

What can the Dead Sea Scrolls teach us about the belief in the resurrection in Ancient Judaism?

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In his appearance before the Sanhedrin in Acts(23:6-9), Paul said:

«...It is for our hope in the resurrection of the dead that I am on trial.» As soon as he said this, a dispute broke between the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the assembly was split between the two parties. For the Sadducees say there is no resurrection: no angel no spirit, while the Pharisees accept both(τὰ ἀμφότερα)” Luke continues to stress the strong protest of the Pharisees who say: “what if a spirit or an angel has spoken to him?” Such a dispute is similar to the one between Jesus and the Sadducees about resurrection at the end of time: “You are wrong, because you understand neither the Scriptures nor the power of God. For at the resurrection men and women do not marry; they are like the angels in heaven.

(Mt 22:23-33 and //).¹⁾

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1) On this subject, see the excellent remarks of F. Parker, “The Terms

These discussions well underline the object of this important hope among the Jews of that period. Resurrection does not mean a coming back on earth to live as before. Thus Paul can say the same thing before the Roman governor Felix:

It is according to the way, which they describe as a sect, that I worship the God of my ancestors, retaining my belief in all points of the Law and in what is written in the prophets; and I hold the same hope in God as they do, that there will be a resurrection of the upright and the wicked alike

(Acts 24:14-15).

And before King Agrippa he says:

Why does it seem incredible to you that God should raise the dead?

(Acts 26:8).

1. The scriptures

The hope for the resurrection of the just at the last judgment seems to have been well accepted by Jewish apocalyptic circles in the last centuries B. C., and well argued from the Law and the Prophets, as Jesus and Paul do. That is why

‘Angel’ and ‘Spirit in Acts 23:8,” *Biblica* 84 (2003), 344-365.

the book of Daniel can speak about this hope in an allusion in two verses(Dn 12:2-3).

¹At that time Michael will arise the great Prince, the defender of your people. It will be a time of great distress, unparalleled since nations first came into existence. At that time your people shall escape, everyone who is found written in the book. ²And many of those who sleep in the dust shall awake. These (shall be) for eternal life and those for disgrace, for everlasting horror. ³The wise will shine as brightly as the expanse of the heavens, and those who have instructed many in uprightness, as bright as stars for eternity.”

This passage says that among the people of God, all whose names are found written in the book will be saved and will have eternal life. These *-ll* designate the living who escape death and many of those asleep who will rise, whereas those *-w'll* who will be “for a disgrace, for everlasting horror” designate all those whose names will not be found written in the book, be they living at that time or dead, and who will neither rise from the tomb nor awake. Both groups, just and wicked, are understood to be only Israelites or the people of God under Michael’s protection, be it the last generation at the time of great distress, or the dead of previous generations. They are distinguished only by the final outcome: eternal life

or eternal disgrace. The two *ʾb* cannot designate one group alone, those who sleep in the dust who will awake, but must point to two previously named groups, even implicitly, in order to avoid talking nonsense: many will awake, some to everlasting life, some to shame..., but then what about those who shall not awake and those who will be living at that time and belonging to the people of God? The meaning of Daniel 12 in the Hebrew and LXX is that all the just among the people of God, be they living or sleeping in the dust, shall awake or be transformed into glory, first the wise, who have instructed many in uprightness, will be as bright as the stars.²⁾ There is not yet here a general resurrection of everyone, just and wicked, as in Jn 5:29 for example.

The final distress is compared to a battle finishing with God's victory through the hand of Michael over the powers of the devil. The shining just are those who have understood the plan of God, as Daniel writes(Dn 12:10-13) recalling Is 52:13; 53:12: "the upright one, my servant has justified many, he gave his life as a sin offering, he will see the light"(with LXX and Qumrân),³⁾ and Is 66:22-24 which says that, when God renews the heavens and earth, the just will endure but

2) With B.J. Alfrink, "L'idée de résurrection d'après Dan XII, 1-2," *Biblica* 40 (1959) 355-371, but not with A.F. Segal, *Life After Death. A History of the Afterlife in the Religions of the West* (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 262-265, who understands a resurrection of the just and of some wicked!

3) With 1QIs a-b, 4QIs d and the LXX as the primitive text.

the wicked will be held in horror in eternal death.

This concept of history and of the world to come with its reference to the resurrection and shining of the just extends and elaborates the prophetic and sapiential eschatological tradition. It opens a hope up for a just retribution in the afterlife. This is already found in the Apocalypse of Isaiah, 26:14 and 19:

The dead will not come back to life, the shadows will not rise again, for you have punished them, annihilated them, wiping out their very memory.

Your dead will come back to life, your corpses will rise again. Wake up and sing, you dwellers in the dust, for your dew will be a radiant dew, but the earth will give birth to the shades.

Scholars are divided about this text: do we have here a simple metaphor suggesting only national restoration, or a teaching on resurrection? Both could be acceptable in turn and the text could have received a fuller meaning (*sensus plenior*), as the Greek translation of LXX later asserts. The verbs “to come back to life, rise again, wake up and sing” with the nouns “the dead, the corpses, the dwellers in the dust, the shadows, the dew of light” as opposed to “will not come back to life, will not rise again, have been punished, annihilated, without memory anymore” could not designate anything

other than resurrection and eschatological rewards for some and judgment and eternal punishments for others. Here already, the text speaks only about the resurrection of the just among the people of God followed by eschatological joy and light, as a new creation. God has full power over life and death, as Isaiah writes with the image of the eschatological divine banquet, while all nations will see God's victory and His destruction of death for ever(Is 25:8).

This is, in brief, the hope in the afterlife among some Jewish circles before the split between the Pharisees and the Essenes around the middle of the 2nd century B.C. It is not a reflection that follows the Maccabean fighting and the martyrs, but the outcome of a long reflection on the great trauma of the exile, along with the fall of the davidic monarchy and the destruction of the temple on which God's name was invoked. God who is just and keeps his promises, must reward the just and punish the wicked after death.

