VARIEGATED NOMISM INDEED:
MULTIPHASE ESCHATOLOGY AND SOTERIOLOGY IN THE QUMRANITE *COMMUNITY RULE* (1QS) AND THE NEW PERSPECTIVE ON PAUL

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This study explores the various eschatological periods described in the Qumranite *Community Rule* and their significance for understanding that document's beliefs concerning salvation, particularly the degree to which they can legitimately be said to exemplify "covenantal nomism."[1] To avoid imposing foreign categories on the *Community Rule*, our investigation of its soteriology will proceed inductively on the basis of the categories and concepts that the document itself establishes as constitutive of salvation. Despite the recent turn away from soteriology as a useful category for approaching the DSS, the fact remains that sociological, cultural, or broadly religious concerns do not account satisfactorily for the worldview that 1QS propagates.[2]

While the Serekh ("Rule") tradition of which 1QS is a part may have developed over the decades prior to the production of 1QS, efforts to describe that development have not yet established a clear consensus. The *Community Rule* can be approached synchronically not only because of this lack of agreement as to its diachronic evolution, but also because of the essential continuity that the Serekh tradition shows with respect to soteriology.[3]

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[1] E. P. Sanders frequently uses 1QS as an example of the "pattern of religion" which he calls covenantal nomism (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977] 239–321, 323–27). Albert L. A. Hogeterp, "The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited," *RevQ* 90/23 (2007) 247–59, helpfully demonstrates the interrelation of Qumranite eschatology with other strands of its thought. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Northeast regional meeting of the Evangelical Theological Society, Auburn, MA, 5 April 2008.

[2] S. Gathercole, *Where is Boasting? Early Jewish Soteriology and Paul's Response in Romans 1–5* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 110; D. C. Timmer, "Should Condemnations of the Public Be Made Public Knowledge? Salvation and Election in the Dead Sea Scrolls with Special Reference to Other Forms of Early Judaism," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion, Saskatoon, SK, 28 May 2007. See Sarianna Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls 8; Library of Second Temple Studies 62; London: T & T Clark, 2007) 63–71, for a recent overview of theories on the text's function within the Qumran community.

[3] Carol A. Newsom approaches 1QS synchronically in *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), and D. Dimant argues that the Cave 1 copies of 1QS, 1QH[a] and 1QM are "full" and "elaborate" with respect to the other representatives of the same text, and that 1QS may well represent "the fuller, and apparently older,

I. THE ESCHATOLOGY OF 1QS:
A TENTATIVE PARADIGM

John J. Collins, in his thorough study of the apocalypticism of the Qumranite corpus, finds three main stages in its eschatology: the time of testing, the end of the days, and the end of all things. The coming of the Messiahs marks the beginning of "the end of the days," and other elements such as the eschatological war (as part of the end of all things) also fit within this general paradigm.[4] Collins's conclusions will serve as a point of reference for our heuristic description of the eschatology of 1QS, which will pay special attention to periods that are explicitly mentioned and to sequence, especially as indicated by adverbs and prepositions.[5]

It is important to remember that the Qumranites saw themselves as already living in something like a semi-eschatological era.[6] The group's coming into existence is described in 1QS as occurring at a certain "time" (עת, 9:5) "when these things exist" (בהיות אלה, 9:3; also 8:4, 12). This time is also part of the "days of the dominion of Belial" (בממשלת בליעל, 1:18, 23–24; 2:19 [with כול יומי]; cf. 3:22, 23; 4:19), and 1QS calls for its audience to persist as faithful members of the sect until the end of that period (עד הנה, 4:23), one characterized especially by the ongoing struggle between the two spirits and by the community's function as the replacement for Israel and its cult.

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version of the *Rule*" ("The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of Its Date and Provenance," *RevQ* 88/22 [2006] 615–30 [620]). Even if one adopts the diachronic reconstruction offered by S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), certain minor changes follow (e.g. 4QS[b,d] do not use "atone" of the community in the passage parallel to 1QS 5:4–7) but do not significantly affect the argument developed here; the same is true of Hogeterp's more recent (and tentative) reconstruction of 1QS 3:13–4:26 in "The Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited." In any case, the document containing 1QS is consistently dated to the latter half of the first century BC, placing its sectarianism in Qumran's mature period.

[4] John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997) 52–70.

[5] Other sectarian texts from Qumran include the periods identified by Collins in "the last days" (אחרית הימים), which subsume the periods before and after the sect's present existence; thus A. Steudel translates it "the final period of history" ("אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 [1993] 225–46). For typical examples of that phrase, see 4QMMT (4Q397 14–21 xiii; 4Q398 11–13 iv) and 1QSa 1:1. Elsewhere Collins shows that it is both a time of testing and "of at least incipient salvation," but notes that only 4QMMT clearly sees that period as having begun ("The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997] 74–90). The phrase does not occur in 1QS, however, and one must be careful of hastily equating different terms across different documents; the same is true for the phrase קץ אחרון in the *Pesher on Habakkuk*, which there indicates a prolonged period; see Collins, "The Expectation of the End," 82.

[6] It has been suggested that 1QS 8:1–9:11 refers more particularly to "*a special group*, not yet formed," but the relation of the various parts of 1QS to the community structure(s) at Qumran remains a matter of discussion; see Shane A. Berg, "An Elite Group within the *Yahad*: Revisiting 1QS 8–9," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn; foreword by James A. Sanders; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 161–77.

