Miryam T. Brand

Evil Within and Without

The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature

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For my mother and father
No verse can express what I owe you,
and no quote conveys what you mean to me.
שלי – שלכם הוא
is the simple truth.

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Abbreviations

AARSR	American Academy of Religion Studies in Religion
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGPh	*Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASTI	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute*
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
Aug	*Augustinianum*
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
Bib	*Biblica*
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
Bijdr	*Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*
BRS	The Biblical Resource Series
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CJAS	Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CREJ	Collection de la Revue des études juives
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSRT	Cambridge Studies in Religious Traditions
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EBib	*Etudes bibliques*
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* Edited by L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EgT	*Eglise et théologie*
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament

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FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
Hen	*Henoch*
HR	*History of Religions*
HSAT	*Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments.*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IOS	*Israel Oriental Society*
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCTCRS	Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JJTP	*The Journal of Jewish Thought and Philosophy*
JLCRS	Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion Series
JSHRZ-St	Studien zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KUSATU	*Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996.
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
MLBS	Mercer Library of Biblical Studies
MScRel	*Mélanges de science religieuse*
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985.
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Numen	*Numen: International Review for the History of Religions*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OTL	Old Testament Library
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*

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PACS	Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QC	*Qumran Chronicle*
RB	*Revue biblique*
RelSoc	*Religion and Society*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RRJ	*Review of Rabbinic Judaism*
RStB	*Ricerche storico bibliche*
SAACT	State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	*Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers*
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SC	Sources chrétiennes
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
SPhilo	*Studia philonica*
SR	*Studies in Religion*
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
STAC	Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SubBi	*Subsidia biblica*
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphica
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TUGAL	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
VCSup	Vigiliae christianae Supplements
VD	*Verbum domini*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

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Symbols Employed in Text Transcriptions

Dead Sea Scrolls

א	certain letter
א̇	probable letter
א̊	in most texts: possible letter; in 1QH^{a}: damaged letter
◦ (mid-line circlet)	remnant of an undetermined letter
[א]	reconstructed text
[…]	lacuna; does not indicate length
…	text not cited
< >	a modern editorial correction
<< >>	a modern editorial deletion
{א}, {a}	erased letter(s) or surface
~~אמתו~~, ~~truth~~	crossing out a letter or word with a line
מ֯על	deletion dot(s) above, below, or around letters
(א)	alternative or uncertain reconstruction
(saying)	in the *translation*: words added for clarity
שׁ֯זע֯ת֯ם, ^{six} months	supralinear insertion
𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄	Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew
vacat	interval (usually: writing space intentionally left blank)
word 1/ word 2 (in translation)	alternative translations

Ben Sira (Hebrew)

א̇	probable reading
15_{add}	verses/stichs that do not appear in the Septuagint version
(א)	insertion in the original manuscript
*	marginal notations and additions in the original manuscript
[א]	reconstructions by the editor
{א}	reconstructions by Segal based on LXX

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Chapter One
Introduction

In the Second Temple period, the nexus between sin and human existence became a subject of considerable thought and debate. Earlier biblical texts contained statements regarding sin (such as the sin that crouches at the door in Gen 4:7), but did not address sin as a problem that must be solved. This study investigates the manner in which the "problem" of sin was addressed, in particular through three interacting issues that are evident in the texts themselves: the source of sin, determinism and free will, and identity.

The object of this study is to investigate all Second Temple works that reflect ideas regarding the source of sin and to outline the views of sin that these texts reflect. The study distinguishes between texts that are specific to the Qumran community and more generally attributed Second Temple works and notes the significant differences between them. At the same time, this study aims to explore these texts on their own terms and to maintain their rich diversity, making no assumptions regarding what aspects of sin "must" accompany each other or "should" be expressed in various works due to an assumed Qumran theology.

Sin, Religious Thought, and the State of Research

Sin at its most basic is a transgression of the divine will. As such, it defines the relationship between human and God. On the one hand, the concept of sin implies that God expects specific behavior of human beings. On the other, the fact that humans are able to sin marks a limit to divine influence and indicates the disparity between human will and divine will.

As such, sin, its nature and origins, has become a major locus of religious thought, particularly in the two Western religions that developed during the Second Temple period: Judaism and Christianity. The way that sin is presented in Second Temple texts has for the most part been filtered through the later understandings of sin prominent in these two religions, and in particular, through the debates regarding sin and its nature that have formed an important part of religious thought.

