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

DANIEL C. TIMMER*

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

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

* Daniel Timmer is associate professor of Old Testament at Reformed Theological Seminary, 5422 Clinton Blvd., Jackson, MS 39209-3099.

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

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

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

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5 Other sectarian texts from Qumran include the periods identified by Collins in “the last days” (תחתיו קדוש, which subsume the periods before and after the sect’s present existence; thus A. Steudel translates it “the final period of history” (inthirat ha-zeit, “in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 [1993] 225–46). For typical examples of that phrase, see 4QMMT 14–21 xiii; 4Q398 11–13 iv) and 1QSa 1:1. Elsewhere Collins shows that it is both a time of testing and “of at least incipient salvation,” but notes that only 4QMMT clearly sees that period as having begun (“The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997] 74–90). The phrase does not occur in 1QS, however, and one must be careful of hastily equating different terms across different documents; the same is true for the phrase דיקרא פ-runner in the *Pesher on Habakkuk*, which there indicates a prolonged period; see Collins, “The Expectation of the End,” 82.
6 It has been suggested that 1QS 8:1–9:11 refers more particularly to “a special group, not yet formed,” but the relation of the various parts of 1QS to the community structure(s) at Qumran remains a matter of discussion; see Shane A. Berg, “An Elite Group within the Yahad: Revisiting 1QS 8–9,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (ed. M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn; foreword by James A. Sanders; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007) 161–77.
The group’s annual covenant renewal is no longer necessary when this time ends (2:19), implying that the covenant will have reached its goal.7

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

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

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

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7 It is probably best to render 3:22 as “during his dominion” (הָיוֹתח חֲשֵׁש) rather than “under his dominion” in light of the following adverb “until” (דָּע) in 3:23 and because the section has just distinguished between the Sons of Light who are under the “dominion” (סְמָמְתָּל) of the Prince of Light and the Sons of Deceit who are under the complete dominion (לְכָל מַמְשָׁלָה) of the Angel of Darkness. This translation clarifies the type of influence the Angel of Darkness has on the Sons of Light without confusingly attributing to him and the Prince of Light the same role at the same time.


9 For坏事 see 3:15 (pl., with坏事), 3:23 (with 3ms suffix, referring to the angel of darkness), 4:118 (ᬕедьצע). Note the eschatological, but less punctilinar, use of坏事 (pl.) in 4:13 to describe the existence of those dominated by the spirit of deceit until their annihilation. One finds坏事 in the phrases坏事 (3:18, with 3ms suffix referring to God’s visitation of humanity; 4:18–19, 26 [restored]) and坏事 (3:14, // with坏事 in 3:15) as well as by itself in 3:18; 4:6, 11, where in the latter two cases it introduces a recompense which constitutes “eternal enjoyment” or “eternal damnation.”
most often with וַיַּעַל and מִשְׁדָּר, deal with cosmic (10:1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8) or cultic (1:9, 14, 15; 3:10) chronology but lack any eschatological aspect, as do others that establish the perpetual validity of the Mosaic torah or of the group’s halakhah (8:4, 5; 9:11, 12, 18, 21). Lastly, although the passage in 11:12–17 in which the Instructor expresses his ultimate confidence regarding his own eternal deliverance by God does not contain many of the terms noted here, it possesses a strong eschatological facet which requires attention.

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

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

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

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

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


11 Hogeterp assumes that the referents of the terms discussed here are identical (“Eschatology of the Two Spirits Treatise Revisited” 248–50); likewise Sanders, Paul, 279, discussing 1QS 4:19–22.
of Belial” (i.e. our phase 1), the “beginning of the end of the days” coincides with God’s coming in judgment (our phases 2–3), and the “end of all things” subsumes our phases 4–5. There is a clear emphasis in 1QS on divine monergism in bringing about these epoch-making changes.

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

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

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

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


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

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

And the priests will bless all the men of God’s lot who walk unblemished in all his paths and they shall say:

“May he bless you with everything good, and may he protect you from everything bad.
May he illuminate your heart with the discernment of life and grace you with eternal knowledge.
May he lift upon you the countenance of his favour for eternal peace.”
(1QS 2,1b–4a)

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

And the levites shall curse all the men of the lot of Belial. They shall begin to speak and shall say:

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


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

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

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

18 Sanders draws attention to the possessive “their” that attaches to “covenant” in 1QS 5:9; 6:19.
21 Condra, Salvation for the Righteous Revealed, 149.
3. Atonement (9:3–6; 11:14). Paul Garnet’s recent survey of atonement in the DSS demonstrates its continuity and discontinuity with respect to the OT. As in the OT, atonement in 1QS covers both moral sin and cultic impurity, though 1QS identifies the two in significant ways. In the Community Rule the verb כַּסֵּר occurs in connection with "iniquity," 2:8; 3:6–7; 11:14), "sin," 3:8, persons (5:6), and the land (8:6, 10; 9:4).