The group's annual covenant renewal is no longer necessary when this time ends (2:19), implying that the covenant will have reached its goal.[7]

1. *The data*.   What periods or points, then, were to follow Belial's dominion? Perhaps the most obvious is the "last time" (קץ אחרון, 4:17 only) mentioned in the discourse on the two spirits (3:13–4:26). This is the time in or at which the separation of humanity into two groups will no longer be definitive—God's obliteration of evil and purification of those whom he has chosen will usher in a new state of affairs. In the same context one reads of "the appointed time and the new creation" (קץ נחרצה ועשות חדשה, 4:25), the "set time of visitation" (מועד פקודה, 4:18–19, 26 [מועד restored]), and the "set time for judgment" (מועד משפט נחרצה, 4:20), when God "puts an end (נתן קץ) to the existence of injustice" (4:18).

Despite this lexical variety, the concentric structure, thematic continuity, and homogeneity of the discourse on the two spirits, as well as the seamless integration of the various dualisms that it explores (anthropological, cosmic, ethical, and eschatological), justify a tentative identification of these various terms' referents.[8] Thus one may suggest that the lexemes "end" (קץ) and "recompense" (פקודה) as well as similar lexemes and syntagms in 3:13–4:26 all refer (unless context requires otherwise) to the same complex of eschatological events (see the Appendix for a list of eschatological elements in 1QS).[9]

The referent of these and similar terms elsewhere in 1QS is more flexible, however. In some cases it remains generically eschatological, as when עם כול קץ נהיה (11:8–9) describes the everlasting role of the community as a "planting." In other instances the sense can easily be construed within the period of the sect's existence in the desert: בהכון in 8:10 describes the completion of a two-year probationary period on the part of initiates, and thus is probably not as important as the grammatically similar בהיות אלה בישראל of 8:4, 12; 9:3 (but note the interlinear addition in 8:12). A number of other expressions,

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[7] It is probably best to render 3:22 as "during his dominion" (בממשלתו) rather than "under his dominion" in light of the following adverb "until" (עד) in 3:23 and because the section has just distinguished between the Sons of Light who are under the "dominion" (ממשלת) of the Prince of Light and the Sons of Deceit who are under the complete dominion (כל ממשלת) of the Angel of Darkness. This translation clarifies the type of influence the Angel of Darkness has on the Sons of Light without confusingly attributing to him and the Prince of Light the same role at the same time.

[8] See Jean Duhaime's comments on the passage's thematic continuity in "Dualistic Reworking in the Scrolls from Qumran," *CBQ* 49 (1987) 32–56, and "Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l'Instruction sur les Deux Esprits," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003) 103–31.

[9] For קץ see 3:15 (pl., with שלומם), 3:23 (with 3ms suffix, referring to the angel of darkness), 4:18 (קץ להיות עולה). Note the eschatological, but less punctilinear, use of קץ (pl.) in 4:13 to describe the existence of those dominated by the spirit of deceit until their annihilation. One finds פקודה in the phrases מועד פקודה (3:18, with 3ms suffix referring to God's visitation of humanity; 4:18–19, 26 [restored]) and פקודת נגועיהם (3:14, // with קצי שלומם in 3:15) as well as by itself in 3:18; 4:6, 11, where in the latter two cases it introduces a recompense which constitutes "eternal enjoyment" or "eternal damnation."

most often with קץ and מועד, deal with cosmic (10:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8) or cultic (1:9, 14, 15; 3:10) chronology but lack any eschatological aspect, as do others that establish the perpetual validity of the Mosaic torah or of the group's halakhah (8:4, 5; 9:11, 12, 18, 21).[10] Lastly, although the passage in 11:12–17 in which the Instructor expresses his ultimate confidence regarding his own eternal deliverance by God does not contain many of the terms noted here, it possesses a strong eschatological facet which requires attention.

2. *A tentative synthesis.*   Given the lexical variety in the eschatological language of 1QS, it is best to synthesize it conceptually rather than lexically.[11] First of all, as noted above, the current experience of the sect is set in a period of various overlapping "dominions"—those of Belial, the Angel of Darkness and his enmity, and injustice. During this time the two groups that constitute humanity are in constant conflict, but the Qumran group remains capable of fulfilling its role as the replacement for, or culmination of, Israel.

This first, semi-eschatological period is brought to an end by God's visitation, which breaks the dominion of the evil forces and their ability to influence the Sons of Light for ill. It also puts an end to the uneasy coexistence of the two groups of humanity motivated by the two spirits. Injustice is also obliterated, truth is reestablished in its place, and the Sons of Light and their deeds are cleansed and purified. Distinct from these actions, and logically (if not chronologically) subsequent to it, is the reward or punishment of the two classes of humanity according to their deeds. This retribution then ushers in one of two final states: either punishment (perhaps followed by annihilation, 4:12–14) or the unbroken enjoyment of eternal life.

This yields the following summary of the *Community Rule*'s eschatology, in which sequence can be established between certain elements even though that concept must not be limited to chronology, since the presence or absence of chronological time in these eschatological settings is impossible to establish:

1. Dominion of evil powers, group fulfills its role
2. Dominion of evil powers broken
3. Purification of the Sons of Light and their deeds
4. Recompense of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness
5. Eternal life or eternal punishment/annihilation

With respect to the threefold eschatological structure Collins finds in the Scrolls as a corpus, the "time of testing" can be identified with the "Dominion

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[10] On the ambiguous expression "regulation of the time" (בתכון העת, 8:4), see J. Maier, "The Judaic System of The Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part 2: Historical Synthesis* (ed. Jacob Neusner; Handbook of Oriental Studies; Leiden: Brill, 1995) 84–108, esp. 95–97, who suggests that it denotes a torah for the semi-eschatological time in which the group saw itself living.