The approaches of these two religions to sin and its origin took specific forms. In Judaism, sin originates with "the evil inclination" (*yṣr hrʿ*, sometimes simply called "the inclination," *hyṣr*), a personified version of the human

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desire to sin. The concept of the evil inclination is evident in Tannaitic sources and is developed further in the Talmud.[1] This nearly demonic entity, as it appears in the Talmud, is part of the human condition and explains the human desire to sin.[2]

Consequently, many studies have searched for the source of this concept in Second Temple texts. An early work by F. Porter explored the rabbinic view of the evil inclination and searched for possible sources of this idea in Sirach, *4 Ezra*, *2 Baruch*, and *2 Enoch*.[3] Numerous studies have focused on terminological surveys of the use of the term *yṣr* in Second Temple texts. For example, R. Murphy explored the appearance of the term *yēṣer* in the Hebrew Bible, Sirach, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Hodayot*.[4] A later terminological study by Lichtenberger focused specifically on the use of the term *yēṣer* in *Jubilees* and in Qumran texts.[5] A more extensive terminological study by G. Cohen Stuart, like the earlier study by Porter, attempted to find the source of the rabbinic *yēṣer hāraʿ* in Second Temple texts.[6]

The search for the origins of the rabbinic "evil inclination" was further colored by the widespread assumption that the "evil inclination" functioned solely within a dualistic framework and was always opposed by a "good incli-

---

[1] On the nature of the "evil inclination" in Tannaitic literature, see I. Rosen-Zvi, "Two Rabbinic Inclinations? Rethinking a Scholarly Dogma," *JSJ* 39 (2008): 513–39 and I. Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: "Yetzer Hara" and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity* (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011), 14–35. On its development in the Talmud, see Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires*, 65–86.

[2] See Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires*, 84.

[3] F.C. Porter, "The Yeçer HaRa: A Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin," in *Biblical and Semitic Studies: Critical and Historical Essays by the Members of the Semitic and Biblical Faculty of Yale University* (Yale Bicentennial Publications; New York: Scribner's, 1901), 93–156.

[4] R.E. Murphy, "Yēṣer in the Qumran Literature," *Bib* 39 (1958): 334–44. His findings distinguished between the "non-individualized" tendency to evil found in the Hebrew Bible, the "individualization" of the *yēṣer* in Sir 15:14, and the more dualistic associations found in the *Testaments* and at Qumran. Murphy's study of *yēṣer* in the *Hodayot* did not distinguish fully between *yēṣer* as creature and *yēṣer* as inclination, for example, citing *yēṣer ḥēmār* (יצר חמר) as an example of both human weakness and sinfulness. Murphy concluded that while *yēṣer* is sometimes used in the *Hodayot* (or as Murphy puts it, "in the Qumran literature") to reflect a neutral tendency, it usually refers to the inclination to sin.

[5] H. Lichtenberger, "Zu Vorkommen und Bedeutung von יצר im Jubiläenbuch," *JSJ* 14 (1983): 1–10. Lichtenberger determined that the use of *yēṣer* in these texts was closer to the neutral biblical use than it was to the later negative rabbinic use of the term.

[6] G.H. Cohen Stuart, *The Struggle in Man Between Good and Evil: an Inquiry into the Origin of the Rabbinic Concept of Yeṣer Hara'* (Kampen: Kok, 1984). Cohen Stuart understood *yēṣer* in Sirach 15 as "freedom of choice" and, like Lichtenberger, found that *yēṣer* in the Dead Sea Scrolls is principally a neutral term.

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nation" (*yṣr ḥṭwb*),[7] or that the "evil inclination" was sexual in nature.[8] Thus J. Cook argues that the source of the idea of two inclinations can be found in the Septuagint translations of Prov 2:11 and 2:17 and in Sir 15:14.[9] A recent study by E. Tigchelaar also seeks out traces of a "sexual" evil inclination as well as the opposition of a positive counterpart to the evil inclination as signs of a precursor to the rabbinic "evil inclination."[10] However, the association of the rabbinic evil inclination with sexual desire and dualism has been vigorously refuted by I. Rosen-Zvi.[11] Furthermore, as M. Kister has observed, while

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[7] This opposition is evident in *m. Ber*. 9:5; *t. Ber*. 6:7; *Sifre Deut.* 32 and in multiple sources in the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmud. However, this dualistic framework is far from ubiquitous; see Rosen-Zvi, "Two Rabbinic Inclinations."

