruction (*IQH* VI, 32). *IQH* IV, 20 declares: "and through judgments you will cut off all the men of deceit," cf. IV, 14ff; those doomed to the lot of evil will be weeded out from the elect in the sect at the final judgment, for only those who "walk in the way of God's heart" can endure forever (IV, 21). This praise of God, then, is meant only for the righteous and they are in the sect. The psalmist sees himself as already saved (sinful as he may be because he is human) before the final judgment and accordingly praises God for this salvation in *IQH* II, 20-21 and III, 19-23, speaking of future deliverance in terms of the past. (107)

If this be the case, why then does the psalmist express fear and terror over the final judgment? *IQH* I, 21-23 declares: "I am a creature of clay...and terrified by the judgments of righteousness." Here the psalmist could very well be acknowledging the universality of human sin and weakness as in *IQH* XI, 19-22; he himself is sinful, but as we read in I, 21, the Lord has opened his ears for "wonderful mysteries" and given his gracious gift of forgiveness and cleansing. The psalmist as a sinner without this divine gift would be terrified by "the judgments of righteousness" but this is not the case here. Here we see the previously noted common juxtaposition in *IQH* between God's greatness and human sinfulness. Licht, (108) however, claims that the

(105) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 114, n. 108. See here MURPHY-O'CONNOR's view of *Dam. Doc.* as a missionary document.

(106) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 300.

(107) So MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 54 and LICHT, *Doctrine*, p. 96.

(108) LICHT, *Doctrine*, pp. 96-97.

psalmist's fear of the general catastrophe of great judgment threatening humankind expresses his humanness, his horror over the fate of humanity. The psalmist has a reassuring knowledge of his own safety among the elect and sees himself as already saved but he fears the punishment of the wicked. LICHT is correct here in noting this element of terror and fear, but certainly it cannot be felt for the whole of humankind, wicked included. (109) The wicked have been preordained for their punishment; they choose what God hates, and there is no hope for those who are guilty: XV, 17-20; XIV, 10-21; VII, 11-12; VI, 29-33; VI, 18-19; IV, 19-20, 26-27; III, 33-36. If praise of God is futile as far as the wicked are concerned, so too is this fear on their behalf.

Yet the psalmist in *IQH VI*, 7-8 takes comfort in the knowledge that God will raise up only "a lively few" from his people and "a remnant" among his inheritance: "I will be comforted above the noise of the people...when they gather together (for I know) that you will raise up a lively few among your people." In X, 33 the psalmist's expression of terror is again preceded by a declaration of his consciousness of the fruits of election in X, 30: "my heart rejoices in your covenant and your truth delights my soul...". But in X, 33-36, joy changes abruptly to fear: "my heart trembles in anxiety and my loins in terror and my groaning reaches to the depths and even penetrates the forecourts of Sheol, and I am terrified when I hear your judgments with strong warriors (cf. *IQH VIII*, 11) and your complaint with the hosts of your holy ones..." (cf. here XI, 1-2; XVII, 13 and fragment 4, 9: "I am afraid at your judgment." (110)

Again we must ask for whom the psalmist expresses concern. Surely not for himself as one of the righteous elect nor for the wicked. At this point we must take another look at a special group of epithets which scholars have understood as technical titles for the sect, e.g. the orphan, *yātôm*; the timid, *nimhārîm*; the simple, *pēlāyîm*; the poor, *roš*; the wretched, *ānî*. BUTLER (111) correctly maintains that an examination of the names and titles of the Qumran community can reveal the sect's attitude toward the rest of Judaism and its own objectives. Over against a second group of such obvious self-designations for the sect as 'men of the

(109) See here Salathiel's powerful compassion for lost sinners in *IV Ezra*.

(110) HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 182, n. 40) notes and rejects the possibility of taking the 'm of I, 34 to mean that God enters into judgment with his angelic host (cf. III, 34-35) as an eschatological reckoning with the heavenly powers (cf. *Jub.* 5, 6; 10, 7-11, concerning the fallen angels). Instead he rightly argues that this line refers to judgment on all humankind, with 'M as "together with", i.e. "God sits in judgment surrounded by the heavenly powers."