2. The Dead Sea scrolls

Despite the very fragmentary state of preservation of many scrolls, some passages are very precious witnesses for the study of this belief in the final centuries B.C. The manuscripts are not dated and sometimes it is easy to ascertain a *pre-Qumran* origin as for *1 Enoch* or a Qumran one as for the *Hymns*. For others, there is no consensus, often it depends

on what criteria of interpretation one uses and one's a priori assessment of the ideologies and beliefs of the writers. This has important consequences for our subject, because ancient authors are in disagreement. Josephus wrote that the Essenes believed in a pre-existent immortality of the soul, like the neo-Phytagoreans (*War* II §§ 151-158 or *Ant.* XVIII § 18), whereas Hippolytus attributed to them belief in the immortality of the soul in an intermediary state and the resurrection of the flesh of the just, when God would judge and create everything anew, with everlasting punishments for the wicked (*Elenchos* ou *Philosophoumena* IX § 27). Because we cannot definitely attribute these manuscripts to the Essenes, it is fair to suppose that the manuscripts brought to Qumran and copied there by the Essenes could and must have influenced the belief of an Essene reader and of an Essene author. As heirs of the Hassidaeans, the Essenes must have accepted their ideas about the afterlife, which are those of the biblical Sages and holy men as briefly outlined above, and are found also in many ancient Pseudepigrapha. It will be important to emphasize, on that matter, whether there is the continuity or not between the disputed manuscripts and the others and to situate them in the tradition of the Scriptures. Among the most important manuscripts for our subject, are *Pseudo-Ezechiel*, the *Messianic Apocalypse*, the *Instruction on the two spirits*, some *Hymns* and the *Instruction*.

2.1. Enoch

First we must give a very summary of some beliefs in the *Book of the Watchers of 1 Enoch*. After his return to earth, the Patriarch Enoch revealed things which had been shown to him in heaven. In the west he saw a high rocky mountain where four deep caves were opened: three of them dark and one bright. Raphael said to him:

«These are the places where the spirits of the souls of the dead should gather. These are the pits for their place of incarceration. They have been fashioned in this manner until the day they will be judged, and until the day of the end of the Great Judgment which will be exacted of them». There I saw the spirit of a dead man making accusation, and his lamentation ascending up to heaven, and crying out unceasingly and making accusation. I asked Raphael the watcher and Holy one who was with me and I said to him: «This spirit making accusation, who is it,...». He answered me, saying: «Behold, this is the spirit that went forth from Abel whom his brother Cain slew...». I asked a question regarding him and the judgment of all: «For what reason is one separated from the other?» He replied and said to me: «These three have been made in order that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And in this manner

in which the souls of the righteous are separated by this spring of water with light upon it, in like manner, the sinners are set apart when they die and are buried in the earth and judgment has not been executed upon them in their life time, upon this great pain until the great day of judgment.»

(1 En 22:1-11//4QEn^c 1 xxii).⁴⁾

This important passage tells us that the spirits of the souls of the dead are still living and are not like shadows dwelling in the darkness of the earth, and that there are two different temporary places for the souls of the righteous and of the wicked, whence the righteous ones would come forth, after the final judgment, to live in a renewed world. This implied that God has already pronounced a preliminary sentence on the souls of the dead, which refers to the intermediary state of the immortal soul. This concept of the afterlife is accepted by the Dead Sea scrolls relating to this subject, as well as by Daniel 12.

2.2. The Instruction

Known by the remains of at least seven copies (1Q26, 4Q415, 416, 417, 418, 418a, and 423) palaeographically dated around the second half of the 1st century B.C. but probably

⁴⁾ See J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 229-230.

composed in the first half of the 2nd,⁵⁾ this document is at least a composition highly esteemed and studied by the Essenes. The introduction to the sapiential instructions begins by presenting the theological framework of judgment in a cosmological vision, then it continues(4Q416 1 10-16 and//).

Then ¹⁰in heaven He shall judge the works of wickedness, and all His faithful children will be accepted with favour be[fore Him, wickedness will come to] ¹¹its end. And they shall feel dread and all who defiled themselves in it shall cry out in distress, for the heavens shall fear, [the earth]shall shake from its place, ¹²seas and abysses will fear, and every spirit of flesh will be destroyed, But the sons of heaven shall [rejoice and exult] in the day of ¹³its judgment, and all iniquity shall come to an end, whereas the epoch of truth will be perfected forever, and praise [a spiritual people will sing(?)] ¹⁴in all periods of eternity, for He is a God of fidelity. And from of old, from years of [eternity, He has disposed all and instructed the ear of the wise]¹⁵to explain to the just how to distinguish between good and evil, to make known all judgments[...

5) See J. Strugnell and D. Harrington, "Qumran Cave 4 XXIV. Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mûsar lemevin): 4Q415ff with a Re-edition of 1Q26," T. Elgvin, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: 4QInstruction (Musar leMevin): 4Q415 ff.*, an Edition of 4Q423, DJD XXXIV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), with some new readings and restorations of mine.

The main aim of the scroll is to invite the reader to meditate on a theology of creation and history after a revelation on the mystery of existence (*rz nhyb*) which, from the beginning, speaks about the destiny of the human condition in the divine plan: rewards for the just and punishments for the wicked. Wickedness shall perish forever and truth shall triumph, the faithful will receive God's favour. The same is taken up again in 4Q418 123 ii 3-8, 126 ii 6-7, or 4Q417 2 i 10-12:

Gaze upon the mystery of] ¹¹existence (*rz] nhyb*), and understand the horoscopes of salvation (*mmldy ys*¹), and know who is to inherit glory and elevation (*kbwd w'l*). Has not] rejoicing been appointed for the contrite of spirit] ¹²and eternal joy for those among them who mourn?⁶⁾

6) Read the pair *kbwd w'l*, not *w'ml* with the editors who understood “and toil,” nor *w'wl* with M.J. Goff, *The Wordly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 60; J.J. Collins, “The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature* (2001), 20-22; J.J. Collins, G. Sterling and R. Clements, eds., STDJ 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 49-65, 56, taken over in J.J. Collins, “The Mysteries of God. Creation and Eschatology in 4Q Instruction and the Wisdom of Solomon,” *BETL* 168, op. cit., 287-305, 294; there is no space for a letter between ‘ain and lamed, read *w'l* (from ‘*lb*) “and elevation/exaltation” parallel to *kbwd*, like then “rejoicing for the contrite of spirit” is to “among them who mourn eternal joy” Pr 15:24 wrote “For the prudent, the path of life leads

To inherit eternal reward, a good horoscope is not sufficient, nor the benefit of birth into a family of the chosen people, nor the study of the instructions of the wise. The life of the intelligent(*mebîn*) must also be conformed to the way of perfection laid out by Wisdom. The intelligent one is invited to a constant and active search for Wisdom and to follow her paths until death, the day when God will judge all the creation. He will judge a human being according to what is inscribed in the ledger books, all his good deeds and the others which cannot be changed anymore. 4Q417 1 i 6-8, 13-16, 18-19 writes:

⁶[And by day and by night meditate upon the mystery of]existence, and study it continually, and then you shall know truth and iniquity; wisdom ⁷[and foolish]ness you will discover in [their] deeds. Understand all their paths with their visitation in all ages everlasting, and the Visitation of ⁸eternity. Then you shall discern between good and evil according to their deed.(...

¹³...)But you, ¹⁴O understanding one, aim at your reward in the book of memorial for the end, [for] will be engraved the destiny and ordained all the punishment, ¹⁵for engraved is what is ordained by God against all the iniquities of the children of

upwards thus avoiding Sheol below”(Sheol-chastisement). In this context, *muldy ys*‘ should refer to birth propitious horoscopes.