[11] Hogeterp assumes that the referents of the terms discussed here are identical ("Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited" 248–50); likewise Sanders, *Paul*, 279, discussing 1QS 4:19–22.

of Belial" (i.e. our phase 1), the "beginning of the end of the days" coincides with God's coming in judgment (our phases 2–3), and the "end of all things" subsumes our phases 4–5.[12] There is a clear emphasis in 1QS on divine monergism in bringing about these epoch-making changes.

II. THE SOTERIOLOGY OF 1QS:
CATEGORIES AND RELATION TO ESCHATOLOGY

With this working hypothesis for the eschatology of 1QS in hand we can now attempt to identify the main constituents of its soteriology, then determine to what extent these two facets of the document are interrelated. Descriptions of salvation in the *Community Rule* reflect an essential consensus as to its content and emphases. Seifrid's 1992 study explored covenant, election, atonement, and purity-righteousness, to which Bockmuehl's 2001 essay added only more explicit corporate and individual dimensions in trying to sort out the relationship between election/predestination and individual responsibility/free will.[13] We will make use of these and other studies in correlating eschatology and soteriology in 1QS.[14] For the sake of brevity, our tracing of the primary elements of soteriology in 1QS will limit itself to one or two key passages in each case.

1. *Election and predestination (2:1b–10; 3:13–4:1).* The discourse of the two spirits (3:13–4:26) is a *locus classicus* for Qumranite predestinarian thought.[15] In the view represented by 1QS, God created only two kinds of humans: the "sons of justice" whom he loves "for all eternal ages" (3:20,

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[12] At Qumran some aspects of eschatology were considered imminent, or at least not decidedly distant, in particular the coming end of the dominion of Belial (i.e. our second phase above). The Teacher's self-control until the day of vengeance (1QS 10:19) would be most practicable if that time were not too distant, and the command to continue faithful to the covenant certainly keeps at least some eschatological content within the horizons of the group's present experience, hence its hortatory function. See further on the existential side of the *Rule*'s eschatology Lane A. Burgland, "Eschatological Tension and Existential *Angst*: 'Now' and 'Not Yet' in Romans 7:14–25 and 1QS11 (Community Rule, Manual of Discipline)," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 61 (1997) 163–76.

[13] Mark A. Seifrid, *Justification by Faith: The Origin and Development of a Central Pauline Theme* (NovTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1992), esp. 81–108; Markus Bockmuehl, "1QS and Salvation at Qumran," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism*, vol. 1: *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism* (ed. D. A. Carson, P. T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid; WUNT 2/140; Grand Rapids: Baker; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 381–414.

[14] Note especially B. Janowski and H. Lichtenberger, "Enderwartung und Reinheitsidee: Zur eschatologischen Deutung von Reinheit und Sühne in der Qumrangemeinde," *JJS* 34 (1983) 31–62; William H. Brownlee, "Anthropology and Soteriology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament," in *Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Essays in Honor of William Franklin Stinespring* (ed. James M. Efird; Durham: Duke University Press, 1972) 210–40; Ed Condra, *Salvation for the Righteous Revealed: Jesus amid Covenantal and Messianic Expectations in Second Temple Judaism* (AGJU 51; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[15] Note its prominence in Magen Broshi, "Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 2: *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006) 235–46.

26–4:1), and the "sons of deceit" whose paths he hates forever (3:21; 4:1).[16] These two groups' fates are inevitably realized in accordance with God's plan, which gives to each a certain proportion of each of the two spirits and thus produces a life that leads either to salvation or to condemnation.

Predestination also appears in many other contexts of 1QS, sometimes in surprising settings like the annual covenant renewal liturgy (1:21–2:18). There its partial displacement of fidelity to the covenant's obligations as a means of obtaining the covenant's blessings demonstrates election's prominence in the sect's thought. In 2:1b–4a, the non-covenantal form of the Priestly Blessing of Numbers 6 (as opposed to Deuteronomy 27–28, for example, which makes enjoyment of the covenant's blessings dependent upon fidelity to it) meant that this modified blessing was perfectly suited for application to the community's members on the basis of their election *rather than* their covenantal fidelity.

> And the priests will bless all the men of God's lot who walk unblemished in all his paths and they shall say:
>
> "May he bless you with everything good, and may he protect you from everything bad.
> May he illuminate your heart with the discernment of life and grace you with eternal knowledge.
> May he lift upon you the countenance of his favour for eternal peace."
>   (1QS 2,1b–4a)

The Priestly Blessing pattern was uniquely suited for cursing for the same reason, since with it curses could be directed with the same infallible accuracy against the non-elect ("the men of Belial's lot," 2:4–5), that is, against all non-members of the sect.[17]

> And the levites shall curse all the men of the lot of Belial. They shall begin to speak and shall say:
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> "Accursed are you for all your wicked, blameworthy deeds.
> May he (God) hand you over to dread into the hands of all those carrying out acts of vengeance.
> May he bring upon you destruction by the hand of all those who accomplish retributions.
> Accursed, without mercy, for the darkness of your deeds, and sentenced to the gloom of everlasting fire.
> May God not be merciful when you entreat him.
> Nor pardon you when you do penance for your faults.
> May he lift up the countenance of his anger to avenge himself on you,
> And may there be no peace for you in the mouth of those who intercede."
>   (1QS 2,4b–9)

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[16] Unless otherwise noted, translations of the DSS without text critical details are from F. García Martínez, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English* (2d ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) and with text-critical details from F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (paperback ed.; Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).

