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## ANALOGIES BETWEEN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO SAINT JOHN

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Department of Exegetical Theology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity

> by Richard John Gotsch June 1957

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A fragment from a commentery (1812) on

espectuantly published. ?

### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1Q,2Q, etc. Cave One of Qumran, Cave Two of Qumran, etc (Note: These first two figures appear in a following abbreviations indicating in which cave the scroll or fragment was found. The for example, in 1QIsa, "1Q" indicates that scroll is from Cave One (1) of Qumran (Q).)  CDC The Damascus Document or Zadokite Document (from the Cairo genizah).  1QH TITIT (Hodayoth): Thanksgiving Psalms  1QIsa The Isaiah Scroll from St. Mark's Monastery	
(from the Cairo genizah).  1QH  77777 (Hodayoth): Thanksgiving Psalms	he
Thanksgiving Psalms	
1QIsa The Issish Scroll from St. Markle Monastone	
THE TOUGHT POLOTI TION DO. HOLE B MONES VELY	
1QIsb The Isaiah Scroll from the Hebrew Universit	y
lQLamech The so-called "Apocalypse of Lamech"; Now known as: Commentary on Genesis	
1QM オカボダカ (Milhamah): War Scroll	
1QpHab PIPIR TUD (Pesher Habakkuk): Commentary on Habakkuk	
1QS  The The Community (Note: this scroll is also known as the Manual of Discipline.)	
A fragment from 1QS (Note: this fragment had been lost, but was later recovered and subsequently published.)	
1QSb A fragment from 1QS A Formulary of Blessings	
4QpIs <sup>C</sup> A fragment from a commentary ( <u>pesher</u> ) on Isaiah	
4Qps37 A fragment from a commentary ( <u>besher</u> ) on Psalm 37	
A fragment from the <u>Damascus</u> <u>Document</u> found in Cave Six of Qumran	

# CHAPTER I

#### INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the analogies between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to St. John, which have been seen by a number of scholars and writers.

This thesis approaches the topic from the point of view of Exegesis. Exegesis is defined as "a critical explanation of a portion of Scripture." To attempt to give such an explanation requires that the exegete understand the meaning which the text had for the writer of Scripture. An understanding of the historical background of the New Testament is one of the tasks of the exegete. The Dead Sea Scrolls are part of this historical background. The investigation of analogies between the Qumran literature and the New Testament is one of the first steps toward discovering the contribution of the scrolls to the understanding of the background of the New Testament.

The reason for the particular limitation to the Gospel according to St. John is two-fold. The first is the writer's own interest in the Fourth Gospel. The second is that a casual examination of the material written on the Dead Sea Scrolls reveals that "the whole manner of thinking and the literary style of the Fourth Evangelist are strikingly like

what we find in the Qumran texts. "1

The scope of this thesis can be described as a preliminary investigation of secondary sources. There are several reasons for this approach. The first reason is the preliminary nature of the study of the scrolls. Many of the fragments from the Qumran caves have yet to be published. Hence, it would be presumptuous to attempt to draw final conclusions before much of the evidence is available. second reason is that a study of secondary material which deals directly with the topic would be more reliable and fruitful than an independent comparison of the primary Therefore, the reader of this thesis should keep sources. two things in mind. The material before him is in no sense "the last word" or "original." It is merely an attempt to gather and present what analogies other men have seen in their investigations. In the second place, it should be stressed that the major portion of research in this area lies in the future, when all the finds from the Dead Sea will be studied by many competent scholars. It will be from this vantage point that final conclusions may be drawn. In every sense of the word, this thesis is preliminary research.

Before a summary of this thesis is given, certain definitions should be noted. There are two terms which have

<sup>1</sup> Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 338.

been applied to the scrolls discovered in Palestine. The first, familiar to the general reader, is the "Dead Sea Scrolls," since the finds were made near the Dead Sea. The more technical phrase used is the "Qumran scrolls or literature." This designation arises from the fact that this literature was found in caves centering about Wady Qumran.

### A Summary of the Thesis

The Qumran literature was first discovered by several Bedouin goatherds in 1947. This accidental find gave rise to a series of archaeological expeditions into the general area of the initial discoveries. As a result of weeks of careful searching, a great volume of manuscript fragments came to light. In addition to the finds in the caves, the attention of archaeologists centered on a complex of ancient ruins. This was the community center of the group which produced the scrolls and fragments.

The first problem of dating the scrolls was finally solved. The larger part of the literature was produced between the middle of the second century B.C. and the middle of the first century A.D.

Once that date of the scrolls was established, attention was focused on a more careful investigation of the group which wrote this literature. There were two general periods during which this community was inhabited by the Qumran sect. The first extended from the middle of the

second century to 31 B.C.; the second from 4 B.C. to A.D. 68. The group which lived there was a highly organized body, practicing quite strictly a communal way of life. Some of the major beliefs included a moral and religious dualism, strict separation from outsiders, rigid piety and a strong eschatological expectation. Finally, it may be safely assumed that this group at Qumran was some form of Essenism.

The first area of comparison is that of the dualism of the Gospel according to St. John and the Qumran scrolls. This falls into a number of categories: the creation of all things by God, the existence of two opposing spirits, the antitheses of light-darkness and truth-perversity, the role of man walking either in light or in darkness, the great struggle between light and darkness and the many references in both to "the sons of light." The dualism of the Qumran literature probably had its origin in a merging of Old Testament thought and the dualistic structure of Zoroastrianism. The person and work of Jesus Christ constitutes for John one of the basic differences from the literature of the Qumran community.

Many of the other analogies are of a more general and unrelated nature. They may be divided into two categories—verbal parallels and analogies in doctrine and practice.

Some of these verbal parallels, all peculiar to St. John in the New Testament, are "light of life," "to bear witness to the truth," "the works of God," "spirit of truth" and "to do

the truth. "Two words of caution are added for those who study these verbal parallels: first, the possible intention of two authors to convey different meanings with the same word; second, the common background of Old Testament terminology should not be forgotten. In doctrine and practice there are common emphases in eschatology, angelology, brotherly love, apostasy, symbolism of water and a possible preoccupation with a religious calendar.

John the Baptist plays a prominent role in the Gospel according to St. John. Almost every detail of his life and preaching has a possible Qumran affinity. A comparison of John the Baptist and Qumran reveals a similar priestly background, a common theme—"prepare the way of the Lord," certain affinities in the practice and teaching concerning baptism and a similar "not-yet" eschatological tension.

Since the Qumran literature arose in a period very
near the advent of Christianity, an indication of its Messianic expectation would help to clarify the background in
Palestine for "Him that cometh." An exact picture of the
Messianic expectation of the Qumran literature is difficult
to achieve. This is evident from the conflicting viewpoints presented. However, there are certain themes which
seem to stand out. There is an expectation for some kind
of prophet, a priest and a king. The latter two figures may
be considered Messianic figures, one from Aaron (religious)
and one from Israel (political). Another possible element

in their Messianic expectation is a "Messianic understanding" of the Servant of the Lord. For this viewpoint several
indications are cited in the literature of Qumran, variant
readings in the Isaiah scroll and in the figure of the
Teacher of Righteousness. This last argument, proposed by
Dupont-Sommer, has been generally discarded.

On the basis of their findings scholars have drawn conclusions in three general areas. The first area is the viewpoint of certain theories that Christianity is merely a development of Essenism. This is evaluated and criticized by many scholars. They conclude that it is untenable because of the uniqueness of Christianity. Since this viewpoint achieved widespread contact with the general public, a summary and evaluation of it was included.

The second area of these conclusions focuses specifically on the relation of the Gospel according to St. John and the Gumran literature. The differences in the meaning of words and theology is indicated. A number of theories concerning possible contacts between the Evangelist and the community are noted. These may have been of a specific or general nature. Included among the possible links are John the Baptist, his disciples in Palestine or Ephesus, Qumran sectarians who lived in Syria and the Hellenists. However, the Qumran literature may have been so parallel to contemporary Jewish thought that no specific connection between John and Qumran need be sought.

Finally, certain implications for the Gospel according to St. John are proposed. This includes a possible substantiation of the traditional date and authorship of the Fourth Gospel, a further indication of its close resemblance to the First Epistle of John and a promise of the further invalidation of certain artificially created contrasts and conflicts within the New Testament.

As a final word in this summary, it should again be stressed that these analogies and conclusions are of a preliminary nature. Such initial investigation awaits new evidence from the unpublished fragments from Qumran, further comparison with the New Testament, and a deeper and broader understanding of the full meaning of the Qumran literature and theology for the Gospel according to St. John.

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### CHAPTER II

### THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS. A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

The very mention of the words "Dead Sea Scrolls" brings to mind a picture of recent discovery, archaeological expeditions and exciting research. The purpose of this chapter is to trace briefly the history of these initial discoveries, to indicate the further archaeological findings and to summarize some of the conclusions of scholars based upon these finds. This will form the background for the specific study which follows.

### The Initial Discoveries

The Dead Sea Scrolls were first discovered in the spring of 1947 by several goatherds of the Bedouin tribe of Ta'amireh. Through a series of involved circumstances the scrolls finally came into the hands of two men, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel, the Syrian Archbishop at St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem, and the late Eleazer L. Sukenik, who occupied the Chair of Palestinian Archaeology in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Thus it happened that the scrolls of the Dead Sea were separated and eventually published by different

parties. In 1955 the State of Israel purchased the scrolls in the possession of Archbishop Samuel, and it has been revealed that a special museum will be built to house these manuscripts and those acquired for the Hebrew University. It will be called the "Shrine of the Book."

This original discovery included seven manuscripts found in eleven rolls. Two of these manuscripts were copies of the Hebrew text of Isaiah. The first (IQIs<sup>2</sup>) is about twenty-four feet long and one foot wide and contains the whole book of Isaiah with the exception of a few fragments. It is the oldest manuscript found in the cave and has been dated almost one thousand years older than any other Isaiah manuscript. There are no differences from the previously known Isaiah text that are important theologically. The second Isaiah manuscript (IQIs<sup>b</sup>) is made up on one large and several smaller pieces. The last third of the book (chapters 38-66) is relatively complete and there are portions of other chapters, beginning with the tenth. In

Archbishop Samuel handed over the scrolls in his possession to the American Schools of Oriental Research for publication: Millar Burrows, editor, The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Vol. I, The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary, Vol. II, Fascicle 2, Plates and Transcriptions of the Manual of Discipline (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950 and 1951). The three scrolls bought by E. L. Sukenik were published posthumously: Eleazar L. Sukenik, editor, The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1955).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>F. F. Bruce, <u>Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls</u> (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), pp. 15-21.

general, this copy agrees with the Masoretic text.3

The remaining manuscripts are non-Biblical writings and will form the main basis of comparison with the Gospel according to St. John in this thesis. The first is the commentary on Habakkuk (lQpHab). It is a relatively small manuscript which measures about five feet long and five and one-half inches wide. This commentary follows the canonical text of Habakkuk. A section of the Biblical text is quoted and immediately the commentary is introduced by means of these words, "the explanation of this refers to . . . " or "the explanation of this is . . . " It is a unique work in that everything is explained in terms of the group to which the commentator belongs. Fulfillment of the prophesy of Habakkuk is seen in them. Some scholars have understood historically certain references to events and have tried to identify them.

The second non-Biblical manuscript was found in two pieces and is about six feet long and nine and one-half inches wide. Its contents include the requirements for entrance into a community, directions for initiation ceremonies into that community, a section which deals with the origin and future destruction of sin, and rules of organization and discipline. It closes with a devotional poem or

Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: Viking Press, 1955), pp. 19-22, 301-315.

Manual of Discipline. However, the more accurate title,

The Order of the Community, has been subsequently used and
agreed upon by scholars. The final scroll in this group was
originally thought to be the apocryphal book of Lamech
(1QLamech). For various reasons this manuscript was not unrolled until 1955 and turned out to be "an Aramaic version
of Chapters 12 to 15 of Genesis, interwoven with stories
about the Patriarchs."

Some of these stories include a detailed description of the beauty of Sarah and a conversation
between Sarah and Abraham. These three manuscripts were
among those which were originally in the possession of Archbishop Samuel.

The remaining two manuscripts are those in the possession of the Hebrew University. The first non-Biblical manuscript (1QM), nine feet long and six inches wide, is almost entirely preserved. It contains directions for conducting a war between "the Sons of Light" (the tribes of Levi, Judah and Benjamin) and "the Sons of Darkness" (the Edomites, Moabites, Philistines and Greeks).

God and his angels assist the army of Israelites, while Belial and his minions aid those on the side of darkness . . . each opponent prevails three times, but

<sup>4</sup>TIME, LXVII (February 20, 1956), 54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup><u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 22-26.

in the seventh fray the Sons of Light are victorious.

It is difficult to tell whether the battle described is an actual or contemplated historical battle or an eschatological war. The full title given by Professor E. Sukenik is The War between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. Originally in four sections the so-called "Thanks-giving Psalms" (1QH) have been pieced together and contain a total of about twenty psalms which resemble the psalms of the Old Testament in language and style. Many scholars think that the teacher of righteousness, mentioned in some of the other scrolls, may have been the author of some of them.

Because of the references below to the <u>Damascus Docu-</u>
<u>ment</u> (CDC), which does not belong to the original group of
scrolls, mention of it is made here. It was discovered in
a <u>genizah</u> of a Karaite synagogue in old Cairo in 1896.9
Fragments of this document have been discovered in the caves
of Cumran (e.g., 6QD). There is such a common fund of language and ideas between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the <u>Damascus</u>

<sup>6</sup>Roland E. Murphy, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), p. 23.

<sup>7</sup>Burrows, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>8&</sup>lt;u>Ibid., pp. 27-28.</u>

<sup>9</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), pp. 53-54.

<u>Document</u> that many scholars generally admit their close relationship.