Seth/the pit, and written in His presence is a book of memorial ¹⁶of those who keep His word.(...
¹⁸...) And you, O understanding child, gaze on the mystery of existence, and know ¹⁹the paths of everyone, and the manner of his walking that is appointed for his deeds.

What is important for man is to distinguish between the paths of wisdom and foolishness, of good and iniquity, and consequently to adapt his way of life according to the visitation at the end. Happy the man whose name will be engraved in the book among the faithful, because he knows the outcome. But he knows also that God will forgive the faithful when he appears before God for the judgment, as 4Q417 2 i 15-17 writes:

For before His anger ¹⁶none will stand, and who will be declared righteous when He will judge? And without His forgiveness, how can the poor [stand
¹⁷before Him?

In an exhortation asking man to follow the commandments as the creation does, the Instruction admonishes the foolish and the wise about his end, when God will raise the just and punish the foolish who will return to the eternal Pit 4Q418 69 ii + 60:7)

7) For the text, see Puech, "Les fragments eschatologiques de 4QInstruction

²[...] and you shall understand [the sources of the abys]ses with ³[all the hidden places of their fountains and you shall have knowledge of the seas' swells] in their activities. Is it not in faithfulness that circulates ⁴all their [currents] and in knowledge all their waves?

And now, foolish man, what is good for him who is not ⁵formed? [And] what is tranquillity for him who has not existed? And what is a decree for him who has not been established? And what can the dead lament over all their [days?] ⁶You were fashioned for Sheol, and to the everlasting Pit shall your return be when it shall awake and [expose] your sin. And the inhabitants of ⁷its dens shall cry out against your pleading, and those destined-for-eternity, the seekers of the truth shall awake for your judgment. [Then] ⁸all the foolish people shall be destroyed and the sons of iniquity shall not be found anymore [and all] those who hold fast to wickedness [shall] wither away. [Then] ⁹during your judgment, the foundations of the firmament shall quake and all the [divi]ne/[etern]al ar[mies] shall thunder forth and all those who had loved [truth/righteousness shall revive.]

¹⁰vacat And you, the faithful elected, who keep vigil ¹¹over all the knowledge, how can you say: «We are tired of understanding and at [all times] and every[where] we have been vigilant in pursuing knowledge?» ¹²But for all the years of eternity, none

gets tired! Does not one take delight in truth forever? And knowledge, [ceaselessly,] does it not serve us? and the so[ns of] ¹³Heaven whose lot is eternal life, will they truly claim: «We are exhausted by doing the works of truth and [we] are worn out ¹⁴all the time?» Is it not in eternal light that they shall [all] walk [in garments of] glory and an abundance of splendour? You, [you shall stand] ¹⁵in the firmaments of [holiness and within] the divine council for all [the days of eternity.

Clearly, death sealed for ever the eternal fate of each one. Whereas the righteous would awake to be present at the judgment of the wicked whose end would be Sheol for ever, the just would live for ever in glory in the company of the angels. This text also mentions the participation of the whole cosmos in the last judgment, as in the apocalyptic texts. The Instruction tells us that Sheol will then be changed, from an abode for the dead, into a place of eternal perdition and destruction when it shall wake for the judgment, and the risen just shall leave it. Gaining glory does not occur at the death of an individual, but with the resurrection at the last judgment and the renewal of the cosmos which introduces him to the glorious life, which is not at all a return to the previous life. There is no question of the immortality of the soul, but an elevation-exaltation of the righteous according to Semitic an-

thropology, with the clothing of a glorious body, a return to the condition of paradise before Adam's sin, man living in the presence of God in the company of angels. The glorified just one is not an angel, but like the angels, he shall become immortal. This also means that there is no question of a realized eschatology, as some scholars have said, because if that were the case, the righteous would not fear any wrong outcome at the last judgment, and would be sure they would receive their reward. But this is not what the *Instruction* teaches us. He has to be faithful until death, because he can lose the glorious heritage.

A broken passage tell us something about the soul at death when the body disappears, 4Q418 127 2-7:⁸⁾

²For upon you, Sheol] watch all the day, and your soul will desire that you enter into its gates, and the earth will bury ³and cover[*your bones/body(?)*, and will] disappear your corpse, and you will become the prey of (animal's) teeth and what devours the fire/Reshef.

As in *1 Enoch*, the *Instruction* links eternal rewards and punishments to the last Judgment, not to the death of man.⁹⁾

8) For the reading and the restoration of this passage, see Puech, "Les fragments eschatologiques...", cit.. Note here the identity of the concept "soul" and "person," *1 Enoch* and *Wisdom* for example. Some passages speak of "the death of the soul"(=person), see 4Q530 2 ii 1-2 about the Giants.

It is in favour of an intermediary state and of an awakening at the resurrection, and is certainly opposed to a Hellenistic eschatology of the pure immortality of the soul in the Heights.

2.3. 4QPseudo-Ezekiel

The same Jewish hope is found in *the Pseudo-Ezekiel*

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- 9) See for example Goff, op. cit., 188, 193, 200f, 202, 209-214, who wrote: “4QInstruction does not emphasize that Sheol is a place of torment. The righteous will die but this only affects their flesh. With their transient aspects removed, only that which is eternal remains. After death they enjoy eternal life with the angels. The righteous will be spared from the punishment of the final judgment and receive eschatological salvation.” This is not what the text says, for in the Instruction death affects equally the just and the sinner in their body and soul, both of them go to sheol, but at the last judgment it will become a place of punishment for the wicked, whereas the risen will receive eternal life. Nothing says that the just will enjoy eternal life with angels at death. What then would be the meaning of “the inhabitants of 7its dens shall cry out against your pleading?” Collins, cit. *BETL* 168, 297, has written: “The wisdom texts...do not use the language of resurrection, but rather suggest that the life of the spirit is continuous... Neither does it seem to involve a resurrection, in the sense that life is suspended for a time between death and glorification. While the texts are not as clear on the matter as we might wish, the view seems to be that the spirit simply lives on when the body dies.” But he does not specify what is “the diminished life” of the nefesh in sheol waiting for the awakening of the just at the last judgment, nor what Wis 5:1 understands by “Then the upright will stand up...” (not “the soul of the upright...who cannot stand up”), phrases which express in similar ways the eschatological salvation of the just at the last judgment, a salvation which can in no way be reduced to the immortality of the soul which, alone, survives the death of the body, waiting in the darkness of sheol.