[17] See D. C. Timmer, "Sectarianism and Soteriology. The Priestly Blessing (Numbers 6,24–26) in the Qumranite *Community Rule* (1QS)," *Biblica* (forthcoming); B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

The curses and blessings of column 2 are based on the past reality of election but express its significance for one's eschatological fate. Election and predestination (for our purposes we can define both as the divine selection of certain individuals for salvation; predestination also includes condemnation in its orbit) are perhaps the dominant factors in Qumranite soteriology, and logically take priority over the elements that follow since they precede the lives of the individuals concerned (indeed, they precede the fivefold eschatological paradigm proposed above). But while election or predestination may be the dominant cause for salvation at Qumran, it is important not to exclude from their articulation other elements that they necessarily involve. We will look more closely at these post-predestination aspects of salvation in the following four sections.

2. *Covenant entry (1:1–2:18)*.   In the context of Second Temple Judaism it is remarkable that the Qumran sect required its members to enter the covenant. While their covenant is clearly the one God originally made with Israel long ago (note the return to the "law of Moses" in 1:2–3), it is now the exclusive purview of the sect. This covenant-based self-identity overlaps the concept of election just noted precisely because the covenant community is identified with the elect ("the men of God's lot," 2:2).[18] This redefinition of the covenant community automatically excluded ethnic Israel from the grace of God unless they joined the Dead Sea sect. Entering the covenant is clearly a non-eschatological activity that takes place during the time of Belial's dominion (2:18–19), that is, the first period in our paradigm.

The near-identity of covenant membership with election in 1QS still allows for an ethical element, however, even in the act of covenant entry. D. Dimant, noting that the Hitpael participle מתנדבים and its Nifal variant נדבים (1QS 1:7, 11 only; the two passages are paralleled by 5:21–22 and 5:10, respectively) are both unique to sectarian Qumranite documents, shows that the volunteer image is focused on propagating the community's sacral function. The participles "describe the voluntary sacrifice of [the sectarians'] lives, brought by the members of the community to their temple-like congregation."[19] It also should not escape our notice that "*human acceptance* of God's covenant is the factor that establishes covenant relationship."[20] Since these voluntary elements are not consistently conditioned by an anthropology in which all human works are in need of purification, they suggest the possibility of a cooperative soteriology, something that comes more clearly into view in the *Community Rule*'s theology of atonement.[21]

[18] Sanders draws attention to the possessive "their" that attaches to "covenant" in 1QS 5:9; 6:19.

[19] D. Dimant, "The Volunteers in the *Rule of the Community*: A Biblical Notion in Sectarian Garb," *RevQ* 90/23 (2007) 233–45 (the reference is to p. 245).

[20] E. J. Christiansen, "The Consciousness of Belonging to God's Covenant and What It Entails according to the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Copenhagen International Seminar 6; Sheffield, 1998), 69–97 (reference is to p. 96).

[21] Condra, *Salvation for the Righteous Revealed*, 149.

3. *Atonement (9:3–6; 11:14).*   Paul Garnet's recent survey of atonement in the DSS demonstrates its continuity and discontinuity with respect to the OT.[22] As in the OT, atonement in 1QS covers both moral sin and cultic impurity, though 1QS identifies the two in significant ways.[23] In the *Community Rule* the verb כפר occurs in connection with עון ("iniquity," 2:8; 3:6–7; 11:14), אשמת פשע ומעל הטאת ("sin, guilt, rebellion," 9:4), חטתו ("sin," 3:8), persons (5:6), and the land (8:6, 10; 9:4).[24]

It is very significant that while Israelites in the OT made sacrifices and God subsequently forgave, the sectarians living at Khirbet Qumran introduced a radically new use of atonement language, making the community the subject of the verb כפר and claiming that it atoned for its present and future members through its actions (1QS 9:3–6).[25] The "spirit of holiness" is established within the properly-functioning community in order for it "to atone for (לכפר על) the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth, without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice" (9:3–4). The *Rule* returns to the Pentateuch's Levitical sphere with the echo of Leviticus 16 but explicitly rejects any cultic interpretation of atonement, arguing instead that "the offering of the lips in compliance with the decree . . . and the perfectness of behavior" function as sacrifices.[26] At such a time the Community "shall set themselves apart (like) a holy house for Aaron, in order to form a most holy community, and a house of the Community for Israel, those who walk in perfection" (9:4–6). In short, the Qumran group claimed to have superseded Israel's cult: they viewed themselves as being simultaneously the Temple, the high priest, and the offering.[27]

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[22] Garnet finds that it continues that concept's various uses from the Hebrew Bible (social and socioreligious, where the offended entity is human; levitical, with a priest making atonement for another; and prophetic, with God as the subject of the verb), and that the Qumran corpus largely preserves the OT's idea of "putting away of wrath" in its use of atonement language; Paul Garnet, "Atonement: Qumran and the New Testament," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 3: *The Scrolls and Christian Origins* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2006) 357–80.

[23] See J. M. Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. M. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Brill: Leiden, 1999) 2.206–11.

[24] Newsom, *Self as Symbolic Space*, 155–57, notes the overlap between impurity and sin language. In his landmark study of atonement in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Paul Garnet summarizes the effect of atonement on iniquity by stating that "Forgiveness means the acceptance of the person and the end of wrath towards him" (*Salvation and Atonement in the Qumran Scrolls* [WUNT 2/3; Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1977] 115).

[25] Regarding the OT, J. Milgrom and A. Unterman state that "Rituals are not inherently efficacious. This point is underscored by the sacrificial formula of forgiveness. Whereas the required ritual is carried out by the priest, its desired end, forgiveness, is granted solely by God, e.g. 'the priest shall make atonement for him and his sin shall be forgiven him,' i.e. by God (Lev 4:24 and passim)." J. Milgrom and A. Unterman, "Forgiveness," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (16 vols.; Jerusalem, Keter, 1971) 6.1433–35.