The discovery of these scrolls set off great activity in the world of scholarship and was a stimulus for further archaeological investigation. 10 It is to this archaeology and scholarly activity that we now turn.

### Archaeological Finds

The first discovery by the Bedouins was made in the Judean desert which separates the mountainous regions of Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron and the western shore of the Dead Sea. The site is the area of Wady Qumran which lies about twelve miles east of Jerusalem within sight of the Dead Sea. This area was investigated, beginning in February, 1949, by the Jordan Department of Antiquities in collaboration with the Ecole Biblique et Archeologique Française and the Palestinian Archaeological Museum. 11 In November, 1951, the attention of the archaeologists, under the direction of Lancester Harding of the Jordan Department of Antiquities and R. deVaux of the Ecole Biblique, was turned to Khirbet Cumran. These are the remnants of an ancient building

<sup>10</sup>For a chronological diary of these archaeological expeditions of. Murphy, op. cit., pp. 111-116.

Judaean Desert. I. Qumran Cave I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 6.

located on a plateau near Wady Qumran. Careful excavation of this site was made in a series of expeditions and a main building with secondary buildings surrounding it was uncovered. The archaeologists found many characteristic communal features and it was concluded that these buildings were not used as dwellings, but as a center of a community's activity. 12 The site is dominated by an isolated watch tower. The first floor of the main building consists of a group of four or five rooms and one larger one, which may have been an assembly hall. On the second floor of the main building is a scriptorium, "the very room where many of the fabulous Dead Sea Scrolls may have been written. "13 To the east of the tower have been found the kitchen, dining hall and pantry. Surrounding the main building are such facilities as a workshop, an oven, a washplace, latrines and a system of cisterns and aqueducts. A cemetery containing a thousand graves lies to the north and east of the building. 14 Scholars have generally agreed that this community center was the source of the scrolls found in the caves.

<sup>12</sup>Charles T. Fritsch, The Qumran Community, Its History and Scrolls (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), pp.

<sup>13</sup>John M. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls (Baltimore, Maryland: Pelican Books, Inc., 1956), p. 89.

<sup>14</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes; New Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls (London: Vallentine, Mitchell and Co., 1954), pp. 3-7.

These buildings were used as a center of communal activity.

The members of the community lived in the many caves in the surrounding hills. It is to the results of an exploration of these caves that we now turn.

Cave One of Qumran (1Q) is the cave in which the first scrolls were found. Further excavation of this cave was carried on and the results were published in the first volume of a proposed series on these manuscript and archaeological discoveries. 15 The notable results of excavation include potsherds of jars and lamps, a considerable quantity of linen cloth and six hundred fragments of some seventy Biblical and non-Biblical works. Other manuscript fragments which had been previously removed from the cave were recovered and published with the other finds.

About 150 feet south of Cave One is Cave Two (2Q). On the upper floor of this two-story cave about one hundred legible manuscript fragments have been discovered, which include portions of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Psalms and Ruth. 16

One mile north of Khirbet Qumran more fragments of the Hebrew Scriptures were found in Cave Three (3Q). Two copper rolls discovered in this cave immediately provoked special

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<sup>15</sup>Barthelemy and Milik, op. cit.

<sup>16</sup> Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p. 172.

interest. 17 Painstaking and time-consuming labor 18 finally opened these rolls. They turned out to be two halves of one document which listed "clues to buried treasure . . in about 60 separate hoards scattered over a 50 mile-long area from Hebron to Mt. Gerizim. "19 However, it must be stated that

the document is not an historical record of actual treasures buried in antiquity. . . . The Copper Document is thus best understood as a summary of popular traditions circulating among the fold of Judaea, put down by a semi-literate scribe. 20

In the summer of 1952 Caves Four, Five and Six (4Q, 5Q, 6Q) were explored. The finds of Cave Four surpass the original discoveries of 1947 in interest and importance.

Every canonical Old Testament book with the possible exception of Esther, Hebrew and Aramaic documents from intertestamental literature and many of the writings of the Qumran community are represented in these manuscript fragments. Caves Five and Six have also yielded fragments. 21

In the spring of 1955 four more caves were explored (Caves Seven, Eight, Nine and Ten), but "most of the material

<sup>17</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>Allegro, on. cit., pp. 181-184.

<sup>19</sup> TIME, LXVII (June 11, 1956), p. 76.

<sup>20</sup>J. T. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave III, Qumran," Biblical Archaeclogist, XIX (September, 1956), 63.

<sup>21</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., pp. 43-46.

had unfortunately been washed long ago into the wady. #22

As this book goes to press, rumours are persistently circulating about further exciting discoveries of manuscripts from Qumran. One rumour tells of manuscripts of great importance which have been found in an eleventh cave in that area, including complete texts of Leviticus and the Psalter. Another speaks of a scroll containing the five books of Moses. A good deal of mystery appears to envelop some of these latest discoveries. Towards the end of May (1956) the press in this country and America reported Professor Albright as saying that two scrolls had been stolen by Bedouin from under the noses of their guardians; but his statement was contradicted forthwith by Mr. Lankester Harding, who said that he had the scrolls. We must wait for authoritative information and photostatic reproductions before we can speak with any confidence on the subject. But it certainly looks as if we must prepare ourselves for Further Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolle. 23

### The Dating of the Scrolls

On the basis of these archaeological discoveries scholars have attempted to construct a picture of the history and character of the group at Qumran who produced this amazing library of scrolls. The first problem lay in the area of dating these Qumran manuscripts. It proved to be one of the most debated subjects and has been referred to as the "First Battle of the Scrolls."

The dating of the scrolls posed a three-fold problem.

Three questions had to be answered. When were the scrolls

deposited in the caves? When were the manuscripts themselves

<sup>22</sup>Allegro, op. cit., p. 40.

<sup>23</sup>Bruce, op. cit., p. 138.

written? Finally, when were the books contained in the manuscripts composed? In a thorough examination of this problem, Millar Burrows<sup>24</sup> reaches the following conclusions. Archaeological evidence has answered the first question. The manuscripts were undoubtedly deposited in the caves when the main buildings of the community were destroyed and abandoned. This was during the Roman conquest of Palestine (66-70 A.D.) possibly in the spring of 68 A.D. The science of palaeography has been applied to answer the second question. All of the fragments were written within the period from 300 B.C. to 68 or 70 A.D. Concerning the time when the non-Biblical scrolls from Cave One were written Burrows states:

The Manual of Discipline cannot be dated much later than 100 B.C. From perhaps the last quarter of the first century B.C. comes the manuscript of the Habakkuk Commentary. The Lamech Scroll [Genesis Commentary], the War Scroll, the scroll of the Thanksgiving Hymns, and the Hebrew University Isaiah scroll were all probably made during the first half of the first century A.D.25

The third question is answered on the basis of historical allusions and language used in the writings. Burrows concludes that these non-Biblical writings "were all composed within a period of about 135 years, from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes in 175 B.C., or shortly before that,

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., pp. 73-223.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 118-119.

down to about 40 B.C. "26 William F. Albright agrees generally with this dating:

Thanks to a combination of evidence from pottery, coins, and radiocarbon dating of the linen cloth in which some of the scrolls found in the first cave had been wrapped, there is no longer the slightest doubt possible about the dating of the vast majority of the scrolls and fragments between the middle of the second century B.C. and the middle of the first century A.D. 27

#### The Covenanters of Qumran

Careful archaeological investigation of Khirbet Qumran has suggested the framework of history within which the community at Qumran flourished. The discovery and classification of pottery has been further substantiated by some 750 coins discovered on the same site. Aside from occupation which is not immediately connected with the Dead Sea Scrolls, three general periods have been suggested by archaeological strata. The first extends from the construction of the building under John Hyroanus I (135-104 B.C.) to its abandonment at or before a severe earthquake in the spring of 31 B.C. The second period begins with a restoration under Herod Archelaus (4 B.C. to A.D. 6) and ends with the Roman conquest in June, 68 A.D. The final period saw this site

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 223.

<sup>27</sup>William F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, W. D. Davies and D. Daube, editors (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 163-164.

occupied by the Roman forces until about the end of the first century A.D. 28

The idea of community is one of the most striking features of this group. The entire organizational structure is built around this principle. All goods were placed in a common pool. These goods together with the various tasks and duties were allocated by overseers. Much emphasis seems to have been placed upon the various ranks and stations within the community. There seem to have been two general groups, the priests and the laity. The former were in charge of doctrinal and economic matters. The laymen were divided into several groups. The administrative matters of the community were under the direction of a kind of presbytery called "the men of holiness" (three priests and twelve qualified laymen). 29 The program of initiation involved several stages leading up to full membership. It began with a trial period, which led into a semi-membership ("Party of the Community"). This was followed by a general membership with only a few privileges withheld ("Party of the Many") and finally finished with initiation into full membership. This entire program took a minimum of three years and included a thorough examination at each promotion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., pp. 16-20.

<sup>29</sup> Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1956), pp. 9-11.

Severe discipline was maintained through a comprehensive catalog of offenses and punishments. 30

The beliefs of these covenanters may be determined in part from the group of original writings found in the caves. In brief, the group believed itself to be the elect congregation of Israel. It has retired to the wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord by the study of the Law coupled with rigid discipline and purity. As members of a "New Covenant" they had been given special revelation concerning the true meaning of the Scriptures. This special "illumination" claimed for them the title "sons of light." Over against them are arrayed the "sons of darkness" under the leadership of Belial. There are several emphases in the beliefs of the Qumran sect which should be pointed up in a preliminary survey. One of these is the dualism so characteristic of their writings.

Dieser Dualismus liegt dem ganzen Lehrgebäude der qumranischen Sektenschriften zugrunde. Mikrokosmos und Makrokosmos sind so gesehen; Qumran's Anthropologie, Ekklesiologie, "Christologie," Angelolgie, Pneumatologie, Eschatologie sind nur von da aus zu verstehen. Der Dualismus ist in diesen Texten characteristisch durchentwickelt, indessen immer gemildert durch den Monotheismus: auch die Geister der Finsternis unterstehen letztlich der göttlichen Herrschaft. Es ist nicht der metaphysische Dualismus des Parsismus, anderseits ist es mehr als der historische Dualismus des alten Testaments; es ist jener moralische und religiöse

<sup>30</sup>Allegro, op. c1t., pp. 104-108.

<sup>31</sup> Gaster, op. c1t., pp. 327-342.

Dualismus, der auch in altjüdischen Apokryphen sich findet. 32

The strong emphasis on separation, discipline and piety has already been indicated above. Finally, mention should be made of the strong eschatological tone which colors much of the Qumran doctrine. The doctrines which are of special concern will be treated more fully in succeeding chapters.

The final question which may be indicated in this preliminary survey is the actual identification of these Qumran
covenanters. Dupont-Sommer first proposed identification
with the Essenes. 33 Charles Fritsch, in a thorough and more
recent study of this question, concludes that "the Jewish,
semimonastic, Covenant community of Qumran is to be included
under the term 'Essene' in its widest sense as used by
Josephus. "34 Most scholars today are agreed in recognizing
the Qumran community as at least some form of Essenism. 35

<sup>32</sup>A. Metzinger, "Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer und das Neue Testament," Biblica, XXXVI (1955), 467.

<sup>33</sup>Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 88: "I have minutely compared all the sources relative to the Essenes and all that is now known about the New Covenant. The examination has brought out so many resemblances on characteristic points that I believe I can without hesitation reach the conclusion that they are identical."

<sup>34</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., pp. 90-110.

<sup>35&</sup>lt;sub>Murphy, op. cit., p. 17.</sub>

#### Summary

The discovery of the Qumran scrolls has touched off activity both in archaeological and scholarly investigation. Archaeologists discovered the community center of the group which produced the Dead Sea Scrolls and uncovered literally hundreds of manuscript fragments in the caves surrounding Wady Qumran. From these further findings a vivid picture of the history, organization, beliefs and practices of these covenanters of Qumran has been made.

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#### CHAPTER III

THE DUALISM IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN
AND THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to St. John

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has proved to be valuable in many areas of research and study. These scrolls were written in a period of Jewish history from which very few primary sources are in the hands of scholars today.

After the Temple in Jerusalem was destroyed in A.D. 70, the Jews codified the norms for their life and thought. "All earlier writings not in accord with 'normative' Judaism thus established were either destroyed or lost or forgotten. "I Thus, interest in the scrolls is focused on "all that they tell us of the religious milieu of the Jews in the last two centuries before the Christian era. "I It naturally follows that to the extent in which these scrolls enrich the understanding of Judaism during this era, the picture of the historical background of Christianity will likewise be clarified. Roland Murphy concludes that

lMillar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: Viking Press, 1955), p. 326.

<sup>2</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p. 24.

the real contribution to New Testament studies comes
from the scrolls and fragments of the works written by
the Qumran community, such as the Manual of Discipline.
This non-biblical literature, along with the apocrypha
and the works of Josephus and a few others, are our
primary sources for the history of the so-called interTestamental period. . . Because the new finds throw
light on the language and world of ideas in the New
Testament, there is foundation for the statement of
some scholars about the "revolution" they have caused
. . . they have filled in an almost unknown background
to the historical origins of Christianity.

An indication of the importance of the later discoveries of manuscript fragments, as yet unpublished, may be seen in a statement by William Albright, "All handbooks of the Bible, early Christianity and the history of Judaism will soon be in need of drastic revision."

The scope of this chapter will be limited to the challenging area of comparison between the Gospel according to St. John and the Qumran manuscripts. This Gospel is frequently regarded as an enigma in New Testament literature. There is no literary parallel among the other books of the New Testament. One of the striking features of this Gospel is its dualistic antitheses. The explanation of the genesis of this dualism is one of the major problems in interpreting the Fourth Gospel. Scholars have seen the source of this dualistic framework in the writings of Philo of Alexandria

Roland E. Murphy, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), pp. 55-56.