[8] This assumption was supported by D. Boyarin's influential study claiming that the rabbinic view of the inclination was both sexual and opposed by a good inclination; see D. Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 61–76. The assumption that the evil inclination (*yēṣer hārāʿ*) in rabbinic literature principally expresses sexual desire was later adopted in several studies, such as those of E.S. Alexander, "Art, Argument, and Ambiguity in the Talmud: Conflicting Conceptions of the Evil Impulse in b. Sukkah 51b–52a," *HUCA* 73 (2002): 97–132, J. Schofer, "The Redaction of Desire: Structure and Editing of Rabbinic Teachings Concerning Yeṣer ('Inclination')," *JJTP* 12 (2003): 19–53, and P.W. van der Horst, "A Note on the Evil Inclination and Sexual Desire in Talmudic Literature," in *Jews and Christians in Their Graeco-Roman Context: Selected Essays on Early Judaism, Samaritanism, Hellenism, and Christianity* (WUNT 1/196; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 59–65.

[9] J. Cook, "The Origin of the Tradition of the 'יצר הטוב' and 'יצר הרע'," *JSJ* 38 (2007): 80–91.

[10] E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-Edition of 4Q468i (4QSectarian Text?)," in *Empsychoi Logoi: Religious Innovations in Antiquity; Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst* (ed. A. Houtman, A. de Jong, and M. Misset-van de Weg; AJEC 73; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 347–57. Tigchelaar finds suggestions of these ideas in the connection between an evil inclination and "lecherous eyes" in the *Damascus Document* (CD II.16) and in the "ethical dualism" he sees in the *Barkhi Nafshi* text. In addition, Tigchelaar considers the juxtaposition of a *śāṭān* and an "evil inclination" in the *Plea for Deliverance* to be parallel to the identification of Satan with the evil inclination in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. B. B.* 16a).

[11] In two separate studies, Rosen-Zvi has argued that the "good inclination" is barely present in Tannaitic texts and is marginal even in later Amoraic literature (Rosen-Zvi, "Two Rabbinic Inclinations") and that the sexualization of the *yēṣer* lacks textual evidence even in the Amoraic period, occurring only afterwards (idem, "Sexualising the Evil Inclination: Rabbinic 'Yetzer' and Modern Scholarship," *JJS* 60 [2009]: 264–81). In his recent work focusing nearly exclusively on the term *yēṣer*, Rosen-Zvi argues that the rabbinic idea of the evil inclination was part of a move to psychologize evil and demonic forces. Rosen-Zvi points to specific texts in the Qumran corpus as evidence of the early reification and internalization of the *yēṣer*; see *Demonic Desires*, 52. He also sees these texts as evidence of an early association of demonic forces with the *yēṣer*. However, Rosen-Zvi's exclusive focus on the term *yēṣer* slants the results of his study to overemphasize the association of the *yēṣer* with demonic forces in Qumran texts. While his argument for an association between the term *yēṣer* and terms of a demonic nature is

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phrases including *yṣr* do appear in Qumran texts, they are not particularly central at Qumran.[12] Thus terminological studies frequently give undue emphasis to particular texts and ignore other relevant passages that deal with similar concepts or themes.

The study of sin is, of course, central to Christian theology, particularly because of Pauline statements regarding the power of sin, the sinfulness of the flesh, and Paul's dichotomy of "flesh" and "spirit" in Rom 5–8 and his representation of sin as originating with Adam in Rom 7. Later theologians developed Paul's ideas. Augustine in his reading of Rom 7 propagated the doctrine of "original sin": all humans sinned through Adam and are therefore damned. Luther through his doctrine of "*totus homo peccator, totus homo justus*" declared the ubiquity and inevitability of human sinfulness alongside human righteousness. As a result of these ideas, many studies of Second Temple texts have focused on the anthropology of sin.[13] For example, an important study by H. Lichtenberger examined views of sin in Qumran literature in the course of an anthropological analysis of these texts.[14] This approach was particularly fruitful in analyzing the Hodayot, and produced an early study by J. P. Hyatt.[15] Studies by W. Davies and H. Hübner focused on finding possible links between Qumran ideas and the Pauline anthropology contrasting "flesh" and "spirit."[16]

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valid, it does not follow that the *yēṣer* was a *central* and *demonic* figure at Qumran and that it impacted Qumran thought as such.