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

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

In the eschatological context of the Teacher’s hymn, on the other hand, God’s everlasting righteousness or righteous act (בררכת אל עתימה לשמה) is the context in which, or means by which, the Instructor is judged (ועיס пу) and so saved from the consequence of his sins of the flesh: “. . . and if I fall in the sin of the flesh, in the righteous action of God, which endures eternally,

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


\(^{30}\) Seifrid has noted the frequent parallelism of words from the צור-group with “perfection of way” and “holiness” in 1QS, concepts which are primarily behavioral there (Justification by Faith 97).
shall my judgment be” (11:12, my translation). Bockmuehl suggests, in dependence upon Betz, that in Qumranite use the masculine nominal רצון is “the quality of what is right and pleasing to God, while [the feminine nominal] זדה is an action in keeping with that quality.”31 Seifrid argues in the same direction, and this understanding usually works well in 1QS.32

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

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

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

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

31 Bockmuehl, “1QS and Salvation” 397.
33 There are no references to recompense prior to God’s coming in judgment.
one’s actions. The portion of good and evil spirit that one receives determines one’s deeds, which in turn determine one’s “punishment” and “rewards” (3:13–15). There is an equally clear connection between works and recompense later in that same section, where after another list of the virtues of those whom God loves in 4:2–6a, it is stated in 4:6b–8 that “the reward (𐤆𐤇𐤃𐤄𐤁𐤅) of all those who walk in [the spirit of truth] will be healing, plentiful peace in long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory with majestic raiment in eternal light.”34 Two points are salient here: first, the repeated nature-deed-fate correlation stresses the connection between the actions and virtues listed and the recompense of the ones who practice them. Eternal life in 1QS is not simply a gift graciously bestowed on those who do not merit it, but is accorded on the basis of one’s works.35 Second, these punishments and rewards are not complementary to, or alongside, eternal life: “final salvation is the reward.”36

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

34 The lexica describe the sense of הָדְוָקֶפ as exceeding the mere “relationship between deed and consequence,” though that may be part of the meaning; cf. W. Schottroff, “ḥāqem,” TLOT 1026–27. This recompense is also in evidence in 3:14–15 (חקם for the wicked, שם פנים for the righteous) and in 4:11 (for the wicked).
35 Sanders’s remark (Paul 294) that “rewards for deeds are seldom mentioned in the Scrolls” and his suggestion that “the context of gratuity is so clear that the possibility of earning the reward of salvation by deeds (works-righteousness) scarcely arises” thus fail to do justice to a clear emphasis in 1QS. Incidentally, nowhere in his 1977 tour de force does Sanders take up 1QS 11:16 as it treats human actions.
36 Gathercole, Where is Boasting? 97.
37 So Sanders, Paul 289: “Perfection of way and uprightness of one’s heart are in God’s hand (1QS 11:1, 10–11); without God ‘no way is perfect’ (11:17).” Similarly J. D. G. Dunn, The Theology of the Apostle Paul (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998) 343 (on 1QS 11:11–15). Emanuela Zurli shows more caution when she suggests that justification by grace is only implicitly present in 1QS, while the ב in 1QHa 5:22–23 makes its presence more certain there. See her La giustificazione ‘solo per grazia’ negli scritti di Qumran: Analisi dell’inno finale della regola, della comunità e degli inni (Napoli: Chirico, 2003) and “La giustificazione ‘solo per grazia’ in 1QS X,9-XI e 1QHa,” RevQ 20/79 (2002) 445–77.
38 Brownlee’s comment that 1QS 11:2–17 is “replete with language emphasizing man’s sinfulness and his dependence upon God’s righteousness and mercy for justification” (“Anthropology and Soteriology” 221–22) therefore accurately identifies an emphasis of the passage but mistakenly makes it absolute.
Apart from its presence in the parallel text of 4Q264, the phrase “establish all his deeds in righteousness” does not occur elsewhere in the Qumran literature. Elsewhere in 1QS, human “deeds” (ממשת, whether sg. or pl.) are the basis for one’s entrance and progress in the group (5:23, 24; 6:14; 8:18 [with the new member as the subject of המז], with בורא, 5:21; 6:18; with דב, 1:5), are influenced by the operation of the two spirits (3:25; 4:16), are the basis for one’s final recompense from God (3:14), or are eschatologically purged by God (4:20, with בר; cf. the removal of “wicked deeds” [עלילה ושותה] in 4:21). Given that column 11 describes eschatological events, only the last two options are feasible (recompense or purification), and “establishing” is compatible only with good deeds. This suggests a binary role for human actions in the eschatological period (our stages 2–5): works which are sinful are purged at God’s coming (4:20; cf. the mention of atonement in 11:14), as is all ontological evil (4:21; cf. 11:14–15), but works which are according to Torah or are good are “established” (11:16) and so stand as the basis for one’s reward (4:6b–7).