Quoted in Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVI (April, 1954), 190.

or an earlier common source. Others have suggested that John relied almost entirely upon a Gnostic, or at least proto-Gnostic, dualism.

With the discovery of the scrolls at Wady Qumran, interest has turned to evidence which might suggest another factor in approaching this problem. Oscar Cullmann, 6 K. G. Kuhn, 7 and William Albright 8 among other scholars have seen parallels between Johannine dualism and that of the Qumran literature. Such phrases as "striking parallels," "tief-gehende Verwandtschaft" and "a very striking role [in both] "have been used to describe the relation of the dualism in these writings.

# Creation

A comparison of the dualism in these writings can be made from several viewpoints. The first of these is a

<sup>5</sup>Lucetta Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Back-ground for the Gospel of John," <u>Biblical Archaeologist</u>, XVII (December, 1954), 78-80.

<sup>60</sup>scar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIV (December, 1955), 216.

<sup>7</sup>K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, XLVII (1950), 209.

<sup>8</sup>William F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, W. D. Davies and D. Daube, editors (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), p. 168.

comparison of origin in creation. In a closing pealm of the Order of the Community we read, "And by His knowledge everything has been brought into being. And everything that is, He established by His purpose; and apart from Him, nothing is done" (1QS 11:11). In the prologue St. John writes, "All things were made through Him, and without Him was made nothing that has been made" (John 1:3). "The resemblance here concerns not only the thought, but also the style: parallelism and repetition in a positive and again in a negative form. "10 In the negative restatement one writer has seen a common and intentional denial of a separate creation in the world of darkness, apart from the world of light. 11 However, this particular style is typically Semitic and perhaps both authors were building on Old Testament concepts, such as the personification of wisdom in Proverbs. 12 For the Qumran sect it is God who has planned and created the world. He is over all.

<sup>9</sup>F. M. Braun, "L'arrière-fond judaique du quatrième évangile et la Communauté de l'Alliance," Revue Biblique, LXII (1955), 16.

<sup>10</sup>W. Grossouw, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," Studia Catholica, XXVI (December, 1951), 299.

<sup>11&</sup>lt;sub>Mowry, op. cit., p. 83.</sub>

<sup>12</sup>Roland E. Murphy, "Insights into the New Testament from the Dead Sea Scrolls," American Ecclesiastical Review, CXXXV (July, 1956), 20.

### The Two Spirits

In this world God has created the two "spirits of light and darkness" (1QS 3:25). The first is also called "the spirit of truth," "the prince of lights" and "the angel of truth." Other names for the second spirit include "the spirit of perversity," "the angel of darkness," "the angel of destruction" and "Belial." There are several opinions as to the exact nature of these spirits. Murphy sees the word used in two senses, "both for the opposing 'angels' as well as for the influence which they initiate and exert in the heart of man. "14 Braun15 views the meaning of "spirit" as a "spiritual current" rather than an entity or personality.

There are two leaders of light and darkness which are mentioned in the Gospel according to St. John. However, the leader of the light is not a created being, but the Son of God, "the light of the world" (John 9:5). 16 Although the leader of the forces of darkness in John is never described in the same terminology, "one would not be unfaithful to

<sup>131</sup>QS 3:18-24; 4:12; CDC 14:5.

<sup>14</sup> Murphy, American Ecclesiastical Review, p. 14.

<sup>15</sup>Braun, op. c1t., p. 13.

<sup>16</sup>Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVII (July, 1955), 410.

Johannine thought to say that for him Satan is the angel of darkness. #17

In St. John Satan is the prince of the world, the murderer from the beginning. This conception is grander and perhaps nearer to the absolute principle of evil than that in DSD [The Order of the Community], but man's freedom and responsibility is much more strongly stressed. 18

### Light and Darkness

The first motif of dualism in the Qumran literature is that of light and darkness. One of the scrolls has been named The War between the Children of Light and the Children of Darkness. Throughout the writings there is this sharp dualistic emphasis in terms of light and darkness. 19 Burrows 20 cites two passages to indicate the resemblances with the Gospel according to St. John. In the War Scroll we read, "In darkness are all their [hosts of Belial] works." A similar thought is expressed by John: "The light has come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light because their works were evil" (John 3:19). A fuller comparison of the different facets of this light-darkness dualism will follow. Yet, at this point, it should be indicated

<sup>17</sup> Murphy, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible, p. 70.

<sup>18</sup> Grossouw, op. cit., pp. 297-298.

<sup>19</sup> Kuhn, op. cit., p. 197.

<sup>20&</sup>lt;sub>Burrows, op. c1t., p. 338.</sub>

that this dualistic emphasis "colours the piety, moral teaching and practices, organization, discipline, doctrine and religious philosophy of the [Qumran] sect. "21

### Truth and Perversity

This dualism in the Qumran writings is also expressed in terms of truth and perversity. For the sect, truth

denotes not only fidelity as a property of God and the pious, nor does it have only the latter sense of "true doctrine," but in the end it becomes a kind of general characterization of the sphere of God and of the sect as opposed to that of the ungodly. 22

This picture of dualism is further described as consisting of two ways: the way of truth or true justice (1QS 4:7-8) and the way of perversity (1QS 4:12-13). These are the ways in which men walk--hence, there is included a listing of virtues and vices characteristic of these two ways.<sup>23</sup> Fear of God's laws, humility, patience, mercy, goodness, discernment, wisdom, understanding, purity and "a faithful keeping secret the mysteries of knowledge" are ascribed to him who walks the way of truth. The way of perversity includes haughtiness, laziness, arrogance, pride, lying, deceit, cruelty, lawlessness, impurity, a blasphemous tongue, blind

<sup>21</sup>Geoffrey Graystone, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> Grossouw, op. c1t., p. 297.

<sup>23</sup>Braun, op. cit., p. 14.

eyes, dull ears, a stiff neck and a dull heart. 24 "We might note that the idea of walking in light and darkness (John 12:35) is very similar to the Qumran literature's two ways in which men are to walk. "25

In this general area of truth and perversity other parallel thoughts have been seen. 26 There are sections in both which speak of truth as a medium of purification and sanctification:

And then God will purge by his truth all the deeds of men . . . to cleanse him through a holy spirit from all wicked practices, sprinkling upon him a spirit of truth as purifying water (1QS 4:20-21).

Sanctify them in the truth; thy word is truth. As thou didst send me into the world, so I have sent them into the world. And for their sake I consecrate myself, that they also may be consecrated in truth (John 17:17-19).

A similarity is seen in the following two passages:

According as man's inheritance is in truth and righteousness, so he hates evil; but in so far as his heritage is in the portion of perversity and wickedness in him, so he abominates truth (1QS 4:24).

For everyone who does evil hates the light, and does not come to the light so that his deeds may not be exposed. But he who does the truth comes to the light that his deeds may be made manifest, for they have been performed in God (John 3:20-21).

Finally, several phrases peculiar to the Gospel according to

<sup>24</sup> Murphy, American Ecclesiastical Review, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup>Brown, cp. cit., p. 414.

<sup>26</sup>Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVII (October, 1955), 560-561.

St. John find their parallels in the Qumran scrolls. These include "the spirit of truth" (1QS 4:21), "to do the truth" (1QS 1:5; 5:3; 8:2), and "witnesses to the truth" (1QS 8:6).

In conclusion, it is evident that there are many close parallels in the use of "truth" in the writings of Qumran and St. John. However, it should be observed that

in keeping with its habitual emphasis on the positive rather than the negative, [the Gospel] does not mention the opposite word for "lie" [perversity], which appears as kazab in the Scrolls.27

#### The Role of Man

In the scheme of dualism the role of man is next to be considered. There seem to be two trends which meet in the Qumran literature on this point. On the one hand there is an almost deterministic predestination in which the two spirits dominate and because of which man acts according to the one or the other. Other passages seem to speak of the obvious free behavior of man and the consequent reward or punishment. 28 Thus, for example, the following two passages are found in the same document:

From the God of knowledge exists all that is and will be. Before they existed, he established all the design of them. And after they exist, according to their ordinances, they fulfill their task; and nothing can be changed (1QS 4:24).

<sup>27&</sup>lt;sub>Albright, op. cit., p. 169.</sub>

<sup>28</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 412.

For his soul has refused instruction and knowledge of righteous laws (1QS 3:1).

In a study of the <u>Thanksgiving Psalms</u> of the Qumran community, one author has also noted "the strong sense of determinism and the pessimism regarding man."<sup>29</sup>

Several explanations for this apparent conflict have been given. Murphy states,

The typical Old Testament point of view is to disregard secondary causes and consider God the cause of everything, and it is this aspect which colors the Qumran teaching. 30

Another writer<sup>31</sup> sees in this a merging of the determinism of Iranian dualism and the moral responsibility of Old Testament theology. Brown<sup>32</sup> rounds out his explanation with the thought that the full depth of this problem was probably not even realized or discussed by the covenanters.

In the Gospel according to St. John there is no such conflict of ideas. God has chosen His own (John 15:16) and there is no hint of determinism to evil without choice.

Man adheres to the darkness deliberately (John 3:19-20), but Christ tries to persuade men to come to the light before it is too late (John 12:35). The final basis for God's judgment

<sup>29</sup>J. P. Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot,'"
New Testament Studies, II (May, 1956), 283-284.

<sup>30</sup> Murphy, American Ecclesiastical Review, p. 14.

<sup>31</sup> Mowry, op. c1t., p. 82.

<sup>32</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 412.

of man is the fact that man freely and deliberately chooses the darkness (John 3:19).

In summary, we find that in the Qumran literature men are aligned under the banners of light and darkness, and this seemingly without much choice on man's part. Yet, other passages suppose that man deliberately walks in either of the two ways. In John's terminology, too, man walks in the ranks of either light or darkness, but he does so freely in as much as he accepts or does not accept Christ, the light of the world.

# The Struggle

The diversity of this dualism means a complete separation of the two types of men, the sons of light and darkness. 34 Between these forces of light and darkness a great struggle goes on until the final period (1QS 4:17). This "season of visitation" will finally come and God will do away with sin in the triumph of light over darkness.

"Qumran felt that this was not far off, and the War Scroll seems to be a description of the glorious victory in the final battle. "35 In fact, "die Stellung dieser Gemeinde in der Welt und zu der Welt ist nun die einer ausgesprochenen Kampfsituation. "36

A similar struggle between light and darkness exists in

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 415.

<sup>34</sup>Braun, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>35</sup> Murphy, American Ecclesiastical Review, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Kuhn, ob. cit., p. 202.

the Gospel according to St. John. However, this struggle is already passing through its climax and victory has already been decided (John 1:5; 1 John 2:8). The prince of this world has been cast out (John 12:31; 16:33), and the victory will reach its final culmination in the second coming of Christ. There is a similarity, yet here again Christ makes the great difference for John. "For Qumran victory is still in the future; for John light is already triumphent." 37

### The Sons of Light

There are many references in the Qumran writings to
"the sons of light." For all practical purposes, belonging
or not belonging to the sect of Qumran decides whether or
not a person is a "son of light." 38 The Qumran community
has the characteristic exclusiveness typical of small
sectarian movements. The acceptance and obedience of its
interpretation of the Law is the precise factor which makes
one a "son of light." In addition to this acceptance, there
are demands for the doing of good deeds according to specific
instruction.

In the Gospel according to St. John it is faith in Christ which makes "a son of light" (John 12:46; 8:12).

<sup>37</sup>Brown, ep. cit., pp. 411-412.

<sup>38</sup>Kuhn, op. cit., p. 200.

The doing of good works is that which follows faith (1 John 2:9-10). Although there are similarities between the commands to virtuous behavior, the difference lies in what makes one a "son of light." For John, it is faith in Christ; for the Qumran community, it is accepting the community's interpretation of the Law. 39

### The Origins of Qumran Dualism

The origin of this dualism of Qumran has already been indicated above. K. G. Kuhn has made a study of this problem of origins and concludes that the background can be seen in a primitive form of Zoroastrianism. William Albright has substantiated these arguments in a later study and sees the ethical dualism of the Qumran scrolls under this influence during the stay of the Jews in Mesopotamia after the Exile. However, in Mazdayasnianism, good and evil are co-existent, independent and uncreated forces, while in the Qumran literature, the two forces were created at the beginning of time and its dualism is ethical and monotheistic. This difference can be attributed to Qumran's rigorous adherence to the Old Testament moral law.

<sup>39</sup> Brown, op. cit., p. 418.

<sup>40</sup> K. G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, XLIX (1952), 296-316.

<sup>41</sup> Albright, op. cit., p. 167.

Frank Cross traces the development in a similar way:

The origins of the idea dualism are found in the Heavenly Court of God in the Old Testament, where in a scene of judgment Satan as "prosecutor" stands over against the Angel of the Lord as Advocate or witness (1 Kings 22:19-24; Zech. 3; Job 16:19; 19:25). In the elaborate angelology and dualism of the Essenes, partly under Iranian influence, Old Testament origins are blurred and the two angels become the two opposing principles of light and darkness. 42

### Summary

In summing up, several general indications of comparison between the dualism of John and the Cumran community should be made. In the opinion of Grossouw,

St. John's dualism is entirely un-mythological, centered as it is around the historical revelation of God in Christ. It is, therefore, not metaphysical, but a "dualism of the decision of the will" (Bultmann).43

Braun sees Johannine dualism as an essentially moral dualism, which is comprehended in the function of accepting or rejecting the light offered in the incarnation. The "sons of light" submitted to the Law, Jesus abolished the Law and set up a reign of grace and truth. Finally, for Brown

it is evident that the basic difference between the two theologies is Christ. . . . If the terminology and ideology are often the same, St. John's whole outlook

<sup>42</sup>F. M. Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament,"
The Christian Century, LXXII (August 24, 1955), 970.

<sup>43</sup> Grossouw, op. cit., p. 296.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup>Braun, <u>op</u>. <u>c1t</u>., p. 15.