[12] M. Kister, "'Inclination of the Heart of Man,' the Body and Purification from Evil," in *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls VIII* (ed. M. Bar-Asher and D. Dimant; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Haifa University Press, 2010), 256.

[13] While the term "theological anthropology" can be applied in the wider sense to the study of the relationship between God and human, it frequently denotes the examination of the "spiritual makeup" of human beings and how this makeup affects the human ability or tendency to sin.

[14] H. Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1980). While Lichtenberger noted the diversity of approaches found in different Qumran texts regarding determinism and free will, his aim was to reconstruct a single, unified anthropological view reflected in Qumran texts (ibid., 237–9). He concluded that the basic belief revealed in Qumran texts is that, as creatures, humans require divine assistance to choose the right path and keep the law. In his view this belief is a reflection of the anthropology set forth in the Hebrew Bible. Lichtenberger posited that, following the influence of dualism on Qumran thought, the basic belief in obedience to the law was impacted by questions of determination and predestination, resulting in the variety of views reflected in Qumran texts. He noted that some of these clearly reflect the possibility of human choice.

[15] J. P. Hyatt, "The View of Man in the Qumran '*Hodayot*'," *NTS* 2 (1955–1956): 276–84.

[16] W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Flesh and the Spirit," in *Christian Origins and Judaism* (The Jewish People: History Religion Literature; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), 145–78; repr. from *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New

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Another approach to using Second Temple texts to explain later Jewish and Christian thought has been taken by G. Anderson, who has explored the nature of sin through the metaphor of "sin as debt" in biblical and post-biblical texts.[17] In his study Anderson investigates rabbinic passages that discuss earning "merits" with God and the early Christian emphasis on "salvation through works" by tracing the evolution of this metaphor.

Adam's fall as an explanation of human sinfulness is generally absent in most Second Temple texts, but has sometimes been sought by researchers.[18] More importantly, the significance of this idea in Christian thought has caused many to assume that a *historical* origin of sin was important to Second Temple writers. This assumed prominence has in turn led to the centrality of a demonic origin of sin in the studies of P. Sacchi.[19] Sacchi paired this etiology of sin with a theory of salvation, in an echo of comparable pairings in Pauline

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York: Harper & Brothers, 1957); H. Hübner, "Anthropologischer Dualismus in den Hodayot?" NTS 18 (1971–2), 268–84. Davies concluded that while the terms "flesh" and "spirit" are shared by the Pauline epistles and the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Pauline epistles are more in line with both Old Testament and rabbinic thought than the Scrolls. More recent studies of "spirit" or *ruaḥ* terminology at Qumran have suffered from severe methodological deficiencies. An example is a study by A. E. Sekki, who concluded that, apart from the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS III.13-IV.26), one column of the *Hodayot* (1QH[a] XV) and 4QHoroscope (4Q186), *rûaḥ* in the Scrolls reflects biblical categories (A. E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran* [SBLDS 110; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989]). The drawbacks of Sekki's study "ranging from assumptions and methodology to clarity and expression" were identified at length by M. P. Horgan, review of Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran*, *CBQ* 54 (1992): 544–6. A later survey of nonbiblical Qumran texts by R. Kvalvaag, "The Spirit in Human Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 159–80, relied heavily on Sekki's conclusions while at the same time recognizing the range of views reflected in Qumran texts. Kvalvaag proposed a division between body and spirit in Qumran texts that was influenced more by Pauline thought than by Qumran approaches.

[17] G. A. Anderson, *Sin: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

[18] See I. Lévi, *Le péché originel dans les anciennes sources juives* (Paris: Leroux, 1909); G-H. Baudry, "Le péché originel chez Philo d'Alexandrie," *MScRel* 50 (1993): 99–115; idem, "La théorie du penchant mauvais et la doctrine du péché originel," *BLE* 95 (1994): 271–301. For a study assuming that Adam's fall was a prominent explanation of sin *rejected* by certain groups in the Second Temple period, see M. W. Elliott, "Origins and Functions of the Watchers Theodicy," *Hen* 24 (2002): 63–75.

[19] P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (trans. W. J. Short; JSPSup 20; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990); P. Sacchi, "The Theology of Early Enochism and Apocalyptic: the Problem of the Relation between Form and Content of the Apocalypses; the Worldview of Apocalypses," *Hen* 24 (2002): 77–85. Sacchi posits an apocalyptic "Enochic Judaism" that had a theology centered on the idea that evil derives from a contamination of the natural and human sphere through the disorder that angels brought into God's cosmic order, based on the Enochic *Book of the Watchers* (*BW*).