(111) BUTLER, *Man and Society*, p. 3.

covenant', 'volunteers', 'assembly', 'sons of light/truth/righteousness', 'the elect', 'your people', 'the perfect of way', these other terms in the first group may refer to those who have been pre-ordained by God to the lot of the righteous but who have not yet heard and responded to God's revelation and joined the community, apart from which there is no salvation. The first group of terms describes the potentially saved and the second group, those actually saved, (112) as 'potential' and 'actual' have been defined above. As we have argued, not everyone outside of the community belonged to the lot of Belial; these people needed to be reached and brought into the community.

The psalmist senses the urgency of this need in III, 25-36. After having thanked the Lord in the preceding verse for cleansing him so that he could stand with the saints and sons of heaven, the psalmist declares in I, 25: "I take my stand within the border of ungodliness," i.e. the world outside of the sect. (113) Here the psalmist sees that "the soul of the poor fears in the midst of a great disturbance," i.e. confusion, the great eschatological terrors. (114) If the poor are caught in "the nets of ungodliness" (I, 26) outside of the sect then they will be swept away by God's destruction of the world, which "will not turn back until the consummation." The psalmist is among the elect but takes his stand (*hilyaşabli*) among the wicked, where God guides his steps (II, 8). This could refer to the fact that the psalmist/sect sees his/its deliverance already realized in the midst of the wicked world, (115) and the poor would be understood here in parallelism

(112) Contra BROWN (*The Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel*, p. 192) who declares: "Nowhere is the question broached of those who do good works and are not members of the community." STENDAHL (*Hate, Non-Retaliatio, and Love*, p. 351) argues that once the line is drawn sharply between the elect and the sons of perdition, the "margin of repentance" afforded in the Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs "seems to be a luxury beyond what one can afford in the last Days." This view presupposes an unambiguous situation for the elect at Qumran, but this is not so. Even though the line is still sharply drawn, the potentially saved still have a chance to repent and become actually saved in the community.

As FREDMAN (*The O.T. at Qumran*, pp. 125-127) states, the ideal pattern of the mosaic age which Qumran followed did not simply generate "nostalgia" for the past; the creative impact of the continuing crisis of Judaism also provided "anguish about the present, and urgent hopes for the future."

(113) HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 34, n. 13.

(114) HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 69, n. 24) lists the occurrences of *mēhāmōt* used of the consequences of God's wrath: *Isaiah* 22, 5; *Zech.* 14, 13; *II Chr.* 15, 5 and *IQH II*, 38. I read with RINGGREN (*Faith*, p. 155) *gūr*, "to fear" rather than "to dwell", contra HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 69, n. 23. RINGGREN translates: "and the soul of the poor man was in dread amidst great dismay."

(115) So HOLM-NIELSEN, *Hodayot*, p. 75.

with the psalmist. But in line with our other arguments against the sect's exclusiveness and our observations of the psalmist's terror at the final judgment, it may have another meaning, one tied to the eschatological framework of the sect and expressing concern for those both within and outside of the sect.

This observation does not constitute an argument for any overt missionary activity carried out by the sect. But as SUTCLIFFE correctly insists, although Qumran did not produce any recruitment propaganda and it separated itself from association with 'men of iniquity' (*IQS V*, 1-3.10), the members were nonetheless obligated to introduce all 'generous men' to carry out the laws in the 'covenant of grace' (*IQS I*, 7-8). (116) SUTCLIFFE argues against those who would limit these 'generous men' to the novices of the sect. Furthermore, the separation demanded in *IQS IX*, 19-20 certainly did not preclude all dealings with non-members; cf. *IQS V*, 16-17 which shows that business dealings were allowed. Would not such contacts also provide the opportunity for a sectarian to exhort those outside of the sect to come and 'volunteer'? Once the potentially saved were given some understanding of the knowledge of God and his mysteries into which the sect members had insight, they would voluntarily enter the sect and thus earn their salvation. (117)