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Soldworth analogies from the Establish of St. John have also

has been radically re-orientated by the revelation that is Christ. 45

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<sup>45</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 418.

#### CHAPTER IV

# GENERAL ANALOGIES BETWEEN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. JOHN AND THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to indicate a number of analogies which have been seen by scholars between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to St. John. Certain noteworthy analogies from the Epistles of St. John have also been included. Many of these analogies are not related, but they may be placed into certain general categories. The first of these is a group of parallel words and phrases.

# Verbal Analogies

In a study which compares the Gospel according to St.

John and the Order of the Community, F. M. Braun<sup>1</sup> cites six

verbal parallels. Among the six are: "life eternal" (John

17:3 and 1QS 9:3-4), "light of life" (John 8:12 and 1QS 3:7),

"bear witness or testify to the truth" (John 5:33 and 1QS

8:6) and "son(s) of light" (John 12:36 and 1QS passim). The

other two parallels are contained in longer phrases. The

first cited is "little children, keep yourselves from idols"

(1 John 5:21) and "cursed be the one who preserves idols of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>F. M. Braun, "L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la Communauté de l'Alliance," Revue Biblique, LXII (1955), 12.

the heart" (1QS 11:11). The second is "the wrath of God abides upon you" (John 3:36) and "eternal damnation in the burning wrath of God's vengeance" (1QS 4:12). Mention should be made that several of these phrases are peculiar to John among New Testament writers ("light of life" and "bear witness to the truth"). 2

In a general introduction one author cites two further verbal analogies: "men from beneath" (John 8:23) and "son of perdition" (John 17:12), "both of which curious expressions occur in the Hymns." The plural form, "the works of God" in the Qumran scrolls (1QS 4:3-4), is found only twice in the New Testament, both times in John (6:28 and 9:3). The solemn "verily, verily" which Christ uses so frequently in the Fourth Gospel has been compared with "all who enter into the covenant shall say after them, 'Amen, Amen.'" (1QS 1:20). A resemblance has been pointed out between the section of the First Epistle of St. John which speaks of "testing the spirits" (1 John 4:1-6) and the following thoughts from the Order of the Community.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>W. Grossouw, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," <u>Studia Catholica</u>, XXVI (December, 1951), 298.

Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1956), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup>Grossouw, op. c1t., pp. 298-299.

<sup>5</sup>W. H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,"

<u>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,</u>

<u>Supplementary Studies Nos. 10-12 (1951), pp. 8-9.</u>

God has assigned two spirits to man, the spirits of truth and perversity (1QS 3:18). At the time of an annual promotion, the community should examine the spirit and the deeds of the initiant (1QS 5:24) and "investigate him as to his spirit and to his deeds" (1 QS 6:17).

Allegro cites the words of Christ concerning the second birth "of water and the Spirit" (John 3) and sees in them an echo of

the Qumran psalm which speaks of God purifying some of the sons of man to abolish the spirit of perversion from his flesh, and to cleanse him by His Holy Spirit from all wicked deeds, and sprinkle on him the Spirit of Truth as purifying water.?

Roland Murphy<sup>8</sup> has gathered a listing of suggested parallels between the Qumran writings and the New Testament. Many of those which he mentions have been included elsewhere in this study. Noteworthy among those not included is a similarity in the usage of the Gezer calendar seen in "the season of reaping and the season of summer fruit" (1QS 10:8) and the words of Christ, "Do you not say, 'There are yet four months, then comes the harvest?' I tell you, lift up your eyes, and see how the fields are already white for harvest" (John 4:35). The picture of the "desire of the eyes" or "lustful eyes" is found in both (1 John 2:16 and 1QS 1:6;

<sup>6</sup>Braun, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>John M. Allegro, The Dead Sea Scrolls (Baltimore, Maryland: Pelican Books, Inc., 1956), p. 128.

Roland E. Murphy, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and New Testament Comparison," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVIII (1956), 263-272.

5:5). These two passages are compared:

If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us (1 John 1:8-10).

We have perverted ourselves . . . we have done wickedly-both we and our fathers before us . . . but the abundance of his grace he has bestowed upon us from everlasting to everlasting (1QS 1:25-2:1).

Finally, the phrase "you did not choose me, but I chose you"
(John 15:16) is seen in parallel with "those whom God chose,
[whom] He has given . . . an eternal possession; and has
given them an inheritance with the holy ones" (1QS 11:7-8).

In considering verbal parallels F. M. Braun<sup>9</sup> speaks of "two hidden reefs" which should be avoided. The first is a neglect of both the immediate and general context of the parallels cited. The second "reef" is one inherent in the word itself. Although the same word may be used by two authors, these authors may have intended the word to convey different senses. If these two reefs are avoided, then one may discover that strict verbal parallels do not necessarily convey the same thought. Both authors may have intended two different meanings.

Another consideration which should be kept in mind in an evaluation of these parallels is that

<sup>9</sup>Braun, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

though the Qumran teaching frequently goes beyond that of contemporary Judaism, yet its roots are firmly fixed in the Old Testament, and, where verbal likenesses with New Testament notions are found, these should in nearly every case be referred back to the same Old Testament as to a common source. 10

As an example of such parallels, both the Qumran writers and St. John speak of "spirit, flesh, conversion, holiness, sin, knowledge, secret, revelation, covenant, the justice of God, the wrath of God and the Holy Spirit."

### Analogies in Doctrine and Practice

In a study of this nature it is difficult to group together the different analogies which have been noted by
scholars. Therefore, this section will attempt to include
those comparisons which are not closely interrelated and
will list them more or less in the nature of a catalogue.
No attempt has been made to group doctrines and practices
separately, for often the two are both included under one
point of comparison.

One of the favorite words often used by the Qumran writers was "community" (root: TTT). 12 The word embraces the thought expressed in our English words "unity,

Originality of Christ (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), p. 58.

<sup>11</sup>Roland E. Murphy, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), p. 58.

<sup>12</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., p. 7.

communion, oneness." The Greek of the New Testament translates the derivatives of this Hebrew word in several ways, such as "fellowship, communion, to share, communicate and to be one" (for example, κοινωνέω ). "The Johannine phrase 'that they may be one,' 'become perfectly one' (John 17:11,21,23) uses typical Essene diction." 13

If these covenanters were Essenes and the accounts of Philo and Josephus are reliable, then it may be stated that the

criticism of the Temple expressed by Jesus in the Synoptics (stated in even stronger form in John) corresponds to the Essenes' attitude toward the Jewish Temple and sacrificial worship. 14

Dupont-Sommer has quoted the following passage from the <u>Damascus Document</u>, which he translates, "God, through His Ancinted One, has made us to know his holy Spirit" (CDC 2:12). Concerning this section, he writes:

In this sentence is outlined something like a trinitarian theology: God, the Anointed One of God, the Spirit of God, such are the three great divine entities in the sect of the New Covenant. 15

Graystone takes issue with this point and states that "the reference, in the context, is not to the Messiah, but to

<sup>13</sup>Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Scrolls and the New Testament," The Christian Century, LXXII (August 24, 1955), 970.

<sup>140</sup>scar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIV (December, 1955), 217.

<sup>15</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p. 65.

Sadoq, eponymous ancestor of the sect. #16

In several practices of the Qumran community Allegro17 sees a connection with references in the Gospel according to St. John. The phrase in John "the light which lighteneth every man" may be similar to Qumran's "apportionment of the Spirit of Light to Man at birth." Another phrase cited is "for he giveth not the Spirit by measure." This "perhaps has reference to the numerical division of Qumran."

The angelology of Qumran has been referred to in the preceding chapter. There are some comparisons which may be drawn between the angelology of the community and that of the New Testament, especially in certain accidental points, such as names and ranks. One writer does not draw specific parallels to the Gospel according to St. John, but outlines the angelology of Qumran, and concludes with the thought that comparisons with the New Testament will be self-evident. A summary of his treatment follows. In characteristic dualistic fashion, the angels are divided into two groups, the good and the evil. The good angels have their names written on the banners of the "sons of light." St.
Michael is their protector (1QM 9:15ff.; 17:6-7). The evil angels are under the leadership of Belial, the Angel of Hostility or the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3:20ff.). These

<sup>16</sup> Graystone, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>17</sup>Allegro, op. cit., p. 128.

evil hosts direct their forces to the destruction of the community. 18

Certain analogies have been indicated in the area of eschatology. This area will receive closer study under the heading of "Messianism," but certain general analogies might be mentioned here. The Qumran writers are themselves living in the "last generation." The final war has begun. In their own history and in the events around them they see fulfillment of Old Testament prophesies. 19 Certain parallels with the general tone of New Testament eschatology have been noted:20 a belief in a catastrophe leading to the end of the world. At that time the righteous, who will participate in God's judgment, will join in the praise of God in "eternal life," while the wicked will be punished in the "obscurity of eternal fire." Graystone, who enumerates these parallels, also states that these emphases "can all be found in the body of apocalyptic literature and would seem . . . to have been themes well known to the Jewish world of Our Lord's day. "21 With special reference to the eschatology of the Gospel according to St. John, Graystone writes:

<sup>18</sup> Graystone, op. c1t., pp. 60-61.

<sup>19</sup> Cross, op. cit., p. 970.

<sup>20</sup> Graystone, op. c1t., p. 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

St. John especially gives prominence to these ideas, sometimes referred to as "realized eschatology," viz., that the true believer already has here below a life which is eternal, whereas "the world is already judged."22

# He further points out that

we do meet expressions in the Qumran writings which suggest a certain anticipation of eternal blessings. The Community is an "eternal planting," an "eternal assembly," with an "eternal inheritance"; its members pursue "eternal knowledge," "eternal peace," "eternal goodness." These ideas have been compared to New Testament texts such as the following: "this is eternal life, to know thee, the only true God . . . " (John 17:3). . . . Still when we come to examine these expressions of the sectaries in their full context, we find that they do not signify any real anticipation of eternity, but simply a kind of destination to eternal life, a purposeful looking-forward to it.23

There are very severe penalties in the Qumran literature against unrepented apostasy. There is no forgiveness for a backslider who refuses to repent (1QS 2:13-14). In the First Epistle of St. John we read, "There is a sin unto death; I do not mean that anyone should ask as to that" (1 John 5:16). Some have understood this as deliberate apostasy from Christ. "The fact that in Qumran Jewry apostasy was an 'unforgiveable sin' may lend plausibility to their theory. "24

In many respects one of the very striking analogies

Although Simistians are never sligged

<sup>22</sup> Ib1d.

<sup>23&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 64.

<sup>24</sup>Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVII (October, 1955), 565.

between John and Qumran is that of love. 25 There seem to be three emphases in the Cumran literature. In the initiation ceremonies and formal instruction, the members of the community are urged to a hatred of evil things and persons. For example, the "sons of light" are commanded "to hate all the sons of darkness, each according to his guilt in provoking God's vengeance" (1QS 1:10). On the other hand, there is a trend which seems to encourage love toward outsiders. This is expressed particularly in the hymns of Qumran which reflect their personal piety. In one of the closing hymns of the Order of the Community we read, "I will repay no man with evil's due; only with good will I pursue a man; for with God is the judgment of every living thing" (1QS 10:18). The third emphasis directs the members of the community to a love for one another. The spirit of loving devotion should pervade the community (1QS passim). This spirit of love has its practical application both in admonitions "not to speak . . . in anger, or in complaint . . . or a callous heart" (1QS 5:26) and in severe punishment for sins against the brethren (1QS 7:4-8). Of this emphasis Grossouw writes, "One gets a strong impression that in these writings man's mind is preparing for the Christian precept of love. "26 Although Christians are never allowed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 561-563.

<sup>26</sup> Grossouw, op. cit., p. 292.

to hate, St. John encourages Christians, "Do not love the world, or the things that are in the world. If anyone loves the world, the love of the Father is not in him" (1 John 2:15). The Synoptics carry Christ's command of universal love, but John speaks only of the love of the brother or the love of one another. He never explicitly commands love of one's neighbor. Love remains inside the closed circle of God, Christ and Christians. 27 Although the love which John speaks of is founded in Christ,

it is certainly remarkable that the New Testament writer who shares so many other idealogical and terminological peculiarities with Qumran should also stress the particular aspect of charity which is emphasized more in the Qumran literature than anywhere else in Jewish literature before Christ. 28

Both Qumran and St. John display a characteristic interest in the symbolism of water. 29 This is indicated in the common usage of the phrase "fountain of living waters." A common background may be seen in the Old Testament usage in Jeremiah, Psalms and Proverbs. 30 In the eyes of Qumran, this "fountain of living water" was their particular interpretation of the Law:

So are all the men who entered into the New Covenant in the land of Damascus and yet turned backward and

<sup>27&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid., p. 298.</sub>

<sup>28</sup>Brown, op. c1t., pp. 563-564.

<sup>29</sup> Murphy, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, p. 267.

<sup>30</sup> Brown, op. cit., p. 564.

acted treacherously and departed from the spring of living waters (CDC 9<sup>b</sup>:28).

And in the Gospel according to St. John we read

He, however, who drinks of the water that I will give him shall never thirst; but the water that I will give him shall become in him a fountain of water, springing up to everlasting life (John 4:14).

"For Qumran, the water of life comes from the community's discipline and lore; for John it is given by Christ to those who believe. "31

The symbolism of water was also carried over into the practice of the Qumran community. In the ruins of Khirbet Qumran a room with cisterns used for ritual baths has been found. There are references in the writings which set down strict washing regulations (CDC 10:10-13). The writings of Josephus also contain references to this repeated practice of the Essenes. 32 In general, there seems to have been an "intense desire on the part of the Essenes to go beyond the Levitical requirements for rites of purification by ritual washing. "33 Of all the Gospels "the greatest emphasis in

No. 22 012 , p. 589.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 565.

<sup>32</sup> Josephus, Wars of the Jews, Book II, viii, 2-13. Quoted in an appendix of A. Powell Davies, The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1956).