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thought and in Augustine's theological arguments.[20] While most scholars have not accepted the idea of an apocalyptic "Enochic Judaism,"[21] Sacchi's student G. Boccaccini has developed Sacchi's theories in order to explore the possible origins of the Qumran community, proposing that this community resulted from a schism within "Enochic Judaism" due to differing ideas regarding evil and soteriology.[22]

The prominence of demons and exorcism in the New Testament and early Christian literature has also been a motivating force in studies of Second Temple works. Studies have frequently focused on specific demonic figures or the possible context of the exorcisms depicted in the Gospels.[23] These studies have generally avoided the trap of reading these Second Temple works through the prism of the New Testament; they explore the nature of the demons and angels depicted in their own terms.

The study of Qumran texts has continued to focus on certain of their features that became prominent following the transcription of the earliest-discov-

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[20] According to Sacchi, the *Book of the Watchers* reflects the conviction that evil derives from a contamination of the natural and human sphere through the disorder that angels brought into God's cosmic order. Therefore, salvation cannot be effected by human beings, but only by God's influence on the "in-between," angelic sphere.

[21] See, for example, the discussion in J.J. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism* (Boston: Brill, 2001), 287–99.

[22] G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: the Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 119–62.

[23] Examples of the former include P.S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; vol. 2, 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 331–53; D. Dimant, "Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)* (ed. A. Roitman, L.H. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 235–56; A. Steudel, "God and Belial," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery 1947–1997; Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 332–40. For examples of the latter, see E. Eshel, "Demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1999 [Hebrew]); E. Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles* (JSNTSup 231; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435; A.T. Wright, "Evil Spirits in Second Temple Judaism: the 'Watcher Tradition' as a Background to the Demonic Pericopes in the Gospels," *Hen* 28, no. 1 (2006): 141–59. On the differences between exorcisms in the Gospels and approaches to demonic possession in earlier Jewish texts, see L.T. Stuckenbruck, "Jesus' Apocalyptic Worldview and His Exorcistic Ministry," in *Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas* (ed. Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth; JCTCRS 4; New York: T & T Clark International, 2008), 68–84.

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ered scrolls. There has been a trend to define a single "theology" for Qumran texts, particularly regarding their approach to sin. In fact, Second Temple texts, including those found at Qumran, display a variability that is frequently unremarked in modern studies, which usually focus on creating a single harmonized view of sin that can be used to explain later theological developments. In particular, texts do not fall into easy categories of righteous versus sinner and determinism versus free will. This has been increasingly recognized in recent studies, although many surveys continue to ignore important differences between texts. Recent nuanced approaches to the issues explored in this study include L. Stuckenbruck's study of dualism and the degree to which the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* differs from other Second Temple texts[24] and J. Klawans' recognition that in ancient Judaism, neither free will nor determinism was absolute.[25] Yet the expectation of theological consistency within and between ancient texts remains a noticeable feature of modern research. A close study of these texts demonstrates just how anachronistic such an expectation is when applied to Second Temple literature.

The Source of Sin

In attempting to solve the "problem" of sin, and through the manner in which they reflect already accepted "solutions," Second Temple works address the issue of where sin originates. The source of sin is not necessarily a historical point in time. Rather, these texts reflect the idea that sin is inherent to the human, originates from external influences, or is a combination of these two factors. Attempts to "explain" sin sometimes seek to justify the existence of sin despite a benevolent Deity. If God does not want humans to sin, why do they have this capability? Furthermore, why do humans, the creations of God, actually desire to sin? The centrality of these questions in Second Temple literature lies behind my decision to focus this study on the portrayal of the source of sin in Second Temple texts. The examination of these works, however, has high-

[24] L. T. Stuckenbruck, "The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism: The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III: 13-IV: 26) in its Tradition-Historical Context," in *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World* (ed. A. Lange et al.; JAJSup 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 145–68.

[25] J. Klawans, "Josephus on Fate, Free Will, and Ancient Jewish Types of Compatibilism," *Numen* 56 (2009): 44–90, esp. 64; idem, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes, and the Study of Religious Belief: Determinism and Freedom of Choice," in *Rediscovering the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Assessment of Old and New Approaches and Methods* (ed. M. L. Grossman; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 264–83.