Apocryphon of which four or five copies were discovered in Cave 4. Its pre-Qumran composition is supposed at the latest before the middle of the 2nd century B. C.¹⁰⁾ The reading of the parable of the dry bones(Ez 37) speaks of the resurrection of the just of Israel as the only eschatological reward.¹¹⁾ 4Q385 2-3 and parallels 386 1 i et 388 7:12)

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- 10) See D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4 XXI. Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, DJD XXX (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001). but it could be earlier, and Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie Éternelle?*, Paris: Gabalda, 1993, 605-616. Dimant declares a priori(13) as not Essene the theme of resurrection and excludes definitively as even possibly Essene any fragment concerning that subject.
- 11) Dimant, op. cit., 32 and n. 22, disagrees that it is a peshet of Ezechiel 37, so that this composition cannot be Essene, but she forgets that this genre is very well known in Aramaic Daniel and very probably also in 4Q246 1 i 3.
- 12) Dimant, op. cit., 25. explains that the restoration (l. 3) “the ways of [your heart]” is more neutral than “the ways of [justice],” which is too distinctively Qumranian, but the first expression is known at least 5 times in Qumran Hebrew 1QH^a XII 18, 19, 22(IV 17, 18, 21), XIV 10, 24 (VI 7, 21), see CD I 11 and 4Q434 1 i 10,11, and the latter only 3 times in 1QS IV 2, 4Q184 1 16 and 4Q420 1a ii-b 5. She reads l. 8 {bbrwgy m wyby kn} wy{b}yw ‘m... because the restoration {bm wybyw wyby kn}wy‘md ‘m... I adopted, refers to bones, which is not logical (28). But the context speaks precisely of the bones now joined and covered with sinews and skin, an unanimated body, as Dimant accepts elsewhere in 4Q386 1 i 8-9! Further, the reading wy{b}yw is excluded, see PAM 41.863 and 43.503, read wy‘md, as I have explained in *La croyance des Esséniens...*, op. cit., II-609-611. The manuscript 4Q386 1 i 6-10 has a longer text: “And He said a second time: «Prophesy. And let sinew[s]{come upon them} and let skin cover 7{them from above!}» And they were covered with skin and came] upon them sinews 8[but there was no breath in them. And He said to me: «Prophesy once

²[And I said: «Yahweh,] I have seen many from Israel who have loved your name and have walked ³in the ways of[righteousness. And] when will these things come to be? and how will they be rewarded for their piety?» And Yahweh said ⁴to me: «I will make (it) manifest to the children of Israel and they shall know that I am Yahweh».

⁵[And He said:] «Son of man, prophesy over the bones and speak: let a bone be joined to its opposite and a joint ⁶[to its joint!» And it was so. And He said a second time: «Prophesy and let sinews come upon them and let skin cover them ⁷[from above.» And it was so.] And He said once again: «Prophesy over the four winds of heaven and let them blow breath ⁸[into them, and let them revive!» And it was so.] And a large crowd of men stood up and blessed Yahweh Sabaoth who ⁹[had given them life.

And I said: «Yahweh, when shall these things become to be?» And Yahweh said to me: ¹⁰«Behold, the time is coming when, at the end of d]ays, a tree shall bend and straighten up again[...»

again] over the four winds of 9[heaven and let them blow into them!>
 And there stood on their feet] a large [crow]d of people 10[and...,”
 4Q385 2 10, I understand: *{bnb ybw' b't (b)'sr b'bryt hy}mym 'ç ykp...*
 correcting somewhat my previous restorations. At fragment 3, line 2, the
 editors' reading *wy{md}w* is impossible, 'ain is excluded, unless as a
 supra linear correction. I read *wyw{d}w* or even *wyb{wd}w*, and *db}r* line
 4, but *'m}wr* is much too long for the space between fragments.

The two questions on the “How” and “When” of the reward receive, as an answer, the resurrection at the end. And for that, the prophet entreats God to shorten the days of distress and to make haste with salvation(4Q385 4). The image of the tree intends to emphasize the identity and a form of continuity of the righteous through the new creation after their sleep in the tomb, at the end of days when judgment will come. Such a presentation supposes an intermediary state.¹³⁾

2.4. The Messianic Apocalypse(4Q521)

The fragments of a single copy of a Hebrew scroll addressed to the pious-*basâdîm* to encourage them in their choice, supplies us with very important evidence concerning Essene

13) The answers to ‘when’ and ‘how’ suppose clearly an intermediary state and the soul(nps) in sheol which is the person of the just waiting for resurrection, the bones are not alone to wait for, contrary to Dimant, op. cit., 33, who think that a new creation is incompatible with the presence of the soul in sheol; it is not a question of a creation ex-nihilo but of a re-creation or resurrection of the person. A similar conception is found in 1 Enoch 22 where the souls-spirits sojourn in four different caves. 1 Enoch 22 like Pseudo-Ezechiel does not know a dualist Greek anthropology, but the only Semitic one with its three parts: body, spirit and soul, see the excellent analysis of P. Grelot, “L’éschatologie des Esséniens et le livre d’Hénoch,” *Revue de Qumrân* I (1958-1959), 113-131. In 1 En 22:3ff “the spirits of the souls of the dead,” “the human souls,” “the spirit of a dead,” “this spirit,” “the spirits of dead,”... are interchangeable. In 4Q385 2 7-8, the four winds blow the spirit-breath in the restored bodies, *rvb* has both meanings.

Eschatology and their conception of the future life. Editing this scroll, I have shown evidence which supports a dating after Daniel's book and for an Essene attribution, first of all the suppression of the tetragrammaton in all biblical quotations and the constant use of 'dny as in the *Hymns*, the *Rules* and so on, contrary to Ben Sira, Daniel, Pseudo-Ezekiel,...Further, the denominations pious(*hsydym*), faithful(*'mwnym*), just(*çdyqym*) and poor(*'nnyym*), correspond perfectly with the Aramaic *hsyn hsy'* for 'Essenes'.¹⁴⁾ After a quote from Ps 146:7-8, the scroll speaks about the glorious eschatological acts which God will perform(4Q521 2 ii 9b-13):

In his love [He will reward/judge,]¹⁰ and the fruit of

14) With E. Schürer, *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. Vierte Auflage II B (Leipzig: J.C.Hinrichs, 1907), 654-656, the etymology which can explain the Greek transcriptions, instead of the hypothesis 's' which has replaced it without reason in the English translation by G. Vermès et alii, in 1979, 558-561 (Vermès hypothesis). J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 89, 128. It leaves open the question if this is an Essene composition or not, mostly because of the clear assertion of resurrection without the typical vocabulary of the Qumran Scrolls. But Dimant, op. cit., 13, 34, 36-37, categorically excludes such an attribution, reasoning a priori: Josephus wrote that the Essenes adopted a neo-Pythagorean belief in the immortality of a pre-existent soul, consequently, every document which witnesses a different hope cannot be Essene! It is not possible to follow such an argument with preconceived ideas, more especially as nothing proves that Josephus transmitted their hope any more faithfully than the other source which agrees perfectly with the data of the scrolls.

a good deed will not be delayed for anyone,¹¹ and marvellous acts which have never existed before, He will perform as He said,¹² for He will heal the badly wounded and the dead He will revive, to the poor He will preach the good news¹³ and the thin He will satisfy, the uprooted He will lead and the hungry He will satiate...