[26] Prayer is notable for its absence from Garnet's article, and P. Heger has carefully critiqued its being a means of atonement at Qumran in "Did Prayer Replace Sacrifice at Qumran?" *RevQ* 86/22 (2005) 213–34.

[27] See further 1QS 5:4–7; 8:5–7, passages explored in D. C. Timmer, "Sinai 'Revisited' Again: Further Reflections on the Appropriation of Exodus 19–Numbers 10 in 1QS," *RB* (forthcoming). Sanders describes this aspect of Qumranite thought very clearly (*Paul* 298–305).

This is not the only perspective that the *Community Rule* has on atonement, however. In the Teacher's hymn of 10:5–11:22, where God is described as the one who atones for all the Teacher's sins (יכפר בעד כול עוונותי, 11:14), one finds an apparently contradictory understanding of atonement. After listing this and other divine actions on his behalf, the Teacher concludes the petitionary part of his prayer with the request to be raised up "to stand everlastingly in your presence" (להתיצב לפניכה לעד, 11:16–17). This is made possible, the passage states, by God's merciful, liberating, purifying and atoning actions.

It is not necessary to conclude that column 11 is a flat contradiction of column 9, however. Divine atonement in column 11, set in the eschatological context of the Instructor's final clearing before God's bar of judgment, occurs outside the chronological context of the sect's atoning actions in column 9. Furthermore, nothing in 1QS requires that the two atonements be seen as identical or equivalent, though their relationship is hardly inconsequential. This allows us to speak tentatively of an eschatological aspect to the actions mentioned in 11:12–17, atonement in particular.[28]

4. *Purity and righteousness (3:3 [//4:24]; 11:12).*   As with atonement, 1QS employs more than one chronological phase in presenting its teachings on righteousness. During the time of the community's residence at Khirbet Qumran, anyone who refused to enter the covenant was denied the possibility of being characterized with the Qal of צדק (3:3). He was also denied perfection, cleanliness, atonement, purity, and holiness in the same context (3:3–6a). A contextually plausible sense for the Qal would therefore be "to be just" in the sense of having converted to the sect and having come to enjoy its benefits of moral "perfection," cleanness, purity, and holiness (the same sense is supported by the context of the Qal in 4:24, the only other occurrence of the verb in 1QS).[29] There does not seem to be a forensic element in the verb's use in 1QS.[30]

In the eschatological context of the Teacher's hymn, on the other hand, God's everlasting righteousness or righteous act (בצדקת אל תעמות לנצחים) is the context in which, or means by which, the Instructor is judged (משפט) and so saved from the consequence of his sins of the flesh: ". . . and if I fall in the sin of the flesh, in the righteous action of God, which endures eternally,

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[28] Elsewhere in 1QS the purification of the covenant members clearly occurs at the end of all things (cf. 4:18–23, and also S. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007] 121–23), and neither the teacher's cleansing in 11:14 (with טהר) nor the purification of those in the covenant in 4:20–21 (with זקק, ברר, רוח עולה with התם, and טהר) equips them to overcome the effects of sin in others, whereas the atonement of the community at Qumran equipped it for that very task in its semi-eschatological setting.

[29] Assigning a determinative function to context, in general accord with Martin Joos's suggestion that "the best meaning is the least meaning." Joos, "Semantic Axiom Number One," *Language* 48 (1972) 256–65, cited by M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (rev. and exp. ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994) 153–54.

[30] Seifrid has noted the frequent parallelism of words from the צדק-group with "perfection of way" and "holiness" in 1QS, concepts which are primarily behavioral there (*Justification by Faith* 97).

shall my judgment be" (11:12, my translation). Bockmuehl suggests, in dependence upon Betz, that in Qumranite use the masculine nominal צדק is "the quality of what is right and pleasing to God, while [the feminine nominal] צדקה is an action in keeping with that quality."[31] Seifrid argues in the same direction, and this understanding usually works well in 1QS.[32]

What this means for 11:12 is not immediately clear, however, due to the next phrase which modifies God's "righteous/just act" as "standing forever" (תעמוד לנצחים). The use of a finite imperfect form rather than a participle and the presence of the adverbial לנצחים emphasize the lasting effectiveness of this action, but to what does it refer? A similar expression occurs nearby in 11:14a, where God will judge (שפט) the Teacher "in the justice of his truth" (בצדקת אמתו). The two expressions' shared use of שפט-language and of צדקה, as well as the fact that 11:12–17 lists a variety of potentially overlapping saving actions, allows us to posit that this "judging by God's everlasting just act" is perhaps punctilinear but would have enduring consequences precisely because it is judicial or definitively evaluative. Further, in all three of these cases (11:14a, 14b, 16) we have the feminine nominal form צדקה that involves God's just and final deliverance of the Teacher. Finally, the context reinforces this understanding when it describes the cleansing from human uncleanness that God does בצדקתו ("in his righteousness" [fem.], 11:14b).

Because of other passages in this same context, however, we are not able to posit a simple bifurcation in which divine righteousness is eschatological while human righteousness is temporal. Seifrid has argued on the basis of orthographic, lexical, and contextual factors that human righteousness has eschatological significance in 11:3, and it will be argued below that human righteousness is also important in the conclusion of the Teacher's prayer in 11:16.