III. TOWARD NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SALVATION IN 1QS

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

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40 For the “works” of the Sons of Belial, see 2:5, 7; 3:22; 4:10, 23; 5:18, 19.
41 The order of the petitions in column 11 may also indicate the importance of these works, as they follow the atonement and purification of the individual and so are the last element mentioned before his entry into God’s presence. If so, this would corroborate Seifrid’s argument for reading יָדוֹת rather than בָּדוֹת in 1QS 11:3; he suggests (in reference to the debated reading עצות/עצות there) that Ezek 3:20; 18:24; 33:13 lie behind the preferable reading of “my righteous deeds,” and that “the inference lies close at hand, that God would forgive if he did remember these righteous deeds” (Seifrid, “Righteousness Language” 436).
42 Condra, Salvation 152–53, proposes a “continuum of man’s responsibility to God’s mercy and intervening action” in which “the only constant . . . is that God’s salvation is found only within a proper covenantal relationship.” Janowski and Lichtenberger pass over the statement in 11:16–17, concluding that God’s righteousness at the end of column 11 is not only imputative but cleansing (citing, with approval, Betz, “Rechtfertigung” 32).
43 This draws into question K. Koch’s statement that in the Qumranite literature “It is esp. significant that the OT correlation—God conveys sedeq only on the one who is saddiq—has dissolved” (“יד,” TLOT 1046–62 [1061]).
Sons of Light rewarded with eternal life on the basis of their works, but also made fit for God’s immediate presence though his purifying work.44

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

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

44 Cf. a similar melding of human and divine action in CD–B 20:27–34.
45 Note Sanders’s statement that in the DSS “there are not two different theologies, one of works and one of grace. The same people could believe on the one hand that they had no intrinsic merit to commend them to God and that they had been chosen only by his grace, while holding on the other hand that they had to walk perfectly according to God’s ordinances and that they could achieve legal perfection” (Paul 292).
46 By “merit” soteriology I mean that one’s justification before God is, at least in part, naturally and necessarily dependent upon one’s obedience; the classic distinction between inherent and imputed also expresses the difference I am underlining here. On the importance of properly defining and interrelating atonement and justification, see Simon J. Gathercole, “The Doctrine of Justification in Paul and Beyond: Some Proposals,” in Justification in Perspective: Historical Developments and Contemporary Challenges (ed. B. L. McCormack; Grand Rapids and Edinburgh: Baker and Rutherford House, 2006) 219–41. D. A. Carson has noted the oversimplification which Sanders’s contrast between covenantal nomism and merit theology often entails (“Summaries and Conclusions,” in Justification and Variegated Nomism 505–48, esp. 544–48).
48 Contrast Sanders’s conclusions in his treatment of the Qumran corpus, Paul, 316–21.
APPENDIX:
ESCHATOLOGICALLY SIGNIFICANT TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS IN 1QS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
<th>Term or expression</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Eschatological phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1:18</td>
<td>בֵּית הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁל בָּלֻעַל</td>
<td>The period of the group’s current existence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:23–24</td>
<td>בֵּית הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁל בָּלֻעַל</td>
<td>The period of the group’s current existence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2:19</td>
<td>כֵּן שָׁלֵם</td>
<td>The period of the group’s current existence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:14</td>
<td>פֶּרֶדוֹת נֶעִיָּה</td>
<td>Parallel with כֵּן שָׁלֵם in 3:15; the counterpart of some of humanity’s reward</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:15</td>
<td>כֵּן שָׁלֵם</td>
<td>Parallel with פֶּרֶדוֹת נֶעִיָּה in 3:14; the counterpart of some of humanity’s punishment</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:18</td>
<td>מַעְרָב פֶּרֶדוֹת</td>
<td>Brings an end to the coexistence of the two groups of humanity; suffix probably refers to God’s visitation of humanity</td>
<td>End of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:22</td>
<td>בֵּית הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁל וּ[בֵית הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁל]</td>
<td>The dominion of the “Angel of Darkness” sees the Sons of Light fail, sin, etc.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:23</td>
<td>הַכָּל הַבָּשָׂר</td>
<td>His “end/time” means the end of his ability to influence the Sons of Light; suffix probably refers to the “Angel of Darkness”</td>
<td>End of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:23</td>
<td>בֵּית הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁל מְשָׁמִית</td>
<td>The dominion of the enmity of the “Angel of Darkness” is the period during which the Sons of Light experience “punishments and periods of grief”</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:6</td>
<td>פֶּרֶדוֹת</td>
<td>The “recompense/reward” of those who walk in the spirit of the sons of truth, essentially eternal life</td>
<td>4–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:11</td>
<td>פֶּרֶדוֹת</td>
<td>The “recompense/reward” of those who walk in “all the paths of darkness and cunning,” essentially eternal destruction or annihilation</td>
<td>4–5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:13</td>
<td>לִהלְכוֹת לְדוֹרֹוֹת</td>
<td>The duration of the suffering of those who walk in “all the paths of darkness and cunning” until they are destroyed</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:14</td>
<td>לְדוֹרֹוֹת</td>
<td>The final end of the wicked</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:16–17</td>
<td>הַכָּלָה</td>
<td>The point after which the two groups of humanity will no longer coexist</td>
<td>End of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:18</td>
<td>הַכָּלָה שָׁלֵם</td>
<td>God has fixed an end to the existence of injustice; parallel with פֶּרֶדוֹת in 4:18–19</td>
<td>End of 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:18–19</td>
<td>פֶּרֶדוֹת</td>
<td>At this time God will obliterate injustice forever</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:19</td>
<td>בֵּית הַשָּׁמֶשֶׁל שָׁלֵם</td>
<td>The dominion of injustice, which is ended by the judgment in 4:20</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Brings an end to injustice (4:19) and then sees truth reestablished forever (3:19, 4:19)