This passage is inspired by Isaiah 61 and 35, as is the case with Jesus' logion in Mt 11:3-6 and Lk 7:23-24. After a break, the text continues with an allusion to the coming of Elijah according to Mal 3:23-24 and the mention of the royal messiah whom earth will acclaim in great rejoicing. In all that the messianic kingdom is at hand, and the eschatological prophet is probably to be identified with Elijah redivivus. In the next column, the text describes the Last Judgment at the time of the eschaton when God will bring forth a new creation(4Q521 7+5 ii):¹⁵

15) For the Hebrew text, see E. Puech, *Qumrân Grotte 4 XVIII. Textes hébreux(4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)*, DJD XXV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), with some other restorations, but the restoration of these lines, except ll. 7-15, is indisputable, contrary to Ph. Davies, "Death, Resurrection, and Life After Death in the Qumran Scrolls," A. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner, eds., *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part Four: Death, Life-After-Death, Resurrection and the World-to-Come in the Judaisms of Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 209. A. Caquot, "Deux textes messianiques de Qumrân," *RHPR* 79 (1999), 155-171; 170, notes rightly that smym, l. 14, cannot refer to the angels as I first thought, and be the subject of the verb. This credo is essential in asserting the divine

...]see all that t[he Lord ²has done, the ea[rth and all it contains, the seas [and all ³that they contain] and all the reservoirs of waters and torrents.

⁴[You will rejoice, all of y]ou who make good before the Lor[d, ⁵the blessed and no]t as these, the evil ones, for they shall be for death, [when] ⁶the reviver will ra[ise] the dead of his people.

⁷And we shall give thanks and announce to you the just acts of the Lord, who [has *delivered*(?)] ⁸the mortals and opened [*the tombs of the just of his people*] ⁹and[*the ange*] had ope[ned the books on which are engraved the deeds of each(?)] ¹⁰and[*the Lord sat on His throne of glory for the judgment*(?),] ¹¹and the valley of the dead was [filled with many dead whom it gave back(?)] ¹²and the bridge of the [great] Aby[ss has been set for their crossing(?)] so that] ¹³the evil ones have coagulated[in the depths of the infernal Sheol,] ¹⁴but have proceeded to heaven[the just/blessed in the eternal glory(?)] ¹⁵and a]ll the angels[blessed the Lord who did justice to all.(?)...¹⁶

power which bring about the resurrection; the same is found in the Acts of the Apostles precisely with regard to the proclamation of Jesus' resurrection.

- 16) The restoration of lines 8-15 is ad sensum in order to give an idea of the logic of the text and the dimension of the lacunae. The "great Abyss" can be based on 1QH^a XI 32-33, 4Q252 I 5, 11Q11 IV 7, Lk 16:26, but other qualifications are possible, such as the dark Abyss, the fiery Abyss, etc. For the books and the throne for the personal judgment according one's works, the Abyss, the dead given back, the resurrection of the just and the punishments in the fire(=the second death), see

The passage continues and elaborates the concept of *Daniel* 12. As in *Pseudo-Ezechiel*, God is able to create anew, giving justice to the just among his people, who are at the centre of the exhortation, either by opening the tombs of those raised in glory, or gloriously transforming the living just on that day, as the wicked are falling down into Sheol. On the day of Judgment, God will judge, rewarding the good and punishing the wicked, but not all the just have to pass through death to receive their reward. This scene is very close to that of 1 Thes 4:16-17 relating to the dead and living in Christ and that of the Last Judgment of Mt 25:31-46 relating to the separation of the blessed and the damned or the parable of the dandelion. The bridge of the Sorter for the separation, unique in Semitic literature, is a borrowing from Zoroastrian and Vedic eschatology.¹⁷⁾ The wicked will coagulate in a refrigerium of darkness, whereas the angels of heaven bless the Lord when the just¹⁸⁾ enter into heaven in glory.

Apocalypse 20 which seems to know this kind of text, or 4 Esd 7:32-38.

17) See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens...*, op. cit., II, 688-692 with the bibliography, and S. Shaked, "Iranian influence on Judaism: first century B.C.E. to second century C.E.," *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, op. cit., 308-325, 321-324. where the author thinks that Iran must be the source of this conception of eschatology, since there it is more organized and constructed, and because it is improbable that two eschatologies, very closed on many points, could have developed independently; the antecedents in Avesta are in favor of the Zoroastrianism, the more so given that Judaean contact with Persia and Mesopotamia are attested in the Achaemenid period.

Note in passing that the expression *kenl h'sym 't htwb lpny 'dny* “all of you who make good before the Lord” is very well known in Essene compositions [1QS I 2, 1QH^a IV 36 (XVII 24) and 11QRT LIII 7-8, LV 7-8, LIX 16-17, LXIII 8] to describe the righteous Essenes.¹⁹⁾

This passage on eschatology with a borrowing from Iranian religion adapted to a Semitic context does not speak directly of the resurrection which is necessary in order to cross the bridge, and is concerned first with the glory of the just standing before God, as in *Daniel* 12. The state of the risen is not a return to their former life, but an improved and happy one, nor the immortality of the soul, but a real transformation of the present human condition of the righteous, alive or dead, in order to enter into the divine presence in the company of the angels. This is to be compared to the renewal-*παλιγγενεσία* of Mt 19:28; 22:30. That is to say, eschatology refers to protology. Consequently, it is easier to understand the state of the body or the flesh of resurrection as it is already described in the books of 1 Enoch, that is

18) Clearly “the souls of the just” cannot be understood with the Greek meaning of soul opposed to body, but with the Semitic “person” as elsewhere, as a spiritual or resurrected body.

19) Compare 4Q521 2 ii 10 “the fruit of a good deed” to 4Q385 2 3 *ystlmw bsdm*, and “the engraved one in the book memorial” of the *Instruction* or “in the book of life,” *the Words of luminaries* (4Q504). Caquot, cit., 169, emphasizes this fundamental commandment in the life of the Essenes’ Community.

a spiritual body, more especially as a doctrine of a “glorified body” is already known from Zoroastrianism.²⁰⁾ The Essene conception presupposes the notion of a new earth, a new heaven, a purification by fire(ἐκπύρωσι) which other Qumran scrolls emphasize, even if it is found in a more diffuse fashion or in passing because no other scroll in its present state deals directly with this subject.