<sup>33</sup>Lucetta Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Back-ground for the Gospel of John," <u>Biblical Archaeologist</u>, XVII (December, 1954), 90.

John is given to the symbolism of water. "34 In some of these sections certain writers have seen connections with these ritual lustrations of Qumran. John is the only writer who included the account of the wedding at Cana (2:1-12). The account of changing water into wine may have been directed against the Essenes. It was to show them that their purifications with water were no longer to be used, but that Christ had taken their place. Also, when Christ told Nicodemus that man must "be born of water and the Spirit" (John 3:25), he was speaking against the material level of Qumran's ordinances, commandments and ritual purifications. Instead he was directing them to a complete regeneration "into the other order by a power outside."35 Brown comments on these conclusions:

These connections are possible, but the internal evidence adduced for such anti-Essene polemic is far from conclusive. . . . Until we have more evidence, it seems to the present writer that we must be cautious in introducing Qumran elements into every phase of the Johannine literature. 36

Finally, another analogy has been seen in that the preoccupation of Qumran with the religious calendar suggested

<sup>34</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 568. He mentions "the changing of water into wine (Jn. 2:1-10); the conversation with Nicodemus (3:1-15); the conversation with the Samaritan woman (4:1-26); the pool at Bethesda (5:1-9); the blind man and the pool of Siloe (9:1-12); the washing of the feet at the Last Supper (13:1-16); the blood and water from the side of Christ (19:34. Also 1 Jn. 5:6-7)."

<sup>35</sup>Mowry, op. c1t., pp. 89-92.

<sup>36&</sup>lt;sub>Brown, op. cit., p. 568.</sub>

the arrangement of Jesus' miracles and discourses in the Fourth Gospel in connection with the Jewish festivals. In the Qumran literature there are many references to the correct celebration of Sabbaths and feasts. 37 Some scholars have also concluded that the Qumran covenanters had adopted a solar calendar in opposition to the Hellenistic lunar calendar used by the Jews at this time. 38 Building on this Mowry concludes:

Thus it would seem that the writer of the Fourth Gospel, prodded by the calendar quarrel, used with remarkable creativity the cycle of feasts as a literary device to interpret the meaning of Christ for a Christian group living in the midst of an Essene group in Syria, 39

Millar Burrows considers this suggestion "unconvincing." Another scholar concludes that "the simplest explanation of why John speaks of feasts is that Christ actually delivered discourses on such occasions. "41

### Summary

This chapter has attempted to gather most of the analogies of a general nature which have been cited between the

<sup>37&</sup>lt;u>Ib1d.</u>, pp. 565-566.

<sup>38&</sup>lt;sub>Mowry, op. cit., p. 88.</sub>

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 88-89.

<sup>40</sup>Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 339.

<sup>41</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 567.

Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to St. John. A number of verbal parallels have been noted, some of which are peculiar to St. John among New Testament writers. In doctrine and practice many writers have seen parallels, which include analogies in eschatology, angelology, brotherly love, apostasy, symbolism of water and preoccupation with a religious calendar. No attempt has been made by the writer to evaluate these suggestions. However, in some instances the disagreement of some scholar has been noted.

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# CHAPTER V

### JOHN THE BAPTIST AND THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

One of the important figures in the Gospel according to St. John is John the Baptist. His mission as the fore-runner of Christ is well known. This unique figure has played a special role in the discussion of the Dead Sea Scrolls. For.

virtually everyone who has studied the Qumran literature in the light of the New Testament has recognized the startling Qumran parallels in the narratives concerning John the Baptist . . . almost every detail of his life and preaching has a possible Qumran affinity.

For this reason, a special chapter has been set aside to examine these "affinities" which have been pointed out by scholars.

# A Common Background

Both Qumran and John<sup>2</sup> have priestly origins. The Qumran community was a priestly community. They called themselves the "sons of Sadoq" (CDC passim) and demanded "priestly" perfection of their members (1QS 8:4-10). John was the son of a priest of the temple at Jerusalem "and

Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVII (October, 1955), 573.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>It should be noted that in this chapter only references to "John" are intended to be "John the Baptist," unless otherwise specified.

lived in a family that was intensely pious and impregnated with Messianism. "3

The Dead Sea Scrolls come from a group which had withdrawn to the wilderness of Judaea, east of Jerusalem. Similarly, Luke speaks of John, "And the child grew and became strong in spirit, and he was in the wilderness till the day of his manifestation to Israel" (Luke 1:80).

### A Common Theme

When the Jews from Jerusalem asked John about himself, he replied, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilder-ness, 'Make straight the way of the Lord,' as the prophet Isaiah said" (John 1:23). The "charter" of the Qumran community reads:

They will separate themselves from the midst of the habitation of perverse men to go to the wilderness to clear there the way of the Lord, as it is written, "In the wilderness clear the way of the Lord; level in the desert a highway for our God." That means studying the Law which He commanded through Moses, so as to do according to all that was revealed time after time and according to that which the prophets revealed through His Holy Spirit (1QS 8:13-15).

Although this theme finds a common source in the Old Testament (Isaiah 40:3), it is noteworthy that both John and

Roland E. Murphy, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), p. 59.

And Scrolls (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 113.

<sup>5&</sup>lt;sub>Murphy, op. c1t., p. 59.</sub>

Qumran saw their mission in the same particular way: preparing the way of the Lord in the wilderness. 6

This particular emphasis lends itself to a comparison of the Messianic expectation of John and Qumran, as it is expressed in this theme. The "preparing the way of the Lord" was a preparation for the Messianic age. Qumran viewed this Messiah as the one who would come, as Moses, and lead them from the wilderness into the promised land. Even the word used in Isaiah for "wilderness" (57279) is the proper designation for the area in which this community built its center. At this place, the glory of the Lord would be revealed in the Messiah. This day would be brought by their study and practice of the law and prophets. John must have had some knowledge of the Essene messianic expectation. For he, too, believed that the way should be prepared in the wilderness and that the Messiah would appear there (John 1:33).

## Affinities in Baptism

of John and the lustration rites of Qumran. The first of these parallels is in the practice of baptism itself.

<sup>6</sup>Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 328.

<sup>7</sup>W. H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls," <u>Interpretation</u>, IX (1955), 72-73.

There are several indications of lustration rites among the covenanters of Qumran. In the first place, a system of cisterns and pools in the ruins of Khirbet Qumran has been These may have been used for their washings.8 Secondly, there are allusions to this practice in the scrolls. Baptism is referred to in the Order of the Community (108 3:4-9; 5:13-14). There seems to have been some sort of initial bath (1QS 5:13); "although this passage is negatively stated, it may well imply that entrance into the society of 'holy men' was by 'entering into water. 189 In addition to the initial bath, it is also quite probable that Qumran practiced several self-imposed washings. 10 John's baptism differed from that of Qumran, for it was neither self-imposed nor repeated. 11 "Still, in a certain sense, they are parallel, in that they served as a rite of initiation, #12

Fritsch, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>9</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., p. 76.

<sup>10</sup> Fritsch, op. cit., p. 61.

llAn interesting deduction from this difference is found in F. F. Bruce, "Qumran and Early Christianity," New Testament Studies, II (February, 1956), 189: "In view of the discrepancy between Josephus' explanation of John's baptism and that implied in the New Testament, it may be thought that Josephus misinterpreted it in terms of Essene lustration, which was more familiar to him."

<sup>120</sup>scar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity,"

Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIV (December, 1955), 215.

A second affinity between these baptisms has been seen in a common understanding of baptism as more than an external rite. Qumran demanded inner purification before participation in the rite itself (IQS 3:6-11). John, too, stressed the importance of "a change in heart and corresponding conduct. "13

A common indictment of the Jewish nation is cited as another parallel. John insisted that all Jews, and not merely proselytes, receive his baptism (Matthew 3:7-9; Luke 3:7-8).

This extreme indictment of the Jewish nation is characteristic also of the Gumran sect, who regarded all men outside their group as belonging to the realm of Belial. They had separated themselves from the children of darkness by living in accordance with the Torah of Moses and by observing lustral rites. They were the true Israel, whose sins were atoned for through submission to God's holy ordinances, so that they, and they alone, could be sanctified by purifying water (1QS 3:8-9). In other words, only for them could the baptismal rite have any meaning. 14

John the Baptist speaks of the one who is coming who will "baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire" (Luke 3:16). In the Gospel according to St. John, he points to Christ and says, "This is he who baptizes with the Holy Spirit" (John 1:33). Similar expressions have been found in the scrolls. One section speaks of the Messiah giving

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<sup>13</sup> Murphy, op. cit., p. 61.

<sup>14</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., p. 114.

his holy spirit to the righteous remnant (CDC 2:9-10). 15
In the Order of the Community we read:

Only through the holy spirit can be achieve union with God's truth and be purged of all his iniquities. Only by a spirit of uprightness and humility can his sin be atoned. Only thus can it really be sprinkled with water of oblation. Only thus can be really be sanctified by waters of purification (1QS 3:7-8).16

In the eschatological period God will "visit" his people,
"purify all the actions of men by His truth" and "by a
holy spirit He will cleanse [man] from all wicked deeds
and sprinkle him with a spirit of truth" (1QS 4:20-22).
These thoughts "recall John's proclamation that the Messiah
will baptize His people with the Holy Spirit." 17

John probably uses the phrase "baptize . . . with fire" (Luke 3:16) to picture the judgment of the unrepentant (cf. Matthew 3:12). This symbol of fire for judgment is a familiar one in the Old Testament (Isaiah 10:16-19; Amos 7:4). This figure also "is undoubtedly related in some way to the Zoroastrian idea of final conflagration. "18 And now among the Qumran psalms a full description of this judgment by fire has been found. 19 The psalm speaks of an

<sup>15</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., p. 82.

<sup>16</sup>Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1956), p. 348.

<sup>17</sup>Burrows, op. cit., p. 329.

<sup>18&</sup>lt;sub>Ibid.</sub>, p. 328.

<sup>19</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p. 73.

eschatological river of fire and uses such phrases as "no escape," "fire consumes all beings," and "it [the river] consumes even as far as the Great Abyss, and the torrents of Belial break in Abaddon." "It may be that John had this description of the eschatological river of fire in mind when he talked of the baptism of fire." 20

### Affinities of a General Nature

The message which John proclaimed was "Repent" (Matt. 3:2). The Qumran community spoke of a "covenant of repentance" (CDC 9:15), "those who repent of transgression" (1QS 9:20) and the "penitents of Israel" (CDC 6:1).21

There are certain sayings of John the Baptist which some critical scholars have considered "theological intrusions of the Fourth Evangelist." W. H. Brownlee<sup>22</sup> restudies some of these sections in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. He attempts to show how the historical accuracy of the account of John the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel is vindicated by the scrolls. His general theory is that certain emphases found in the scrolls are parallel to these "theological intrusions" and might help explain the background of the thinking of John the Baptist.

<sup>20</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup><u>Ibid</u>., p. 113.

<sup>22</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., pp. 71-90.

Burrows considers some of Brownlee's interpretations which follow "debatable."23 In any case, a summary of Brownlee's arguments follows.

When confronted by an inquiring delegation of Jews, John denied that he was "Elijah" (John 1:19-22). In the eschatology of Qumran the prophet Elijah is not expected to precede the Messiah. This lack of emphasis in the Qumran messianic expectation might explain John's denial. 24 At least, there is a general affinity here.

In speaking of Christ John said, "After me comes a man who ranks before me, for he was before me" (John 1:30). Some critical scholars think that this concept of pre-existence is too advanced a messianic concept for the Baptist. However, the Baptist may have had several things in mind when he spoke these words. He may have looked at Christ as "the son of man"; for "it is easy to infer pre-existence from the pictures given in I Enoch." John may have thought of the Messiah as Elijah redivivus. This picture is based on Malachi 4:4-5, which may be referring to "that prophet" of which Moses spoke (Deut. 18:18-19) as Elijah redivivus. Fragments of these books have been found in the caves of Qumran. However, John could well have had in mind the distinctly Essene view of the Messiah. They

<sup>23</sup>Burrows, op. cit., p. 340.

<sup>24</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., pp. 84-85.

thought of him as a mere man, who had been refined through suffering, sanctified by the Holy Spirit, sprinkled with the Spirit of Truth and was now exercising the prophetic office. 25

John the Baptist pointed to Christ and said, "Behold the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29). In the Order of the Community there is a reference to one who suffers to become the Messiah: "his body and soul being refined and purged of every sin and demon that he may be the perfect medium for the revelation of the truth." In a "Messianic hymn" of the sect we read, "In not being esteemed and in not being known is the seal of his secret" (cf. Isaiah 53:3). The secret of the messianic suffering is reflected in these words. In John's declaration a "Christian modification of the Essene messianic expectation" may be seen. 26

In another Essene hymn (1QH 3) we read:

And through hellish pains the first-born of her who is pregnant bursts forth; a Wonderful Counselor with His might, and a man is delivered from the birth canal of His pregnant ones.

In this psalm Brownlee sees the "Wonderful Counselor" as the Messiah, coming with God's might. The community is viewed as the bride of God and the mother of the Messiah.

<sup>25&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 85-86.

<sup>26&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 87-89.

For Qumran, this name of the Messiah is not to be understood in the same sense of Christian theology. It is a "theophorous name." John may have known this hymn which speaks
of a mighty one, mightier than he was. This realization
may have been reflected in his words, "among you stands one
whom you do not know... the thong of whose sandal I am
not worthy to untie" (John 1:26-27).27

An affinity in eschatology of a more general nature has been pointed out:

the Essenes understand themselves to be in the situation of John. Jesus' early teachings are in much the same eschatological framework. The man in the early church is in a somewhat new historical moment. He lives in the same tension. The Kingdom delays. The world remains. He was saved in hope. He must partake in the Kingdom proleptically, anticipating the coming day when the ambiguity will end, the world will be transformed, and end be brought to wicked flesh and the Kingdom of God be fulfilled. 28

#### An Indication of Differences

To complete this picture, certain differences should also be indicated in this survey. In general, it may be stated that even if John had found something appealing in the movement at Qumran.

when the "Word of God came to John the son of Zechariah in the wilderness" (Luke 3:2), as it had come to many a prophet before, he learned and proclaimed the

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. 79-80.