"Then" God will refine, purify, rip out all injustice from, cleanse, and sprinkle man and his deeds

The present period during which the spirits of truth and injustice feud in the heart of man, ended by the appointed end and new creation in 4:25

Brings an end to the coexistence of the two groups of humanity; parallel with

Brings an end to the coexistence of the two groups of humanity; parallel with

Proper organization and ethical operation of the group leads to its being an “everlasting plantation,” etc.

Describes the mature formation of the group (or some initiates) and its/their readiness to go into the desert

Proper organization and ethical operation of the group permits its atoning function, etc.; coeval with

Proper organization and ethical operation of the group permits its priestly functions, etc.; coeval with

The point until which the group’s members should remain faithful to its rules

A day set by God’s decree (3:19) for which the Instructor should be enthusiastic

The point until which the Instructor will not dispute with “the men of the pit”

The point until which the Instructor will not remove his anger from “unjust men”; refers to God’s action

Describes the perpetual role of the group as an “everlasting plantation”

If he stumbles, the Instructor’s salvation will always exist due to God’s mercies

If he sins, the Instructor’s judgment/justice will always lie in God’s righteousness act

God will free the Teacher’s soul from the pit
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref.</th>
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<th>Significance</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11:13</td>
<td>יְכִנֵּךְ לָדוּרָךְ פֶּעָמָה</td>
<td>God will establish the Teacher’s steps</td>
<td>3 (esp.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:13</td>
<td>וַיְשַׁמֵּשָׁה</td>
<td>God will bring the Teacher near to himself</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:13–</td>
<td>יְבִיא מְשֶפֶטָה</td>
<td>God will bring about the Teacher’s justice/judgment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:14</td>
<td>בָּצֶרֵךְ אֵחַ וְאֶחַ שֶׁפָּטָא</td>
<td>God will judge the Teacher in his righteousness</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:14</td>
<td>יִכְּפֶר בִּיטָל צְחַנִית</td>
<td>God will atone for all the Teacher’s sins</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:14</td>
<td>בָּצֶרֵךְ יִתְחַנֵי</td>
<td>God in his righteousness will cleanse the Teacher completely</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:16</td>
<td>הָכָה בַּצֶּרֶךְ כָּל מְשֶפֶטָה</td>
<td>The “establishment” of the Teacher’s deeds by God in his judgment</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:16–</td>
<td>לְהַדְּבָּב לֶפֶנֶה לַעֲצָם</td>
<td>The final petition of the Instructor’s prayer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>