5. *Obedience to the covenant and reward/retribution (4:2–8; 11:12–17).* It is clear from the lengthy string of infinitives that appears at its beginning (1:1–11a) that 1QS aims to produce in its readers and hearers the disposition necessary to follow the commands it lays out. Immediately after the long description of ethical goals in column 1, members are repeatedly exhorted not to "stray" or "veer" from God's commandments; rather, they are to dedicate themselves fully to carrying out all God's commands, regardless of opposition (1:16–18). In terms of eschatology, the works involved are done in the here and now of the group's exiled existence, and the subsequent recompense constitutes part of God's final "visitation" of humanity.[33]

The opening of the two spirits discourse in columns 3–4, as S. Gathercole has shown, establishes that there will be recompense and connects it with

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[31] Bockmuehl, "1QS and Salvation" 397.

[32] M. Seifrid, "Righteousness Language in the Hebrew Scriptures and Early Judaism," in D. A. Carson, P. T. O'Brien, and M. A. Siefrid, eds., *The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, vol. 1 of *Justification and Variegated Nomism* (WUNT 2/140; Grand Rapids/Tübingen: Baker/Mohr Siebeck, 2001) 415–42.

[33] There are no references to recompense prior to God's coming in judgment.

one's actions. The portion of good and evil spirit that one receives determines one's deeds, which in turn determine one's "punishment" and "rewards" (3:13–15). There is an equally clear connection between works and recompense later in that same section, where after another list of the virtues of those whom God loves in 4:2–6a, it is stated in 4:6b–8 that "the reward (פקודה) of all those who walk in [the spirit of truth] will be healing, plentiful peace in long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal light."[34] Two points are salient here: first, the repeated nature-deed-fate correlation stresses the connection between the actions and virtues listed and the recompense of the ones who practice them. Eternal life in 1QS is not simply a gift graciously bestowed on those who do not merit it, but is accorded on the basis of one's works.[35] Second, these punishments and rewards are not complementary to, or alongside, eternal life: "final salvation *is* the reward."[36]

This conclusion is corroborated by the conclusion of the Teacher's hymn (11:12–17), which at first glance seems to speak only of divine monergism and does so with a humility that one might imagine would eschew the mention of human works.[37] Yet the petition just before the final request that the Instructor be "raised up to stand in your presence forever" (להתיצב לפניכה לעד, 11:16–17) asks that God would "establish all his deeds in justice" (הכן בצדק כול מעשיו, 11:16). The parallelism in lines 16–17 makes clear that it is the Teacher's deeds that are in view: following the antecedent mention of "your servant," the Teacher prays, "Establish [God as subject of vb.] all his [the Teacher's] deeds in justice, and raise up [God as subject of vb.] the son of your handmaid [the Teacher] to stand everlastingly in your presence" (11:16–17).[38]

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[34] The lexica describe the sense of פקודה as exceeding the mere "relationship between deed and consequence," though that may be part of the meaning; cf. W. Schottroff, "פקד", *TLOT* 1026–27. This recompense is also in evidence in 3:14–15 (פקודה for the wicked, שלומם for the righteous) and in 4:11 (for the wicked).

[35] Sanders's remark (*Paul* 294) that "rewards *for deeds* are seldom mentioned in the Scrolls" and his suggestion that "the context of gratuity is so clear that the possibility of earning the reward of salvation by deeds ('works-righteousness') scarcely arises" thus fail to do justice to a clear emphasis in 1QS. Incidentally, nowhere in his 1977 *tour de force* does Sanders take up 1QS 11:16 as it treats human actions.

[36] Gathercole, *Where is Boasting?* 97.

[37] So Sanders, *Paul* 289: "Perfection of way and uprightness of one's heart are in God's hand (1QS 11:1, 10–11); without God 'no way is perfect' (11:17)." Similarly J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of the Apostle Paul* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 343 (on 1QS 11:11–15). Emanuela Zurli shows more caution when she suggests that justification by grace is only implicitly present in 1QS, while the רק in 1QHa 5:22–23 makes its presence more certain there. See her *La giustificazione 'solo per grazia' negli scritti di Qumran: Analisi dell'inno finale della regola, della comunità e degli inni* (Napoli: Chirico, 2003) and "La giustificazione 'solo per grazia' in 1QS X,9-XI e 1QHa," *RevQ* 20/79 (2002) 445–77.

[38] Brownlee's comment that 1QS 11:2–17 is "replete with language emphasizing man's sinfulness and his dependence upon God's righteousness and mercy for justification" ("Anthropology and Soteriology" 221–22) therefore accurately identifies an emphasis of the passage but mistakenly makes it absolute.

Apart from its presence in the parallel text of 4Q264 (הכן ב[צד]ק כל מעש[יו]),
the phrase "establish all his deeds in righteousness" does not occur elsewhere
in the Qumran literature.[39] Elsewhere in 1QS, human "deeds" (מעשה, whether
sg. or pl.) are the basis for one's entrance and progress in the group (5:23,
24; 6:14; 8:18 [with the new member as the subject of זכה]; with בתורה, 5:21;
6:18; with טוב, 1:5), are influenced by the operation of the two spirits (3:25;
4:16), are the basis for one's final recompense from God (3:14), or are escha-
tologically purged by God (4:20, with ברר; cf. the removal of "wicked deeds"
[עלילות רשעה] in 4:21).[40] Given that column 11 describes eschatological events,
only the last two options are feasible (recompense or purification), and "estab-
lishing" is compatible only with good deeds. This suggests a binary role for
human actions in the eschatological period (our stages 2–5): works which are
sinful are purged at God's coming (4:20; cf. the mention of atonement
in 11:14), as is all ontological evil (4:21; cf. 11:14–15), but works which are
according to Torah or are good are "established" (11:16) and so stand as the
basis for one's reward (4:6b–7).[41]