<sup>28</sup>F. M. Cross, "The Scrolls and the New Testament,"
The Christian Century, LXXII (August 24, 1955), 970.

necessity for something more than the teaching or action of Qumran. 29

Two other differences have also been noted. In the first place, John was "a popular preacher, directing his message to the common man." No active program of gaining members through evangelistic outreach is known among the Essenes. In the second place, John actually did prepare the way for the true Messiah. The "way" which Qumran had prepared in the wilderness "was a dead end, for it never led for them to the Messiah. "30

### Summary

There are a number of affinities between the Qumran community and literature and John the Baptist. They both have similar priestly origins, both are preparing the way of the Lord in the wilderness, both practice baptism with several common emphases and both live in a "not-yet" eschatological orientation. There are several sayings of John the Baptist which may be reflections of certain themes in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Among the differences which are not obvious from the sections compared is the lack of an evangelistic outreach by the Qumran community. Finally, it should be noted here that the conclusions and hypotheses

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Bruce, <u>op</u>. <u>c1t</u>., p. 190.

<sup>30</sup>Fritsch, op. cit., p. 116.

of scholars concerning the nature of this relationship will be discussed in a later chapter.

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### CHAPTER VI

### THE MESSIANISM OF THE QUMRAN LITERATURE

An indication of certain affinities which scholars have noted between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel according to St. John was suggested in the preceding chapters. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the Messianic expectation of the Qumran community. No attempt will be made to draw parallels with the Gospel according to St. John in every instance. This chapter will summarize the Messianic expectation which scholars have seen in the literature of Qumran. This type of approach is intended to fill in the picture of the Jewish Messianic expectation in its role as the background of the New Testament and, more specifically, of the Gospel according to St. John.

The Messianism of the Teacher of Righteousness

In a discussion of the Messianism of Qumran the figure of the Teacher of Righteousness immediately comes into consideration. The possibility of an historical identification of this figure is beyond the scope of this study. However, certain features of the office and the activities of the Teacher of Righteousness should be mentioned. In the <u>Damas-Qua Document</u> we read:

God raised up for the penitents in Israel "a righteous teacher" to lead them in the way of his heart and to

make known to the last generations what he was to do in the last generation (CDC 1:11).

From this passage and others (e.g., lQpPs. 37) it has been concluded that this Teacher of Righteousness was the founder of the sect of Qumran.¹ The exegesis of the Qumran community bears the impress of his mind, though it may well have been elaborated and developed by his followers.² He may also have been the author of some of the psalms of Qumran written in the first person singular.³ Other scholars view the term "Teacher of Righteousness" as the title of an office which was held by a number of persons during the history of the sect. Since a discussion of this question would lead too far afield, it may be said for the purposes of this paper that the Teacher of Righteousness, whether a single person or an office, "was at any rate a person of high standing in the sect of the Judaean Covenanters."

This figure has been the topic of much discussion.

lwilliam H. Brownlee, "Messianic Motifs of Qumran and the New Testament," New Testament Studies, III (November, 1956), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>F. F. Bruce, "Qumran and Early Christianity," New Testament Studies, II (February, 1956), 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., p. 16.

Theodor H. Gaster, The Dead Sea Scriptures (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1956), p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>J. P. Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran 'Hodayot," New Testament Studies, II (May, 1956), 277.

Certain scholars have seen Messianic attributes in the
Teacher of Righteousness. Perhaps one of the most publicized viewpoints on the Teacher of Righteousness and the
Messianism of Qumran was that of A. Dupont-Sommer, who
wrote:

It is now certain—and this is one of the most important revelations of the Dead Sea discoveries—that Judaism in the first century B.C. saw a whole theology of the suffering Messiah, of a Messiah who would be the redeemer of the world, developing around the person of the Teacher of Righteousness.

In a similar way John Allegro drew a number of imposing parallels between Christ and the Teacher of Righteousness in a radio broadcast of the British Broadcasting Company. He admitted that these findings were not based on facts, but based "largely on inference." He cited a "probable" crucifixion at the hands of a wicked priest and followers who were hoping for the return of the righteous teacher to lead the "people of the New Testament" to a "new and purified Jerusalem." This broadcast drew reactions from scholars who were working on the scrolls in Palestine. In a letter to the London Times they wrote,

We are unable to see in the text the "findings" of Mr. Allegro . . . either he has misread the texts or he has built up a chain of conjectures which the materials do not support.

It was also reported that Harold H. Rowley, his former

<sup>6</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p. 95. Cf. Chapter III for a detailed discussion.

teacher, "spanked him soundly. "7

No attempt will be made to examine more closely the parallels cited by Allegro and Dupont-Sommer. Many scholars have demonstrated that such interpretations have "produced closer parallels with the Christian faith than could be substantiated by exact exegesis."

To attempt a full discussion of their proposed parallels would demand a similar presentation of the arguments against them. This, of necessity, would be much like "setting up straw men and knocking them down." The main purpose for referring to these viewpoints at all is that their sensational character gave them widespread publicity in the public eye.

Other scholars have cited certain Messianic allusions made to the Teacher of Righteousness. In the Habakkuk commentary, the phrase "the just shall live by faith" is explained: "That means, he shall live by faith in the Teacher of Righteousness." This concept of faith is seen as an "intermediary between the literal Old Testament sense and

<sup>7&</sup>lt;sub>TIME</sub>, LXVIII (April 2, 1956), 71.

<sup>8</sup>Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 330.

Of. the following for some of the arguments against Allegro and Dupont-Sommer: Roland E. Murphy, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1956), pp. 96-108. Frank M. Cross Jr., "The Essenes and their Master," The Christian Century, LXXII (August 17, 1955), 944-945.

that of Paul. "10 However, it should be pointed out that

this faith in the Teacher of Righteousness is not, as for Paul, faith in an act of atonement accomplished in the death of Christ for the forgiveness of sins. In fact, the concept of faith is different, containing nothing of the sense of opposition to the works of the law, ll

In the same scroll we read, "God revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (lQpHab. 7:lff.). Hence Brown concludes that

the teacher, thanks to the divine revelations accorded to him, was the interpreter par excellence of the divine mysteries, and therefore, in the Qumran sense, truly a prophet. Also there is little doubt that he was an inspired interpreter of the Law, for his followers considered the interpretation received from him to be the only true one. Thus in many ways, he seems to fit the requirements of the prophet expected in I Maccabees. 12

Finally, Brownlee sees certain passages in the Qumran literature which seem to identify the Teacher with Elijah (Mal. 3:23; 4:5) and the Second Moses (Deut. 18:18). This conclusion is drawn on the basis of certain "verbal allusions which seem to give the Teacher of Righteousness who founded the New Covenant the role of the Second Moses."

<sup>10</sup>Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVII (July, 1955), 417.

llOscar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity,"

Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIV (December, 1955), 217.

<sup>12</sup>Raymond E. Brown, "The Messianism of Qumran," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX (January, 1957), 73.

The very fact that the covenanters saw prophesies of the Teacher in the Old Testament "accords with the ascription to him of this distinctive role."13

## The Testimonia of Cave Four

Among the discoveries in Cave Four of Qumran was a leaf containing a short selection of Old Testament texts. Three of the texts seem to be Messianic testimonia. 14 The first passage speaks of the prophet like unto Moses (Deut. 18:18-19). 15 The second is Balaam's prophecy about "the star out of Jacob" (Num. 24:15-17). This "star" also appears in the Damascus Document (7:19f.) and is there interpreted as "the expounder of the Law." The third testimonium is the blessing of Levi by Jacob (Deut. 33:8-11). It has been suggested that these three refer to "the coming prophet, the Davidic king and the priestly Messiah (of Test. Levi 18:2ff.). "16 Another writer sees their point of contact in this:

they all foretell destruction on those who do not listen to the divinely inspired words of the

<sup>13</sup>Brownlee, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>14</sup>Bruce, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>15</sup>F. F. Bruce, Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956), p. 14. Cf. "that prophet" (Jn. 1:21; 6:14).

<sup>16</sup>Bruce, New Testament Studies, p. 179.

Prophet. . . . Thus the whole collection is not so much "messianic" as eschatological. 17

## The Prophet and the Two Messiahs

In the Order of the Community there is a reference which speaks of "the coming of a prophet and the ancinted ones (or messiahs) of Aaron and Israel" (1989:11). This passage has been understood in various ways. "The 'Prophet' is doubtless the Messiah, whose followers ('ancinted ones') will consist of two classes: priests (i.e., of Aaron), and laity (i.e., those of Israel). "18

Another writer translates "until the coming of a prophet and the anointed High Priest and the Davidic King." This translation would be in keeping with 1 Maccabees, that is, the status quo will remain for the Qumran community until a prophet comes who will "set an anointed, not a garment-laden, High Priest in office and will re-establish the Davidic dynasty on the throne of Israel." 19

<sup>17</sup>J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature," <u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>, LXXV (September, 1956), 187.

<sup>18</sup>william H. Brownlee, "The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Supplementary Studies Nos. 10-12, 1951, p. 35. Cf. "John's ideas of the followers of Christ receiving his fulness (1:16) and being anointed with the Spirit (1:33)" in Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospels and Epistles," Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVII (October, 1955), 570.

<sup>19</sup>L. H. Silberman, "The Two 'Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline," <u>Vetus Testamentum</u>, V (1955), 82.

Burrows argues that "the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel"
is the only defensible reading and sees these two figures
as the priestly and secular heads of the eschatological community. "The secular Messiah then corresponds to Moses,
the king or the Davidic Messiahship, as the priestly Messiah
corresponds to Aaron or the high priest."20

In a lengthy study of this passage, K. G. Kuhn<sup>21</sup> maintains that the Qumran community expected two individual Messiahs, one from Aaron and the other from Israel. He cites parallel thoughts from the <u>Damascus Document</u>, <u>Testimonies of the Twelve Patriarchs</u> and Rabbinic literature.

Then he concludes

Wir haben also in Sekt. 9,11 die Erwartung dreier Verschiedener Heilsgestalten, die in der Endzeit nebeneinanderstehen werden: (1) der neue prophetische Gesetzgeber, (2) der "Messias Aarons," der neue Hohepriester aus Levi, (3) der "Messias Israels," der neue König aus Juda. 22

This two-fold Messianic expectation has also been seen in a two column fragment from Cave One (1Q8a). It was

<sup>20</sup>Millar Burrows, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israel,"
Anglican Theological Review, XXXIV (October, 1952), 204-205.

New Testament Studies, I (February, 1955), 168-179.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 178. Cf. ibid., p. 179: "In einer merkwürdig und beachtlichen Weise ist aber die spätere kirchliche Vorstellung von der Vereinigung der drei Amter, des prophetischen, des priesterlichen und des königlichen, in der Person Jesu durch das Nebeneinander des endzeitlichen Propheten, des hohenpriesterlichen Messias und des Messias Israels in Sekt. 9,11 vorgebildet."

originally part of the Order of the Community, but was detached. In this document there are two figures. One is a high priest (perhaps the Messiah of Aaron) and the other is the Messiah of Israel. The setting is a Messianic banquet with a definite seating order and a blessing of bread and wine. 23 The fact that in this situation the Messiah of Israel is subordinate to the priest has been compared with "the subordination of the prince (David) to the priesthood in Ezechiel's new commonwealth. "24

Gaster considers this interpretation of the fragment untenable. The "Messiah" is not a divine eschatological figure, but

simply the duly ancinted king of Israel at any future epoch. The aim of the passage . . . is simply to indicate that, as in normative Jewish law, the sacred seed of Aaron has precedence over all laymen. Accordingly, it is affirmed, even if the ancinted king-what we should call "a crowned head"-should happen to be present at a meal, he and his retinue are not to take their seats until the high priest and his priestly retinue have done so, and it is still to be left to the priest to pronounce the customary benediction over the food. 25

In another fragment (1QSb), also once part of the

<sup>23</sup>Cf. Gaster, op. cit., p. 19: "Certain scholars have tried to find a prototype of the Eucharist given [here]." Also <u>1bid.</u>, p. 20: "However there is not the slightest suggestion that the bread and wine were regarded as his flesh and blood or that the consumption of them had any redemptive power. At most, it would be an <u>agaze</u>, or love feast."

<sup>24</sup>Bruce, New Testament Studies, p. 178.

<sup>25</sup> Gaster, op. cit., p. 25.

Order of the Community, there are a collection of blessings for the congregation, the priest, the sacerdotal cast and "the Prince of the Congregation." It is "quite plausible that the prince who would rule the congregation in the last times would be the Messiah of Israel. "26 The priest may well represent the "Messiah of Aaron."

Two figures also appear in the <u>War Scroll</u>, the "Prince of the Congregation" and "the Chief Priest." "The former is simply a military leader, the latter is portrayed chiefly in the role of a chaplain who accompanies the army in battle." These two figures have been equated with the two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel. 27

In the same scroll, another scholar has seen a further collocation of the Levitical and Davidic Messiahs in the juxtaposition of the high priest and the "mighty man"  $(\neg \neg \neg \lambda)$ . 28

Additional insights into the Messianism of Qumran come from a group of fragments from Cave Four. 29 One of these fragments indicates that Qumran came to expect an ideal interpreter of the Law to arise with the Davidic Messiah in the last days (4Q Florilegium). This interpreter may be

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<sup>26</sup>Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX, 56-57.

<sup>27</sup>Brownlee, New Testament Studies, pp. 22-23.