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lighted two other aspects that interact with the question of "where sin comes from": identity and the conflict between determinism and free will.

Identity

Beyond the basic problem of theodicy, the idea of sin and sinning forms an important part of Jewish identity in this period. Jews may identify themselves as "righteous" or "God-fearing," decry the "wicked" and anticipate their imminent demise, and also define their own community as the only group that fulfills the law correctly and is therefore *not* guilty of transgressions. These self-definitions, however, allow a great degree of flexibility. A "righteous" person may yet be guilty of a transgression, but she is confident that she will be forgiven. In eschatological texts, the eschaton will provide the final proof of who is righteous and who is wicked by sealing the doom of all evildoers.

Determinism and Free Will

In essence, the human capability to sin is the strongest declaration of freedom of action within a religious system. As such, however, it presents a theological problem. Accordingly, perspectives on sin in the Second Temple period differed in their approach to this issue. While some emphasized human agency and free will, others declared that God had determined who would be righteous and who would be a sinner. By portraying sin as completely determined by God, freedom of action is denied to the human being, while the weight of responsibility for sin remains with the Deity.

Definition of Sin

For the purposes of this study, "sin" is defined as a transgression against God's will, whether this will is made explicit or not. Most Jewish texts of this period view sin through halakic eyes. Any action opposed to God's (understood) desire is a sin, with no substantive distinction between "ethical" infractions and transgressions of ritual law.

Sinfulness, a concept not found in every Second Temple text, is a state of the human being in which the human is perceived (by herself or others) as "tainted" with the desire to sin. This state has not necessarily been caused by past actions.

Sin, or moral evil, is distinguished from natural evil. Natural evil includes negative factors present in the universe and not explicitly caused by human action, such as earthquakes, disease and famine, although it is sometimes

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viewed as a punishment for moral evil. Sources of moral evil, not natural evil, are the principal subject of this study.

Rationale and Method of the Present Study

The present study is the first to address the "source of sin" as it is reflected in Second Temple literature within a single comprehensive analysis. This broad analysis has enabled both the identification of broad trends in Second Temple thought and a precise analysis of differences between approaches in "general" Second Temple literature and those found in works attributed to the Qumran community. However, the extensive range of this study has necessitated a preliminary categorization of the texts for organizational reasons, based on an initial survey.

The texts have been categorized first according to their general approach to sin: whether they depict the source of sin as internal and human or external and demonic. The categories of "internal" or "external" sources of human action are drawn from the philosophy of action.[26] These have been useful as a means of categorization and are instrumental in the analysis of Second Temple works without defining how a text "must" be read. For example, as will be demonstrated, not all "demonic" texts are completely "external" in perspective.

Texts that depict sin as stemming from an inherent human inclination have been divided according to the genre they represent: prayer, covenantal, or wisdom texts. Texts that portray a demonic source of sin require a different approach, as many texts reflect the development of a demonic figure based on another, earlier text or a common tradition. Therefore, the second section of this study is not divided principally according to genre, but first traces the development of certain demonic figures thought to be responsible for human sin in *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and afterward in Qumran texts. Certain groups of texts that share generic features, such as apotropaic prayers, are analyzed together within this framework.

[26] For example, see A. Haddock, "Bodily Movements," in *A Companion to the Philosophy of Action* (ed. T. O'Connor and C. Sandis; Blackwell Companions to Philosophy 46; Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 26–31 and T. Pink, "Thomas Hobbes," in *A Companion to the Philosophy of Action*, 473–80 at 475.

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Texts Included in This Study

Second Temple works included in this study vary in their original language and geographic provenance, but share a Jewish origin. These works include the Apocrypha, selected Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the works of Philo.[27] For the purposes of this study, "Second Temple literature" will include works composed from approximately 400 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. in order to explore developments in Jewish thought shortly after the destruction of the Temple. Works for which the possibility of a Jewish origin remains in serious doubt, such as *2 Enoch* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, will not be dealt with as primary texts.[28]

In an ideal world, all Pauline works would be within the purview of this study; after all, Paul himself was a Jew living during the Second Temple period. However, the unique nature of Paul's thought and the rivers of ink that have been spilled exploring Pauline views of sin preclude a truly in-depth study of Paul's approach to sin within the framework of the present work. I have nevertheless attempted to point out specific conclusions that shed light on Pauline thought when they arise in the study.