III. TOWARD NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SALVATION IN 1QS

Our rapid sketch of the eschatology of 1QS and review of its primary so-
teriological tenets has confirmed the complex nature of the Qumran material
in general and of the *Community Rule* in particular. In several instances
the correlation of a multiphase eschatology with the descriptions of salva-
tion in 1QS yielded helpful clarifications, as when showing that atonement in
the *Rule* is clearly a human endeavor now, but is no less clearly God's pre-
rogative in the eschaton. In other cases the eschatological timing of the
soteriological feature was clear, but did not help unravel the feature itself.
Human works in particular manifest no little diversity within the soteriology
of 1QS.[42] While both good and bad deeds are committed by the Sons of Light
during the time of testing, only good works remain as such eschatologically
and come to function as a basis for reward.[43] On the other hand, sins are
forgiven and ontological evil is removed. These elements together see the

[39] Vermes and Alexander, *Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Qumran Cave 4;
Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 203.

[40] For the "works" of the Sons of Belial, see 2:5, 7; 3:22; 4:10, 23; 5:18, 19.

[41] The order of the petitions in column 11 may also indicate the importance of these works, as
they follow the atonement and purification of the individual and so are the last element mentioned
before his entry into God's presence. If so, this would corroborate Seifrid's argument for reading
צדקותי rather than צדקותו in 1QS 11:3; he suggests (in reference to the debated reading צדקותי/
צדקותו there) that Ezek 3:20; 18:24; 33:13 lie behind the preferable reading of "my righteous deeds,"
and that "the inference lies close at hand, that God would forgive if he did remember these righ-
teous deeds" (Seifrid, "Righteousness Language" 436).

[42] Condra, *Salvation* 152–53, proposes a "continuum of man's responsibility to God's mercy and
intervening action" in which "the only constant . . . is that God's salvation is found only within a
proper covenantal relationship." Janowski and Lichtenberger pass over the statement in 11:16–17,
concluding that God's righteousness at the end of column 11 is not only imputative but cleansing
(citing, with approval, Betz, "Rechtfertigung" 32).

[43] This draws into question K. Koch's statement that in the Qumranite literature "It is esp. sig-
nificant that the OT correlation—God conveys *sedeq* only on the one who is *saddiq*—has dissolved"
("צדק," *TLOT* 1046–62 [1061]).

Sons of Light rewarded with eternal life on the basis of their works, but also made fit for God's immediate presence though his purifying work.[44]

These complexities mean that the New Perspective's systemic religious categories of "getting in" and "staying in" have the same undesirable effect on 1QS that Procrustes' bed had on its oversized occupants: what doesn't fit within them gets lopped off. In particular, "getting in" in most branches of Second Temple Judaism is thought to be grounded in God's choice of ethnic Israel, while "staying in" requires obedience.[45] Even from our brief look at 1QS, it is clear that it does not lend itself to analyses by means of these categories. Furthermore, in several cases its particular claims are (to varying degrees) opposed to those of Sanders's taxonomy: the links it establishes between obedience and reward necessitate a "merit" aspect in its soteriology, atonement by human agency is potentially antithetical to atonement within the cult (i.e. as God's unique prerogative), and the necessity of joining the covenant of one's free will makes "getting in" quite dependent upon human agency.[46] Without faulting Sanders for creating a taxonomy large enough to summarize much of Second Temple Judaism, it is clear that his views cannot be applied to the *Community Rule*, or to other similarly complex documents, without the risk of seriously distorting their message.[47]

The eschatological elements of Qumranite soteriology raise one additional caution against making 1QS fit within the limits of the New Perspective. As Gathercole has noted, a religious system consisting mainly of "getting in" and "staying in" inevitably denigrates the importance of salvation's eschatological aspect, something very important in the *Community Rule*. The insistence on human obedience in the context of one's full and final salvation in 1QS sits uncomfortably with the basic categories of the New Perspective and so requires that it be used more carefully in that discussion.[48] This emphasis of 1QS also puts in bold relief one of the distinctive elements of NT soteriology: that despite human inability to fulfill the law, God has revealed in Jesus Christ the righteousness he requires (Rom 3:19–20).[49]

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[44] Cf. a similar melding of human and divine action in CD–B 20:27–34.

[45] Note Sanders's statement that in the DSS "there are not two different theologies, one of works and one of grace. The same people could believe on the one hand that they had no intrinsic merit to commend them to God and that they had been chosen only by his grace, while holding on the other hand that they had to walk perfectly according to God's ordinances and that they could achieve legal perfection" (*Paul* 292).

[46] By "merit" soteriology I mean that one's justification before God is, at least in part, naturally and necessarily dependent upon one's obedience; the classic distinction between inherent and imputed also expresses the difference I am underlining here. On the importance of properly defining and interrelating atonement and justification, see Simon J. Gathercole, "The Doctrine of Justification in Paul and Beyond: Some Proposals," in *Justification in Perspective: Historical Developments and Contemporary Challenges* (ed. B. L. McCormack; Grand Rapids and Edinburgh: Baker and Rutherford House, 2006) 219–41. D. A. Carson has noted the oversimplification which Sanders's contrast between covenantal nomism and merit theology often entails ("Summaries and Conclusions," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism* 505–48, esp. 544–48).

[47] *Pace* Michael F. Bird, who cites 1QS 11:11–15 and concludes it comports "with Sanders' definition of covenantal nomism" (*The Saving Righteousness of God: Studies on Paul: Justification and the New Perspective* [Paternoster Biblical Monographs; Paternoster: Milton Keynes, 2007], 91).