These observations necessitate a closer look at those terms in *IQH* often understood as sect designations. The term 'poor', for example, either 'ebyôn or roš, occurs in I, 36; II, 32.35; III, 25; V, 14.18.20.22; and XVIII, 14-15. Much has been written about the 'poor' at Qumran; some have argued that the term represented either the Ebionites or Jewish-Christians. The majority of scholars, i.e. those who apply the term to the sect itself, opt for either a literal or figurative understanding: actual voluntary poverty (118) or the 'poor in spirit', (119) the humble. KECK,

(116) SUTCLIFFE, *Hated at Qumran*, pp. 125-127.

(117) So MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 58. His insistence however that it is only the Teacher of Righteousness who mediates such knowledge and who is the author of *IQH*, cannot be maintained.

(118) So K. SCHUBERT, *The Dead Sea Community* (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1959) and H. GLÄTZER, *Hillel the Elder in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, *SNT*, 238. L. KECK, *The Poor among the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran*, in *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vol. 57 (1966) p. 68 warns that the difference between the practice of sharing wealth and calling the community 'poor' must be kept in mind. See here Cross, *Ancient Library*, pp. 182-183.

(119) So D. FLUSSER (*Blessed are the Poor in Spirit...*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, vol. 10 (1960) pp. 1-13) who argues that *IQH XVIII*, 14-15 parallels the literary pattern and general ideology of *Matth.* 5, 3-5 which presents the paradoxical contrast between present plight and future glory as the fulfillment of the prophecy of bliss for the meek and poor in the Last Days. So also

however, correctly rejects 'the poor' as a technical self-designation of the sect; the term appears infrequently along with other "secondary phrases" which call attention to circumstances, e.g. the oppressed, the persecuted, and the poor. (120) In II, 32, KECK notes that 'ebyôn has no technical meaning at all, but rather refers to God's work of redeeming: "and from the assembly of the seekers of smooth things (you) have released the soul of the poor." KECK maintains that V, 13-18 speaks of God's doing great things by the poor; in V, 18, 'ebyôn refers to God's work of delivering ("you have saved the soul of the poor...") (121) as does 'āni in V, 13 ("you save the life of the wretched from the lion's den"); roš and 'āni in V, 14 ("the wretched and the poor") (122) and 'ebyôn in V, 16 ("you have dealt wonderfully with the poor"). Only when 'ebyôn is combined with the technical term 'ēdat can one speak of the community of the poor. (123)

If the 'poor' is not a technical self-designation for the sect, to whom then does it refer? I believe that it refers to the potentially saved, those preordained for righteousness and salvation but who have not yet heard the saving word and joined themselves to the community, outside of which there is no salvation. I suspect that the other terms in the group which KECK termed "secondary descriptions," e.g. the timid, the orphan, and the simple also refer to these people; a detailed study of each of these terms in their contexts is needed. Thus in *IQH I*, 35 the psalmist exhorts the sect members ('the wise', 'you who meditate on knowledge') as well as those outside of the sect ('the timid') to hold fast against the wicked and in I, 36 he asks the sectarians ('the righteous') to strengthen the way of those outside of the sect, i.e. the wretched ('āni). This is not an exclusive message. In II, 32 and III, 34-35 the psalmist notes God's saving activity in connection with his own life as well as with the poor outside of the sect. In II, 34-35 all of these terms are not to be taken in parallelism. In III, 25 the elect psalmist seems to be standing with the poor one outside of the community to help him find salvation.

H. H. KANDLER, *Die Bedeutung der Armut im Schriftum von Chirbet Qumran, in Judaica*, vol. 13 (1957) pp. 195-209. See S. LÉGASSE, *Les Pauvres en Esprit et les 'Volontaires' de Qumran*, in *New Testament Studies*, vol. 8 (1962) pp. 336-345 and MERRILL, *Predestination*, p. 52.