Terminology

This study is not solely terminology-driven, but pays close attention to the manner in which terms are used in each case. The meaning of specific terminology used in the texts differs according to context. For example, *bly'l* may be used to indicate the angel/demon "Belial" or an abstract notion of wickedness, and an "evil heart" may describe what would elsewhere be termed an "evil

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[27] The works of Josephus also fall within the scope of this study, but Josephus does not directly discuss the ongoing source of sin. The works of Josephus are referred to when they are relevant to the discussion at hand.

[28] According to M. de Jonge, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, while it draws from Jewish sources, is in its current form a Christian work; see de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin* (Van Gorcum's theologische Bibliotheek 25; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953); idem, "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation* (ed. M. de Jonge; SVTP 3; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 193–246. His finding are supported by R.A. Kugler, "Twelve Patriarchs, Testaments of the," *EDSS* 2:952, and the recent study by V. Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2008), particularly 232–3. For the view that the *Testaments* are Jewish in origin with identifiable Christian interpolations, see J. Kugel's commentary, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *Outside the Bible: Ancient Jewish Writings Related to Scripture*, ed. Louis Feldman, James Kugel, and Lawrence Schiffman (New York: Jewish Publication Society), forthcoming.

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inclination." This study encompasses a wide range of terms for sin and its cause, while distinguishing between the various meanings of these terms according to their context.

"Sectarian" and "Non-Sectarian" Texts

The Dead Sea Scrolls of necessity form a large part of the present study, although they represent the library of a relatively small group with very specific beliefs. This study relies on previous scholarship in distinguishing between those texts that are purely sectarian and those that may reflect a wider use among Second Temple Jewry. The terms "sect," "sectarian," and "nonsectarian" are not intended to indicate the existence of a religious orthodoxy; rather, they are used here in a social sense, as elucidated by P. R. Davies: "I define sect in terms of social behavior…In other words, I understand the 'Damascus community' (or communities) to have constituted a sect because they separated from their surrounding society and regarded themselves as an alternative to it, not merely a part of it. It is this ideological and physical separation that makes them a sect, regardless of the beliefs that provoke such separation."[29] This "sectarian" mindset of the Qumran community, as it is represented in the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule* among other Qumran texts, has been explored at length by J. J. Collins, among others.[30]

"Nonsectarian" texts are those not considered exclusive to the Qumran group. In general, texts are classified as "nonsectarian" because (a) they display distinctively nonsectarian features, (b) they lack sectarian features, or (c) they have been found outside of Qumran as well.[31]

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[29] P. R. Davies, "Who Can Join the 'Damascus Covenant'?," *JJS* 46 (1995): 134.

[30] J. J. Collins, "Sectarian Consciousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. L. R. LiDonnici and A. Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177–92, particularly 181–4. Collins notes the sectarian nature of the *yaḥad* as it is expressed in both the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*; according to Collins, these texts reflect a separatist and exclusivist movement.

[31] See E. G. Chazon, "Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications," *DSD* 1 (1994): 272; D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls* (ed. D. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 27–28 and 28 n. 14; and C. A. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; Biblical and Judaic Studies 1; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 177.

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Determinism, "Fate," and the Qumran Community

While Josephus presented the distinctions between Jewish beliefs in terms of "fate" and "free will," these terms do not define the present study. This study examines the manner in which each text addresses questions of human choice or lack of human choice in its own terms.

As J. Klawans has argued, it is almost impossible for a monotheistic religion to be completely deterministic in all its aspects.[32] This study examines the extent of the determinism found in various sectarian texts while recognizing that a group can be deterministic and still, for example, pray to God for forgiveness. In this study *determinism* denotes the belief that all future actions have been predetermined by God while *predestination* expresses the election (or rejection) of a chosen few by God from the beginning of time.

Authors and Audiences

Many of the works included in this study have been redacted, some in several stages. Unless the redaction itself is a matter for discussion, the term "author" or "composer" is used to denote the person responsible for the particular text, whether or not that person was, in fact, "merely" the final redactor.

At the same time, the *Sitz im Leben* of many works is not clear. While many works were clearly meant to be read, some could also have been read aloud to larger groups. For this reason "audience" is preferred over "reader" when discussing the possible impact of these works.

Angels and Demons

This study does not distinguish between evil angels and evil demons unless this distinction is implicit in the text. In general, specific nomenclature for the type of demon (as opposed to the demon's identity) is not central to the approaches found in these works.[33]

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[32] See J. Klawans, "Josephus on Fate," and idem, "Dead Sea Scrolls."