[48] Contrast Sanders's conclusions in his treatment of the Qumran corpus, *Paul*, 316–21.

[49] Cf. Gathercole, "The Doctrine of Justification," esp. 237–40.

APPENDIX:

ESCHATOLOGICALLY SIGNIFICANT TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS IN 1QS

Ref.	Term or expression	Significance	Eschatological phase
1:18	בממשלת בליעל	The period of the group's current existence	1
1:23–24	בממשלת בליעל	The period of the group's current existence	1
2:19	כול יומי ממשלת בליעל	The period of the group's current existence	1
3:14	פקודת נגועיהם	Parallel with קצי שלומם in 3:15; the counterpart of some of humanity's reward	4
3:15	קצי שלומם	Parallel with פקודת נגועיהם in 3:14; the counterpart of some of humanity's punishment	4
3:18	מועד פקודתו	Brings an end to the coexistence of the two groups of humanity; suffix probably refers to God's visitation of humanity	End of 1
3:22	בממשל[תו]	The dominion of the "Angel of Darkness" sees the Sons of Light fail, sin, etc.	1
3:23	עד קצו	His "end/time" means the end of his ability to influence the Sons of Light; suffix probably refers to the "Angel of Darkness"	End of 1
3:23	בממשלת משטמתו	The dominion of the enmity of the "Angel of Darkness" is the period during which the Sons of Light experience "punishments and periods of grief"	1
4:6	פקודת	The "recompense/reward" of those who walk in the spirit of the sons of truth, essentially eternal life	4–5
4:11	פקודת	The "recompense/reward" of those who walk in "all the paths of darkness and cunning," essentially eternal destruction or annihilation	4–5
4:13	כול קציהם לדורותם	The duration of the suffering of those who walk in "all the paths of darkness and cunning" until they are destroyed (עד כלותם)	5
4:14	כלותם	The final end of the wicked	5
4:16–17	עד קץ אחרון	The point after which the two groups of humanity will no longer coexist	End of 1
4:18	קץ להיות עולה	God has fixed (נתן) an end to the existence of injustice; parallel with מועד פקודה in 4:18–19	End of 1
4:18–19	במועד פקודה	At this time God will obliterate (ישמידנה) injustice forever (לעד)	2
4:19	בממשלת עולה	The dominion of injustice, which is ended by the judgment in 4:20	1

4:19–20	עד מועד משפט נחרצה	Brings an end to injustice (4:19) and "then" sees truth reestablished forever (ואז תצא לנצח, 4:19)	End of 1, 2
4:20–21	אז	"Then" God will refine, purify, rip out all injustice from, cleanse, and sprinkle man and his deeds	3
4:23	עד הנה	The present period during which "the spirits of truth and injustice feud in the heart of man;" ended by the "appointed end and new creation" in 4:25	1
4:25	קץ נחרצה	Brings an end to the coexistence of the two groups of humanity; parallel with עשות חדשה	End of 1
4:25	עשות חדשה	Brings an end to the coexistence of the two groups of humanity; parallel with קץ נחרצה	End of 1
4:26	[עד מועד] הפקודה	The end of the period defined by the two spirits' operation	End of 1
8:4	בהיות אלה בישראל	Proper organization and ethical operation of the group leads to its being an "everlasting plantation," etc.	1
8:12	בהיות אלה /ליחד/ בישראל	Describes the mature formation of the group (or some initiates) and its/their readiness to go into the desert	1
9:3	בהיות אלה בישראל	Proper organization and ethical operation of the group permits its atoning function, etc.; coeval with בעת ההיאה in 9:5	1
9:5	בעת ההיאה	Proper organization and ethical operation of the group permits its priestly functions, etc.; coeval with בהיות אלה בישראל in 9:3	1
9:11	עד בוא נ/ב/יא ומשיחי	The point until which the group's members should remain faithful to its rules	2
9:23	יום נקם	A day set by God's decree (חוק) for which the Instructor should be enthusiastic	2
10:19	/עד יום/ נקם	The point until which the Instructor will not dispute with "the men of the pit"	2
10:20	עד הכון משפט	The point until which the Instructor will not remove his anger from "unjust men"; refers to God's action	2
11:8–9	עם כול קץ נהיה	Describes the perpetual role of the group as an "everlasting plantation"	1–5
11:12	חסדי אל ישועתי לעד	If he stumbles, the Instructor's salvation will always exist due to God's mercies	3 (esp.)
11:12	משפטי בצדקת אל תעמוד לנצחים	If he sins, the Instructor's judgment/ justice will always lie in God's righteousness act	3 (esp.)
11:13	משחת יחלץ נפשי	God will free the Teacher's soul from the pit	3 (esp.)

Ref.	Term or expression	Significance	Eschatological phase
11:13	יכן לדרך פעמי	God will establish the Teacher's steps	3 (esp.)
11:13	הגישני	God will bring the Teacher near to himself	3
11:13–14	יביא משפטי	God will bring about the Teacher's justice/judgment	3
11:14	בצדקת אמתו שפטני	God will judge the Teacher in his righteousness	3
11:14	יכפר בעד כול עוונותי	God will atone for all the Teacher's sins	3
11:14	בצדקתו יטהרני	God in his righteousness will cleanse the Teacher completely	3
11:16	הכן בצדק כול מעשיו	The "establishment" of the Teacher's deeds by God in his judgment	3
11:16–17	להתיצב לפניכה לעד	The final petition of the Instructor's prayer	5