2.5. The Instruction on the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community(1QS III 13-IV)

The theme of the Visitation(*ḥqwdl*) is central to this passage, the composition of which dates from the second half of the 2nd century B.C. These lines deal with the rewards and punishments on the Day of the Lord in order to promote the conduct to be followed in the present time when each being, like the whole creation, is submitted to the influences and domination of the two spirits: the spirit of light and the spirit of darkness. If the conflictual presence of the two spirits

20) This important point of Zoroastrianism goes back at least to the IVth century B.C., see H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection: de l'Iran mazdéen à l'Iran shi'ite*, Paris: University of Paris, 1960(first chapter), M. Molé, *Culte, mythe et cosmologie de l'Iran ancien. Le problème zoroastrien et la tradition mazdéenne*, *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque Nationale-Paris*, 69 (1963), 323-328, and A. de Jong, *Shadow and Resurrection*, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, N.S. 9 (1995), 215-224, especially 220-221. Also Caquot, *cit.*, 170, refers to the gatha of the Avesta(Yasht 46:10-11; 51:13), the “Bridge of the Sorter” leads the soul to Paradise or to Hell.

in the human heart conditions its activity, God has placed a terminus for the domination of evil and that of the evil doer who will be lost forever. He will purify and reward the faithful who have become just by the time of the Day of the Lord and of the renewal of creation (IV 25). The expectation of the eschatological Judgment (IV 20) ought to determine the conduct of each in the Community though they live in a context of sin. The Judgment is clearly inscribed within a collective eschatology concerning the history of the world and of humanity along with its deeds, not a purely individual eschatology of an assumptionist type, nor a belief in the immortality of the soul, as some scholars have imagined in a realized eschatology before or just after death.²¹⁾ The eternal rewards and punishments can only be *post mortem* in relation to the Day of the Lord, as in Dn 12:2. The reward presupposes a return to paradise in a world purified from sin, from its origin, Belial, and from its consequence, death. Thus all the glory of Adam in Eden is promised to the righteous once again, 1QS IV 6-8, 11-14:

21) Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, op. cit. 115-118, accepts the meaning Visitation-Last Judgment, but does not exclude also the judgment at personal death. However, it is not only a question of resurrection *with a view* to rewards or punishments, the resurrection itself in glory is *already* the reward of the just at the fixed time with the great renewal, whereas the wicked will not awaken. The just will dress in this spiritual body in glory only at the judgment, see also 1QS XI 5-9. Collins' hypothesis is thus very difficult.

And the Visitation of all who walked in it will be healing, ⁷plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal joy with endless life, and a crown of glory ⁸with majestic raiment in eternal light.

And the Visitation of ¹²all those who walk in it will be for an abundance of afflictions at the hand of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenge, for permanent terror and shame ¹³without end, with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions. And all the ages of their generations shall be in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until ¹⁴their destruction, without there being a remnant or a survivor among them.

The *Instruction on the Two spirits* totally centres on the Visitation at the end of the days, and teaches the sons of light the paths to choose in order to be rewarded in the future life. It is very close to the Instruction analysed above, with the mystery of existence *rx nbyb* taking over the same concept: “From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be”(1QS III 15).

2.6. The Hymns(1QH^a)

A similar conception underlies the eschatology of the

Hymns scroll, which has also a theological and didactic purpose. Be they attributed to the Teacher or his peers or first disciples, the composition also dates from the second half of the 2nd century B.C.²²⁾

Some scholars want to reduce the eschatology of the Hymns to a purely individual eschatology, even a realized eschatology.²³⁾ But this cannot be, since the salvation of the just is promised at the time of the last judgment, just as the final destruction of the wicked is promised at the time of the eschatological war, as is well attested in this scroll 1QH^a XIII 22-XV 8(V 20-VII 5).²⁴⁾ Presently, the Community lives in a time of exile, of trials and persecutions around its Teacher, but the faithful also know that God will reward them through His favour. The reward will be eternal life in glory in the company of the angels. Entering into the Community is a first step, but it is necessary to persevere in order to receive the promised inheritance, for the faithful remain sinful, “a fountain of impurity, wallowing in sin,” who can do nothing without the aid of the Holy Spirit of God. They know that

22) On this subject, see Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens...*, op. cit., II, 335-338.

23) Thus for example H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil. Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Verkündigung Jesu*, SUNT 4 (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck and Ruprecht, 1966); Collins, accepted, “The mysteries of God...”, cit. *BETL* 168, 296.

24) Quotations according to the new numbering of the columns and lines of the Hymns. op. cit., See *La croyance des Esséniens*, II, 338-419.

upon death the body returns to dust: 1QH^a XX 27-34(XII 24-31), XVIII 5-7(X 3-5).

This representation is not irreconcilable with the repeated mention of the day of Judgment which will concern the Height, Spirits, Earth and Sheol(1QH^a XXV 3-16), to the point of having to read there the belief in the immortality of the soul, which is nowhere attested in that literature. Although poorly preserved, this passage clearly knows of the notion of an intermediate state more fully described in *1 Enoch* 22. How is the future judgment conceived when the wicked will receive “condemnation, punishments and destruction” and the righteous “peace, eternal glory, delights, perpetual joy, length of days, with God dispersing that which is ancient and creating anew, destroying the former realities and raising eternal beings” *ml[bq]ym nlywt 'wlm*[1QH^a V 21-29 (XIII 5-12)], if not within a collective eschatology with resurrection and judgment of the righteous only, and eternal punishment of the wicked? Certainly, resurrection is only mentioned in passing but it is connected to the dissolution of the old creation under the domination of spirits of evil and the creation of beings new and eternal. The renewal is described in terms of creation-*br'*. This *Hymn* takes over the same concept we find in the *Instruction* and the *Instruction on the Two Spirits*, which is Essene eschatology.

Other *Hymns* recognize a collective eschatology, which

ends with a universal conflagration that renews the universe. How are we to understand the general conflagration and fire in Sheol linked to the forgiveness purification of the faithful to whom God bequeaths all the glory of Adam in an abundance of days [1QH^a IV 21-27 (XVII 9-15)], if not as an allusion to the universal conflagration (ἐκπύρωσι) and to the renewal of creation where the just, risen or transformed, will be established in its paradisaic state of immortal being, in full agreement with Hippolytus' description but contrary to Josephus' opinion? This conflagration is described also in 1QH^a XI 20-37 (III 19-36), where the just, formed of clay and mortal, are called to life in the company of the immortal angels in an assembly of jubilation and praise in a world finally purified from the "great sin," an allusion to the sin of Adam [1QH^a XI 12 (III 11)].²⁵ The condemnation that weighs upon humanity will be changed into a blessing for the faithful who will again have access to paradise and life with God.