[33] See A. M. Reimer, "Rescuing the Fallen Angels: The Case of the Disappearing Angels at Qumran," *DSD* 7 (2000): 334–53, contra P. S. Alexander, "Demonology," 331–53.

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The Plan of the Present Study

As noted above, the range of the present study has required a preliminary categorization of Second Temple works. Consequently, the body of this study is divided into two principal sections.

The first section of this study, Chapters 2–6 (with Excursus), explores texts that portray sin as resulting from an inherent human inclination toward sin. These texts are further categorized according to their genre: prayer (nonsectarian and sectarian), covenantal texts (i. e., introductions to legal texts found at Qumran), wisdom and philosophical texts, and finally apocalypses composed shortly after the Temple's destruction, namely *4 Ezra* and *2 Baruch*.

The second section of this study, Chapters 7–12, focuses on the view that sin is caused by demonic forces. This section is not divided according to genre, but rather traces the development of traditions regarding demonic influences and their role in human sin. It begins with the portrayal of the Watchers in *1 Enoch*, continues with the book of *Jubilees'* depiction of the Watchers, Mastema, and Belial, and finally explores how these various figures (and others) are depicted in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The section ends with an analysis of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, a work that combines multiple views of sin.

Theoretical Concerns

The Qumran Community

The Qumran community itself was a dynamic one, and has a long and complicated history. Due to the disputed nature of this history, this study will not attempt to place different sectarian texts in a timeline.[34] In the case of works that are the result of widely acknowledged stages of redaction, such as the *War Scroll* and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, this study will rely on previous research regarding these texts' redactional history. However, this analysis will also address the meaning of these works as they would have been read in their final form.

There is a long-standing debate regarding the identity of the Qumran community. While most scholars today assume the Essene identity of this group,

[34] See, for example, the opposing opinions of C. Hempel and E. Regev regarding whether the stage of the community reflected in the *Damascus Document* preceded that described in the *Community Rule* or vice versa; C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition, and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 149–51; E. Regev, "The Yaḥad and the Damascus Covenant: Structure, Organization and Relationship," *RevQ* 21 (2003): 233–62.

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several have acknowledged that such an identity is not linear.[35] The exact identification of the Qumran community lies outside the scope of the present study. The term "the Qumran community" is used as a general term to refer to the various stages of the larger community whose beliefs are reflected in the sectarian texts.

Reading Gender in Second Temple Works

The use of gender-inclusive language presents a challenge when discussing Second Temple works. I have attempted to be sensitive to the historical reality of the texts under discussion; these works were generally written by men and intended for men. However, as noted by M. Grossman, underneath the androcentric language of these texts there is frequently an assumption that women are included in their audience.[36] Consequently, when possible, gendered pronouns have been avoided. I have chosen to use masculine pronouns when the subject is clearly a member of the Qumran community or a composer of a Second Temple text. This choice has been made in order to avoid implications regarding the inclusion of women in the Qumran community, which lie outside the scope of this work. In other instances, the feminine pronoun is used, as long as such use does not contribute to the historically problematic gendering of sin.

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[35] For examples of the former see the overviews in T. S. Beall, "Essenes," *EDSS*, 1:262–9 and J. J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–98. For the latter, see the connection between the Qumran and Zadokite halakah and the consequent implications for the community's identity explored by L. H. Schiffman, "*Miqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah* and the *Temple Scroll*," *RQ* 14 (1989–1990): 435–57; repr. in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (ed. F. García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008) and idem, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 75–6, 273–87, A. I. Baumgarten's proposal that while scholars should acknowledge what the Essenes and the Dead Sea sectarians had in common, it is counter-productive to assert total identity between these two groups, in "Who Cares and Why Does It Matter? Qumran and the Essenes, Once Again!" *DSD* 11 (2004): 174–90, and the nuanced study of the Scrolls and the different groups they reflect by E. Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (RelSoc 45; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007).

[36] M. Grossman, "Reading for Gender in the Damascus Document," *DSD* 11 (2004): 212–39 (in particular, see her references to the Deuteronomic covenant at 223); eadem, "Rethinking Gender in the *Community Rule*: An Experiment in Sociology," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)* (ed. A. Roitman, L. H. Schiffman, and S. Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 502–8.

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