<sup>28</sup> Bruce, New Testament Studies, p. 180.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Allegro, <u>op</u>. <u>c1t</u>., pp. 174-187.

the other Messiah. Another fragment (4QpIsc) seems to stress the superiority of Aaron. 30

In general, the two-fold Messianism of Qumran may be characterized as follows. With their coming these two figures bring the final period in the history of the world. Just exactly when this time will be is not mentioned. The whole eschatological battle of the <u>War Scroll</u> is a picture of the initial period of struggle to be won by the Messianic forces. After this battle, there would follow a time of peace and blessedness, from which period we have the description of the Messianic banquet and the blessing of the Priest and the Prince of the Congregation. This two-fold Messianism fits into "a pattern of postexilic thought already known to us from the Old Testament and pseudepigrapha."31

The role of the prophet in Qumran Messianism is that of one "fashioned in the legalistic atmosphere of the age . . . he is to settle points not covered by the Torah."

In general, this expectation seems to be in keeping with popular belief. It is possible that he will precede the Messiah, but "he will deal with those legal problems that the community, in clinging to the ancient codes (unlike its

<sup>30</sup> Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX, 81.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pp. 61-63.

innovating rivals), cannot solve. "32

#### The "Messianic" Psalm

A portion of one of the psalms of Qumran (1QH 3) reads:

And I was in distress As a woman in travail bringing forth her first child; For her birth pangs wrench, And sharp pain, upon her birth canal, To cause writhing in the crucible of the pregnant one. For sons have come to the deathly birth canal, And she who is pregnant with a man is distressed by her pains; For through deathly contractions she brings forth a male child,

And through infernal pains, there bursts forth from the crucible of the pregnant one,

A Wonderful Counsellor with his might And a man is delivered from the birth canal by the pregnant one.

This woman in travail is apparently Israel or the godly remnant in Israel. The child whose birth is described here is considered by some to be the Messiah (cf. Is. 9:6).33 This picture "seems to flow into another one of the raging sea mercilessly battering a ship and its sailors until, at the end of the psalm the works of evil are swallowed up in Sheel. " This pealm, which is "a quiltwork of expressions of biblical origin, " some scholars have termed "Messianic."34

Brownlee sees a picture here of the community bringing forth the Messiah through suffering. He terms the Messiah

<sup>32&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 59-61.

<sup>33</sup>Bruce, New Testament Studies, p. 180.

<sup>34</sup>Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX, 66.

"a man of God's refining." This Messiah must be a perfect medium of God's redemptive and revelatory activity, for the pure and undefiled truth can be mediated only through a perfect man.

This required sanctity involves not only a moral purity, but the cleansing of the flesh itself from every evil spirit. The truth, the Spirit of Truth and the refining which comes from suffering will all contribute to the production of this perfect man. 35

There are several other possible ways in which this psalm may have been understood by the Community. Although the psalmist does recall the birth of the child in Isaiah 9:6, he may have merely been using the pain of giving birth as a simile to describe his own suffering. "In this case Is. 9:6 would have been evoked to introduce the notion of God's deliverance."36

Another possibility is that the Messianic connotations did not occur to the author of the psalm, but appeared later as the Covenanters used the psalm in their prayer life.

"The sectarians may have thought of the sufferings of their group and of its leader, and then seen in the Isaiah child their future deliverer."37

p. 29: The Gospel of John "teaches that Jesus' greatest prophetic ministry did not precede but was rather to follow his passion, because through it the Spirit of Truth would be given--not simply to him as a sanctified man, but through him to his followers."

<sup>36</sup> Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX, 71.

<sup>371</sup>b1d.

This picture of the Messiah as "a man of God's refining" is seen in several other passages. In the Order of the Community we read, "God will purify by His truth all the deeds of a man, and will refine him more than the sons of men."

The "man" mentioned is to be understood as a Messianic figure, the "warrior" or "mighty man" of the War Scroll.

The second is a passage from the Qumran psalms (1QH 11:10ff.), which speaks of a man being cleansed and sanctified to share "in the glories of the eternal society of holy men and holy angels." 38

In closing, one difficulty with this particular Messianic interpretation should be mentioned. "It is a Messianism which in certain aspects is, to the best of our knowledge, strange to Jewish apocalyptic." In other Jewish sources the Messiah comes in times of trouble, but his coming is "from above"--God intervening in history.

The idea of a group somehow bringing him forth "from below" by its suffering so that his appearance is the fructification of their own travail would be unusual in pre-Christian Judaism. . . [If this interpretation is correct,] then indeed Cumran Messianic thought made some great strides in Judaism, and formed a very important bridge between Jewish and Christian apocalyptic. 39

<sup>38</sup>Brownlee, New Testament Studies, pp. 25-27.

<sup>39</sup> Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX, 71.

# Messianism in the Isaiah Scroll

Further Messianic expectation has been seen in certain readings of one of the Qumran Isaiah scrolls (IQIs<sup>2</sup>), which differ from the Masoretic text. In one of the Servant Songs (Is. 52:14) the Masoretic text reads, "His appearance was so marred." According to Brownlee the Qumran Isaiah scroll reads, "I so anointed his appearance." If this difference was intentional on the part of Qumran, then their reading might constitute a Messianic reference to the Suffering Servant. 40 This change, then, would reflect a "most striking" understanding of the Servant Songs of Isaiah. 41

In the preceding chapter (Is. 51:4-5) the Masoretic text reads:

Listen to me, my people,
and give ear to me, my nation;
for a law will go forth from me,
and my justice for a light to the peoples.
My deliverance draws near speedily,
my salvation has gone forth,
and my arms will rule the peoples;
the coastlands wait for me,
and for my arm they hope.

The last lines of the Qumran text read, "And his arms will rule the peoples; the coastlands wait for him, and for his

<sup>40</sup>William H. Brownlee, "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls," Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, No. 132 (December, 1953), 10.

<sup>41</sup>Bruce, New Testament Studies, p. 184.

arm they hope. " This change to the third person is understood as a reference to a person—the Servant. Thus, the words "law," "justice" (or righteousness), and "salvation" in verse four are personal names for the Servant of the Lord. 42

This viewpoint rests on the Qumran Isaiah scroll (51:5)

"having waw [1] instead of (or in addition to) the Masoretic text's yodh [7]." The other Isaiah scroll from Qumran (1QIsb) does not contain this variant. Perhaps this variant was a scribal error due to a difference in pronunciation. In any case, "it does not seem wise to fashion a theory of Qumran's personal Messianic use of the names of this text."43

On the basis of these differences one writer sees an apocalyptical and Messianic sensitivity among the Qumran covenanters to a degree which caused the warping of this text of Isaiah. "The warping was in the interest of oracles which portray the Messiah as the personified qualities of God. "

<sup>42</sup>william H. Brownlee, "The Cross of Christ in the Light of Ancient Scrolls," The United Presbyterian, November 20, 1953, pp. 6,7,11; December 7, p. 11; December 14, pp. 7-8; December 21, pp. 12-13; December 28, pp. 10-11. Quoted in Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVII, 568-569.

<sup>43</sup>Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XVII, 569.

<sup>44</sup>J. V. Chamberlain, "The functions of God as messianic titles in the complete Qumran Isaiah scroll," Vetus Testamentum, V (October, 1955), 372.

#### The Communal Suffering

Some scholars have seen references in the Qumran literature implying that the explatory work ascribed to the Servant extends to the whole community of the Covenanters (1QS 8:1ff.). 45 There are also indications that "they regarded themselves as the maskilim of Daniel" (1QS 3:13; 1QM 10:10). This emphasis "may remind us also of T. W. Manson's societary interpretation of the title 'son of man. 1:46 Black carries this picture one step further and sees this two-fold emphasis "a fortiori applied to the Teacher of Righteousness. 47 Brown comments on this particular association;

Once the idea was established of the individual or the group suffering for the Lord's sake, a connection with Isaias' suffering servant would not be unlikely. But from there to a strict messianic interpretation is indeed a jump, a jump for which we really have no conclusive evidence. Undoubtedly, suffering under persecution made the sect yearn for the coming of a messiah; and when the persecution became fiercer, the coming may have seemed more imminent. But in the actual description of the roles of the two messiahs,

<sup>45</sup> Matthew Black, "Servant of the Lord and Son of Man," Scottish Journal of Theology, VI (1953), 7.

<sup>46</sup>Bruce, New Testament Studies, pp. 177, 185.

<sup>47</sup>Black, op. cit., p. 8. Cf. ibid., p. 10: "Such a Jewish belief in a 'prophet like unto Moses' meeting a martyr's death in fulfillment of Isaiah's prophesies may at any rate partly account for the origins of the New Testament doctrine that the Son of Man must suffer."

there is no hint at all that they would in any way be suffering servants. 48

#### Summary

This chapter has assembled certain elements of the Messianism of Qumran which have been noted by scholars. The figure of the Teacher of Righteousness has certain Messianic attributes, centering mainly about his function as a teacher, prophet or interpreter of the Law. Certain tangible fragments have indicated an expectation among Qumran for a prophet, a priest and a king. These last two figures may have been indicated in the term "Messiahs of Aaron and Israel." The Messiah may have been seen as "a man of God's refining." Certain changes in the Isaiah scroll may also have indicated a certain Messianic sensitivity among the covenanters of Qumran. Finally, there is a note of communal suffering and expectation which may have been expected to culminate in the coming Messiah. This particular area of study in the literature of Qumran seems to be one of the more controversial. Perhaps further work on the scrolls which is now in progress will help to shed more light on this subject and reconcile differences of opinion.

is characterized by the idea of noticinal

<sup>48</sup> Brown, Catholic Biblical Quarterly, XIX, 77.

# CHAPTER VII

## SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will summarize some of the conclusions which certain writers have drawn on the basis of the material presented in the preceding chapters. These conclusions may be divided into three general areas. The first is a summary of some of the more "sensational" conclusions drawn by writers and certain difficulties involved in taking such a position. The second area is a more specific focus on the relation between the Gospel according to St. John and the Qumran literature. The third area contains some implications of a general nature for the Fourth Gospel.

Christianity as a Development of Essenism

In a series of articles in <u>The New Yorker</u>, Edmund Wilson<sup>1</sup> comes to certain conclusions. His general viewpoint is that the New Testament represents a kind of final stage in the lineal development of the doctrine of the Qumran sectarians. He outlines three stages in this evolution. The first stage is characterized by the idea of political

ledmund Wilson, The Scrolls from the Dead See (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

hostility, seen most clearly in many of the Qumran writings and especially in the <u>War Scroll</u>. The second stage, reflected to some extent in Josephus' picture of the Essenes, is one "in which the resentment of defeat is already giving way to resignation, the resignation of political helplessness." This is the second period of the sect's inhabitation of their center at Qumran (4 B.C. to A.D. 68). The final stage, then, is found in the teachings of Jesus.

One can, in any case, plausibly explain the defiance of the Teacher of Righteousness, the pacificism of Philo's Essenes, and the turning of the other cheek of Jesus as marking successive stages of the adjustment of the Jews to defeat.

In a final word, he concludes:

Under the goading of these agonizing centuries, the spirit of the Essene brotherhood, even before its expulsion from its sunken base, had already thus made itself free to range through the whole ancient world, touching souls with that gospel of purity and light to which the brotherhood had consecrated itself. . . . The monastery, this structure of stone that endures, between the bitter waters and precipitous cliffs, with its oven and its inkwells, its mill and its cesspool, its constellation of sacred fonts and unadorned graves of its dead, is perhaps, more than Bethlehem or Nazareth, the cradle of Christianity.

A similar viewpoint is taken by E. Powell Davies in a work which has reached the general public. 4 Davies draws

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 97-98.

<sup>(</sup>New York: The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1956).

his conclusions on the basis of certain assumptions about
New Testament Christianity. For him the New Testament presents only a fragmentary record of Jesus, it is a contradictory record, the account of the beginnings of the early church is "full of problems" and finally, "it is not certain that Jesus founded—or intended to found—the eventual Christian Church. "5 From these presuppositions he turns to suggesting a series of very imaginative parallels between Gumran and Christianity. He then concludes:

Christianity, we must now see, instead of being a faith "once delivered to the saints" in the Judaea of the first century, is a development of one branch of Judaism into a religion which presently, when it mingled with other religions in the Gentile world, developed into the religious system, widely divergent within itself, that we know today.

The position of Dupont-Sommer has been indicated in the preceding chapter. In his conclusions on the relation of Christianity and Essenism, he emphasizes the fact that "in every case where the resemblance compels or invites us to think of borrowing, this was on the part of Christianity."

<sup>5&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 85-86.

<sup>6&</sup>lt;u>Ibid., p. 120.</u>

<sup>7</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), p. 99. Cf. footnote, p. 100: "It is scarcely necessary to say that the author in no way wishes to deny the originality of the Christian religion. He has here noted the resemblances, but differences also clearly exist. Specialists in the history of Early Christianity will not fail to point these out. But Christianity is grafted on to the tree of Judaism; it is the point where this grafting is effected that interests the author."

In a more recent work<sup>8</sup> he ranks primitive Christianity, together with the followers of John the Baptist, "among the
many quasi-Essene sects which saw the light of Palestine in
the course of the first century A.D." There probably is
no direct affiliation between Christianity and Qumran, nor
is Christianity a copy or replica of Essenism. The final
term which he uses to describe Christianity is "a quasiEssene nec-formation." The thoughts in his second work
seem to be a modification of the position which was taken
in his first book.

# An Evaluation and an Indication of Basic Differences

Several scholars have undertaken an evaluation of these conclusions mentioned above. In speaking of Edmund Wilson's work one scholar states:

He is dependent largely on informants, and not on first-hand knowledge of the scroll material. He not infrequently assigns weight to views in proportion to his personal impression of a scholar. . . . Wilson's article is strongest when he is making historical judgments. . . . He is weakest in the realm of theological interpretation, and naive when he supposes that discovery of the historical continuities of the central

ollegan, "The Significance of the Queren

<sup>8</sup>A. Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes (London: Vallentine, Mitchell and Co., 1954).