(120) KECK, *The Poor among the Saints*, p. 68: "the sectarians apparently preferred terms with clear theological significance..." for themselves.

(121) Thus the passage need not refer to the community life in the midst of ungodliness as HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 91) maintains.

(122) HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 106, n. 12) insists that 'poor' should be understood as "a description, indeed, almost a name, for the members of the community."

(123) KECK, *The Poor among the Saints*, pp. 75-76.

In V, 13.14.15.18 the psalmist takes comfort in the fact that God protects the 'poor' outside of the sect from the wicked even though he, the psalmist, is plagued by them. Finally, in V, 20 the psalmist praises the Lord for not forsaking the orphan or despising the poor; that is, the Lord has not turned his back on the potentially saved even though they are outside of the sect. Orphan and poor here are parallel terms. (124) This probably also feeds the psalmist's sense of hope often expressed in *1QH*.

These suggestions shed new light on the one hand upon the discussion of human freedom and responsibility in *1QH* and on the other, upon the relationship between the sect and those outside of it. The righteous elect within the sect are charged in I, 36 to enlighten the 'poor', those outside the community who require their aid and support in order to enter the community of the elect, those who need to be awakened to their destiny or fate. The psalmist can indeed be horrified by the terrible fate which awaited those outside of the salvation of the community. Yet responsibility also fell upon those preordained for salvation though yet to be gathered into the community; they had to choose for or against their own salvation, which could not be had apart from the community. The 'poor' and the 'timid' had to be given the chance to make their decision for the Lord and the new Israel and thus enter the community of the elect before the final and irrevocable separation of the two lots of humankind. Consequently, the sect/outsider relationship takes on new meaning, forcing the rejection of the rigid exclusivism which had been thought to hold sway.

October 15, 1979.

Denise DOMBKOWSKI HOPKINS.

(124) Contra HOLM-NIELSEN (*Hodayot*, p. 104, n. 2) who sees *yālôm* as a new expression symbolizing the members of the community because it is parallel to *roš*. It conveys the sect's place in the world as the persecuted of the ungodly, forsaken by all but cared for by God.

THE EARLIEST ENOCH LITERATURE AND ITS CALENDAR: MARKS OF THEIR ORIGIN, DATE AND MOTIVATION

It is generally agreed that the Ethiopic Book of Enoch (*1 Enoch*) is a pentateuch, consisting of five books, of differing dates, which are sometimes called, as by J. T. MILIK, 1. The Book of Watchers (chs. 1-36), 2. The Book of Parables (chs. 37-71), 3. The Astronomical Book (chs. 72-82), 4. The Book of Dreams (chs. 83-90) and 5. The Epistle of Enoch (chs. 91-107).

1. The Origin and Date of the Earliest Enoch Literature

The problem of the origin and date of these five books has been considerably eased by the Qumran discoveries. Since the Qumran community appear to have been Essenes, those of the five books which were cherished at Qumran (all except the second, the Book of Parables) are likely to be of Essene or 'pre-Essene', i.e. proto-Essene, origin, provided their characteristic teaching finds parallels, as it does, in the sectarian writings from Qumran and in what we know from elsewhere of the special tenets of the Essenes.

As regards the date of the four Essene or pre-Essene books included in *1 Enoch*, a late limit is provided by the Qumran manuscripts. According to J. T. MILIK, the oldest manuscript of the Astronomical Book dates from the late third or early second century B.C., the oldest of the Book of Watchers from the first half of the second century B.C., the oldest of the Book of Dreams from the third quarter of the second century B.C., and the oldest of the Epistle of Enoch from the mid first century B.C. (1)

The manuscripts are extremely fragmentary, but another mark

(1) *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 7-8, 22-23, 41, 48-49. He mentions, however, that in the view of F. M. Cross the oldest MS. of the Astronomical Book (a MS. described but not reproduced in MILIK's edition) dates only from the mid second century B. C.