But the renewal and access to the life of paradise are preceded by judgment and the final war when the community, sheltered in its fortress, protected by God and the angels, will go forth in order to participate in the final victory, its

25) See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens...*, II, 366-375. op. cit., I cannot follow Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 120, op. cit., who wrote: "which is to say that he has already experienced the resurrection predicted for the wise in Daniel 12," It is clear that the just is not yet come to life, he hopes that for the judgment time.

righteous dead rising up from the dust in order to take part in the ultimate battle on the day of Judgment and to benefit along with the living from the rewards of the new creation [1QH^a XIII 22-XV 8(V 20-VII 5) specially XIV 32-39]:²⁶⁾

And then the sword of God will pounce in the time of judgment, and all the sons of His truth will awaken to destroy [all the sons of] ³³wickedness, and all the sons of guilt will no longer exist. And the hero will draw his bow, and he will break open the heavenly encirclement ³⁴into an endless broad place, and the everlasting gates to take out the weapons of war, and they will be victorious from one end to the other. Arrows ³⁵they will shoot but there will be no salvation for the guilty. They will trample to destruction leaving no remnant, and no hope for the multitude of corpses, ³⁶nor for all the heroes of war will there be shelter. For to God Most High belongs the ju[dgment] and with the remainder of your enemies they are guilty. ³⁷And those who lie in the dust will hoist the pole, and the worms of the dead will raise the banner to the rampart, and they will fight destroying the enemy ³⁸in the battles with the insolent. And when passes the overwhelming torrent, it will not invade the fortress, but it will stri[ke the...] ³⁹and the blow will destroy the works of Belial, [and

26) See Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens...*, II, 354ff, op. cit., where I give the decipherment of these lines previously only partially read.

it will be as the stone] for plaster, and as beams for the fire.

The images of the final war repeatedly portray the intervention of the sword of God in the eschatological passages before the Day of the Lord (CD VII 9-10; XIX 10-11, ...). Though symbolic, this language cannot be ignored in the study of Qumran eschatology. Because this is the way the author places himself within the perspective of eternal retribution of the wicked and of the resurrection of the righteous to participate in the reward. Just as there will be neither wounded nor dead among the righteous in the eschatological war, there will be neither captives nor hope for the corpses among the ranks of the enemy. Put another way, to enter glory, the living righteous do not have to die and the just dead will arise, whereas the wicked will not rise but remain in death and fire in Abaddon with Belial where the victims of the final battle rejoin them (compare 4Q521 7+5 ii).²⁷⁾ This pre-

27) Contrary to Dimant, DJD XXX, 34 and n. 30. The poetical genre can just as well transmit the concept of its author, in full agreement with the other Qumran scrolls, and to the hesitations of Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 122-123, op. cit.: "A reference to resurrection is possible here, but it is not certain... It is not unreasonable to expect that this war would culminate in the resurrection of the dead. Nonetheless there are no unambiguous references to resurrection... This does not necessarily mean that there was no place for resurrection in the eschatology of the Dead Sea Sect. But it does mean that the hopes of the sectarian community were not formulated in terms of resurrection.

sentation obviously depends upon Dn 12:1-2 as understood above, and is very similar to that of the Instruction(4Q418 69 ii 6-9) for the righteous will awaken to see the perdition of the wicked, and enjoy eternal glory.

While focusing on present and not invoking a life in communion with the angels, the Hymns remind us that entrance into the community and fidelity within it are necessary in order to be reckoned among the righteous, the sons of light, but this is not yet the full realization of salvation, which is expected when the earth has been liberated and renewed at the time of the universal conflagration and final judgment. Far from portraying a realized eschatology, the Hymns know the resurrection of the dead so that they might participate with the living in a glorious eternal life and the eternal damnation of the wicked in infernal Sheol. As in the Instruction, individual responsibility is at the centre, but nowhere does the immortality of the soul nor judgment at the death of the person come into focus.

Rather, the focus was on sharing the angelic life within the community and thereby transcending death and continuing that life in heaven,” This author hesitates between reading what is there in the texts and her a priori judgment. Davies, *cit.*, 204-208, is more explicit: “But the texts we have reviewed so far suggest that the eternal destiny of the righteous is to be enjoyed in a new or transformed body. A belief in the resurrection of dead persons is thus a priori quite probable,” 208.

2.7. The War Scroll

A similar pattern of thought can be found in the War scroll which was composed more or less at the end of the 2nd century B.C. In opposition to some scholars who think they have found explicit mention of the resurrection in a laconic passage (1QM XII 5): “in the battle [with] those who will rise from the earth when your judgments will be disputed,” I read instead: “...in the war [and to destroy] the rebels of the earth disputing your judgments.”²⁸⁾ However, faith in the resurrection of the righteous is known by the author who develops the theme of the final war in Daniel 10-12, the name of the elect people being engraved in a book (1QM XII 4-5).

The hymnic sections of columns XIII-XIV present great affinities with Daniel. The war of extermination, led by the sons of light and aided by the hand of God, will strike all the wicked, uprooting evil and ushering in a new era in a transformed world. The righteous whose names are inscribed in the heavenly books are the victorious, without casualties among them; whereas none in the ranks of the enemies will survive. Some will be delivered into eternal fire, the others

28) See A. Dupont-Sommer, “Règlement de la Guerre des fils de Lumière: traduction et notes,” *RHR* 148 (1955), 141-180, 162, referring to Dn 12:2; *La Bible. Écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 213, A reading {wlbkny' }qmy 'rç is much better.

will be brilliant, resplendent in joy and in eternal peace. Belial and his spirits will be chained in dark places of perdition (1QM XVII 18-19). Does the transformation-glorification of the just and their ascension to God(1QM XIV 14) give evidence in favour of a belief in the immortality of the soul and in an individual eschatology or, in the context of the Final Judgment and the conflagration of the world, are they not one of the facets of a belief in resurrection within a collective and personal eschatology? The concept of an eschatological war does not have any meaning in an eschatology invoking the immortality of the soul and an individual judgment.

2.8. The Damascus Document

The Damascus Document, of which a number of copies have been found in the caves, was also composed around the end of the 2nd century B.C. Its author is more preoccupied with the exhortation of his contemporaries to observe the law than with their future fate. Nevertheless, he knows the day of judgment(VIII 3-4//XIX 15), the complete destruction of the wicked and the reward of the righteous to whom are promised “an eternal life and all the glory of Adam”(III 20), or “to live a thousand generations”(VII 5-6//XIX 1). This indicates the recovery of the blessings of paradise that existed before the fall. The wicked will receive appropriate retribution

on the day of judgment(VII 9// XIX 5-6). A close parallel in vocabulary between CD XIX 10 and Dn 12:1b-2 seems to indicate the same eschatological imagery, which reflects the final confrontation of the prince of light and Belial(IV 12-VI 18, XII 23-13 1, XIV 18-10). Thus the eschatology of this Document is quite similar to that of the other scrolls.