<sup>9&</sup>lt;u>Ib1d</u>., p. 150.

Christian teachings and institutions would directly alter or dispel theological dogma. 10

Another scholar has devoted an entire chapter of his work to a refutation of the conclusions of Wilson. Among the criticisms which he levels are that Wilson fails "to give the ordinary reader a coherent picture of the Qumran sect as a whole"; nor does he "draw attention to the totally different spirit that underlies the common terminology."

Finally, there is no real proof for the existence of the first two separate stages of development in the Qumran community. 11

Some of the basic differences which scholars have pointed up in their study of Qumran and Christianity should be noted. Although these are not directed specifically against the viewpoints of men such as Wilson, they serve to undermine his conclusions.

"First we should note that a movement can be affiliated with another and at the same time stand in clear opposition to it. "12 In the second place, among the Qumran literature

<sup>10</sup>Frank M. Gross, Jr., "The Scrolls from the Judaean Wilderness," The Christian Century, LXXII (August 3, 1955), 889.

Originality of Christ (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956), pp. 81-97.

<sup>12</sup>Oscar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity,"

Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIV (December, 1955), 217.

there are

no traces of any of the cardinal theological concepts the incarnate Godhead, Original Sin, redemption through the Cross, and the like—which make Christianity a distinctive faith.13

In the main, their "marvelous mysteries," "hidden things" and "revelations" are usually questions concerning "the peculiar calendar of the sect, distinctive interpretations of the Law and other sacred books, or relatively secondary matters. "14 In the third place, the Person, Teaching and Work of Jesus Christ and his "role in the theological thinking of the early Church" constitutes perhaps the most basic difference. 15 In the fourth place, some scholars question whether any parallels exist that are unique to both. One of them "cannot see how there can be even any essential dependence of the one on the other. "16 Another questions whether Qumran and Christianity "have anything in common which cannot be found in other Jewish sources also. "17 Finally, there is the well-known statement of Millar Burrows:

<sup>13</sup>Theodor Gaster, The <u>Dead Sea Scriptures</u> (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956), p. 12.

<sup>14</sup>Graystone, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>15</sup> Cullmann, op. c1t., p. 225.

<sup>16</sup>F. F. Bruce, "Qumran and Early Christianity," New Testament Studies, II (February, 1956), 187.

<sup>17</sup>Millar Burrows, The Dead Sea Scrolls (New York: The Viking Press, 1955), p. 331.

For myself I must go farther and confess that, after studying the Dead Sea Scrolls for seven years, I do not find my understanding of the New Testament substantially affected. Its Jewish background is clearer and better understood, but its meaning has neither been changed nor significantly clarified. 18

Under the weights of such conclusions by competent scholars, it may be said that such extreme viewpoints as that of Wilson are operating beyond the evidence and cannot be considered tenable.

The "Chasm" between John and Qumran

One of the first emphases in the conclusions of scholars is an indication of the "tremendous chasm" which lies between the Gospel according to St. John and the Qumran literature. 19 Johannine theology is not merely a development of the Qumran teaching, his message was too unique. 20 The differences between the two can be seen in two areas. In the first place, in the parallel phraseology "the specific theological content of most terms is different." Qumran was a child of the Old Testament; John's message centered in

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 343.

<sup>19</sup> Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," <u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>, XVII (October, 1955), 571.

<sup>20</sup>Roland E. Murphy, "Insights into the New Testament from the Dead Sea Scrolls," American Ecclesiastical Review, CXXXV (July, 1956), 20.

Christ, the Light of the World. 21 In the second place, "there is a wide gulf between the doctrines of the Essenes and the essentials of John's teaching. "22 Some of these essentials include:

- A. Role of the Messiah. The Messiah appeared on earth to suffer and die a miserable death, not to reign in earthly splendor.
- B. Soteriology. Christ came to save sinners, not (merely) the elect.
- C. Ministry of Healing. Christ came to heal the physically and spiritually sick, not (merely) to sanctify his followers.
- D. The God of Love. Christ taught the Gospel of love, not merely the gospel of righteousness.23

Possible Connections between John and Qumran

Another conclusion which has been drawn is that John must have been acquainted with the thought and style of the Gumran literature. These parallels cited in the preceding chapters are more than mere coincidence. But what is the nature of this relationship? A number of theories have been proposed to answer this question. One answer sees the

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 21. A similar view is shared by W. Grossouw, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," Studia Catholica, XXVII (January, 1952), 8.

<sup>22</sup>William F. Albright, "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of John," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, edited by W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), p. 170.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

Aumran scrolls not as something unique, but as a literature which represents the language and thought current throughout the Palestinian world in the time of Christ. Thus, a New Testament writer, specifically St. John, met the challenge of his time and spoke his message, not in a vacuum, but in the terminology current throughout Palestine. 24

Other hypotheses include a more specific contact between the Qumran community and John the Evangelist. The writer of the Fourth Gospel may have been a member or perhaps an officer in the Qumran community. The Fourth Gospel differs from the other Gospels in its discourse, which is "sonorous and liturgical in tone." Discourse of this type

would be quite appropriate to the Essenic Teacher of Righteousness... and the writer of John's Gospel may have combined some of the Teacher's doctrine with a reconstructed life of Jesus. 25

A possible link between the two movements might be John the Baptist. The many affinities between the Baptist and the sectarians have been cited. One scholar has undertaken to reconstruct a very close connection between John the Baptist and this community. He bases his arguments on two passages. The first (Luke 1:80) speaks of John the Baptist going into the desert, perhaps as a boy, until the beginning of his public ministry. The second passage from Josephus

<sup>24</sup> Murphy, op. cit., p. 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Davies, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 107-108.

relates how the Essenes disdain marriage, but adopt other men's children, "while yet pliable and docile, and regard them as their kin and mould them in accordance with their own principles. " Zacharias and Elizabeth may have died and the young orphan was adopted by the community. Or perhaps his parents sent John to the community while they were still alive. A sympathy with the community's doctrine, a feeling that John would have a better future with this group as the son of a priest or the possible shortage of priests among this celibate community may all have contributed to their decision to send John to Qumran. If John the Baptist did have this contact, there would certainly have been some degree of influence felt. After some time John left the community and began his preaching in Bethany beyond the Jordan (John 1:28). There may have been several reasons for his withdrawal from the community. Important among these was the apparent difference over the matter of outreach through evangelism. Nevertheless, "it was John the Essene who proclaimed the coming Messianic Age in the Wilderness #26

Burrows takes a more conservative approach. He admits the possibility of a direct contact between the covenanters and John. Nevertheless, he points out that

<sup>26</sup>william H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Old Scrolls," <u>Interpretation</u>, IX (1955), 73-74, 89.

the connection is not so close as to make it [John's membership in the community] seem very probable. It is not at all unlikely that John had some knowledge of the community of the Qumran. The religious movement he inaugurated was certainly an expression of the same general tendency in Judaism which produced that sect and others in the period just before and after the beginning of the Christian era. 27

Brown suggests that John the Baptist may have had indirect contact with the Essenes or served as a head of a "quasi-Essene group. "28 Dupont-Sommer also proposes this latter possibility. 29

If this association between John the Baptist and the Qumran community can be assumed, then a further conclusion has been made by certain scholars. In John 1:35 we read, "Again the next day John the Baptist was standing there and two of his disciples." One of these disciples was Andrew. The other, according to tradition, may have been John the Evangelist. If John the Baptist had direct contact with Qumran, "and if John the Evangelist was his disciple, we can explain very well the Qumran impact on the Fourth Gospel. "30

Another theory follows the pattern: Qumran-John the Baptist-John the Evangelist, and includes the other

<sup>27&</sup>lt;sub>Burrows</sub>, op. c1t., p. 329.

<sup>28</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 573.

<sup>29</sup> Dupont-Sommer, The Jewish Sect of Qumran and the Essenes, p. 149.

<sup>30</sup>Brown, op. cit., pp. 572-573.

disciples of the Baptist. In Acts 18:24ff. there is a mention of some of the Baptist's disciples in Ephesus. According to tradition the Fourth Gospel was written in Ephesus. Having been a disciple of John the Baptist, the Fourth Evangelist especially remembered those words of Jesus which paralleled the thought pattern of his own Qumran background. His contact with these disciples of the Baptist may have been another factor in prompting him to use language familiar to them. He intended to show them that Christ was the fulfillment of their ideas. It should be pointed out that the author of this theory admits:

Yet, such a hypothesis, while it fulfills the tradition of the origin of the Gospel, is based on so many surmises that it can remain only an interesting possibility for the present. 31

A somewhat similar theory is proposed by F. M. Braun. John the Baptist may have been an impetus for the similarities between the Fourth Gospel and the vocabulary of Qumran. Jesus also may have had intermittent relations with the members of this sect. After the destruction of the Qumran community in A.D. 68, the sectarians may have settled in Syria. Here the Fourth Evangelist may have adapted his writing somewhat (as regards vocabulary) with a view to winning them over to Christianity. 32

<sup>31&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 573-574.

<sup>32</sup>F. M. Braun, "L'arriere-fond judaique du quatrieme evangile et la Communaute de l'Alliance," Revue Biblique, LXII (1955), 42-44.

Another hypothesis is proposed which includes the Hellenists, a group within the early Christian church. 33
They served the early church as the "real founders of Christian missions." The Fourth Gospel's interest in these Hellenists may indicate that the Gospel was formed in circles close to these Hellenists. "Perhaps we may even dare to say more: might not the writer himself have belonged to the Hessenists within the early church." There are common analogies between the Fourth Gospel, the Hellenists and the Qumran sect. Among them are an opposition to temple worship and the use of the term "son of man." A group of Hellenists may have been "in contact with the kind of Judalsm we find in the Qumran texts." On the basis of this hypothesis, this scholar concludes:

we can understand how we find, already in the New Testament, two such different forms of Christianity as those portrayed by the Synoptics and the Johannine Gospels. For it is no longer possible to consider the Johannine form as later and not Palestinian, simply for the reason that it is farther from normative Judaism than the Synoptics. I repeat: both forms of Christianity existed from the beginning, because both found their roots in forms of Judaism present in Palestine. 34

It should be pointed out that these theories mentioned above propose a specific link between John the Evangelist and the Qumran community. This common assumption is not

<sup>33</sup>Cullmann, op. cit., pp. 220-224.

<sup>34&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 224.

posed against this specific link. In the first place, the ideas of Qumran "must have been fairly widespread in certain Jewish circles in the early first century A.D. "35 The second argument is that even the most striking parallels

have a wider background in the general stream of Iranian influence of Judaism and in other religions of western Asia. What may be said without any exaggeration is that the Gospel and epistles of John and the Dead Sea Scrolls reflect the same general background of sectarian Judaism. 36

# Some Implications of this Study for the Fourth Gospel

Most scholars agree that both the Qumran literature and the Gospel according to St. John reflect a common Palestinian background. The exact nature of this relationship has been expressed in different ways. "Wir bekommen in diesen Texten den Mutterboden des Johannesevangeliums zu fassen." Other phrases used are "belong to the same world," "speak the same language, "38 and "draw from a common

<sup>35</sup>Brown, op. cit., p. 571. He quotes Josephus (Wars, II, 8): "They have no certain city, but many of them dwell in every city."

<sup>36</sup>Burrows, op. cit., p. 339.

<sup>37</sup>K. G. Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texten und das Neue Testament," Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, XLVII (1950), 210. This is agreed to by Cullmann, op. cit., p. 216.

<sup>38</sup> Murphy, op. cit., p. 14.

reservoir of terminology and ideas. "39

On the basis of this general conclusion certain implications for the authorship and date of the Fourth Gospel have been pointed up. The Gospel has often been dated in the second century A.D. Certain dualistic ideas of Gnostic origin were thought to be in the Fourth Gospel. These were used by the writer of the Gospel to combat Gnosticism.

Hence, it was concluded that the Gospel came later, after the rise of Gnosticism. However, the Qumran scrolls show that a dualistic thought structure was current in Palestine at the time of Christ. Allowing the time for the oral transmission of the Gospel in the Diaspora, it may still be dated well within the first century A.D. 40

As for authorship, the knowledge that the tradition of the Fourth Gospel is local Palestinian weakens the position of those who deny that it contains the memoirs of John the Apostle. 41

William F. Albright has seen several other implications resulting from a study of these analogies. Such a comparison between John and Qumran has greatly increased "the widely recognized resemblance between both the theology and wording of the Gospel and the First Epistle of John."42

<sup>39</sup> Albright, op. cit., p. 169.

<sup>40</sup> Murphy, op. c1t., pp. 13-14.

<sup>41</sup> Brown, op. cit., p. 572.

<sup>42</sup> Albright, op. cit., p. 168.

Looking at the prospects of further study of the New Testament in its new genetic context, he states that "much of the artificially created contrast and conflict between the point of view of different early New Testament sources will vanish. 43

#### Summary

Although certain writers have seen Christianity as a development of Essenism, the basic differences between the two render such a conclusion doubtful. Chief among these differences is the person and work of Jesus Christ.

This same "chasm" exists between the Fourth Gospel and the Qumran literature. Again the difference is Jesus Christ. However, the similarity in thought, style and vocabulary has led some scholars to look for a link between the two. A number of specific and several general possibilities have been mentioned.

Finally, the parallels between the Qumran literature and the Fourth Gospel may indicate that the Gospel was written in the first century by a Palestinian Jew--John the Beloved Disciple. Promises for further vindication of the New Testament as a whole are already evident.

In closing, it must be stressed that the full study of the place and importance of the Qumran literature has just

<sup>43&</sup>lt;u>Ibid.</u>, p. 169.

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begun. This thesis has merely attempted to indicate some of the findings and conclusions to date. This area of study is just beginning.

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