The *Eschatological Midrash*(4Q174+177) which explicitly quotes Dn 11:35 and 12:10 must have accepted the collective and individual eschatology of the biblical book. The contrary would be very surprising and unexpected.

3. Conclusion

It appears that the kind of eschatology present in these Qumran scrolls, pre-Essene and Essene, depends directly on the prophetic and sapiential biblical tradition, not without some external influences, and that the belief in resurrection does not begin with reflection on the fate of the martyrs during the Maccabean wars, as it is so often asserted.²⁹⁾ Resurrection is the answer of God's justice to the behaviour of the faithful Israelite. Rewards and punishments will follow the last judgment when God will renew the creation. As the heirs of the same biblical texts before the split of the Hasidic milieu, it is not surprising that Essenes and Pharisees professed the same belief in the afterlife. Thus, it clearly appears

29) See lastly Segal, *op. cit.*, 265.

that Daniel 12, which only briefly touches this important subject, is not the first and most ancient biblical witness of it. This goes back at least to the third century, in *Isaiah 26*, as I have tried to show above. Apocryphal compositions such as *1 Enoch* teach the same concept of the hereafter, and is maybe earlier than *Isaiah 26*. *The Pseudo-Ezekiel* scroll confirms an ancient reading of the dry bones parable which speaks of resurrection. The sapiential Instruction scrolls agree with that thinking. It is not, then, the persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, as it is frequently said, that is at the origin of this belief. On the contrary, the exile under Nebuchadnezzar in 587, which deeply marked the consciousness of the people of God as well as their thinking on the death of the just, is probably the true origin of this development in the wise and pious circles who meditated on God's justice and faithfulness. The *Messianic Apocalypse*(4Q521), which witnesses to an Iranian influence, integrated it perfectly into the biblical and Essene concept of eschatology expressed by other Essene compositions, such as the *Rule of the Community*, the *War Scroll*, the *Hymns*, the *Damascus Document*, the *Eschatological Midrash*,...

The south-north orientation of the individual tombs of the central cemetery reflects this concept of life after death in burial practices. Apparently, on the basis of Dt 32:43, the Essenes attribute to the soil of Israel the power to purify

sinful flesh and bring about atonement in the expectation of resurrection. Their constant concern with purity and the importance of the Mosaic law in their activities could be at the origin of the custom of creating individual tombs in a single trench in the soil, especially as the inhabitants did live a celibate state not in families.³⁰⁾ In contrast to inhumation in a coffin, as in the Hellenistic period (Jericho), or a gathering of bones in an ossuary, in the Roman period, within a family tomb, the Essene practice highly respected the remains of the deceased by sheltering them in a *loculus* which was never again disturbed, and in this manner preserving the bones from further contact or defilement. The elect lie upon their backs, head to the south gazing to the north, facing the paradise of justice, the Mountain-Throne of God, toward which they will be drawn into the awakening of resurrection.³¹⁾ This implies belief in a resurrection of the body, which will be animated by the spirit joined to the soul which has been held in reserve during the intermediate state in the paradise of justice, and the importance of the body for personal identity of the risen ones. This seems to account for another saying by the prophet Daniel upon which they had surely meditated:

30) J. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?," *DSD* 7 (2000), 220-253.

31) See E. Puech, "The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumrân and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife," *BASOR* 312 (1998), 21-36.

“But you, go away and rest, and you will rise for your reward at the end of time”(Dn 12:13).

Is it surprising that the burial practices are in full agreement with the concepts of a future life transmitted in the scrolls, pre-Essene and Qumranic, that were found in the caves? This is not by accident, and in turn the burial practices confirm the identification of the inhabitants with the Essenes. The simple belief in the immortality of the soul does not account for the Essene texts recovered in the caves nor for the biblical texts and Apocrypha found there. It is then possible to decide between the presentation by Josephus and Hippolytus on that subject. Texts as well as archaeological evidence confirm the Essene belief in a future life as Hippolytus presents it: the immortality of the soul separated from the body in an intermediate state, the Last judgment, the universal conflagration and the renewal of earth, and the eternal punishment of the impious, the resurrection of the body(of flesh) of the just Essene in glory in the image of Adam, incorruptible as before the Fall. But they do not support a belief in an immortal soul entombed in a body, which serves as its prison and from which it will be liberated upon death in order to rejoice and to be reunited with the celestial realm beyond the ocean(for the just) or to tumble into a pit of eternal punishments(for the wicked). This is certainly foreign to the Qumran texts and Semitic thought in general,

which all insist upon divine judgment at the eschaton, the renewal and purification of all things and the glory of Adam for the righteous. Josephus himself certainly revised the common source which had been quite faithfully quoted by Hippolytus, distorting it and imputing to the Essenes non-Semitic beliefs as he revised it in the direction of Pythagorean Greek thought.

The Essene belief is inscribed within a collective eschatology and the resurrection is expected on the day of judgment when God will manifest His victory over the Prince of Darkness, over sin and consequently over death (Is 25:8). But if it concerns only the righteous from among His people in *Isaiah 26* and *Daniel 12*, in the Essene compositions it concerns only the Essene just. This way of thinking is much more unified than is often expressed in the biblical texts and ancient pseudepigrapha, which do not reflect the belief in the immortality of the soul according to the Greek conception.

The Greek translation of the Bible began to introduce changes and expanded the resurrection to all the just, then afterward professing a universal resurrection, which is not unknown in some passages of the New Testament too. Whereas all the compositions following *Isaiah 26* and *Daniel 12* know only the resurrection of the just, the *Messianic Apocalypse* seems to know the resurrection of the just and the wicked from among the people of God in order to cross

the Bridge of the Sorter, a crossing which separates the just from the wicked.³²⁾ The resurrection is not a return to the life before death on this earth, but an awakening or entrance into a glorious life in a spiritual body or a transformed body in glory. Thus, with regard to belief in the resurrection, is understood the double mention of angel and spirit in Acts 23:8. The risen one is not an angel, but he shall become *like* an angel, immortal, recovering his primitive image of God lost by the Fall of Adam(see also Mt 22:23-34 and//). This gives full meaning to the appearances of the risen Jesus to the Apostles, “the first born among the dead.” Such is God’s answer to the eternal question of man.

<주요어>

사해 사본, 유대교, 부활, 쿰란 공동체

<Key Words>

Dead Sea Scrolls, Judaism, Resurrection, Qumran Community

32) In the 1st c. AD, some texts know only a resurrection of the just, and others know a universal resurrection, like Lk 20:34-36, Acts 24:14-15, Jn 5:29, Mt 25:31-46, etc.

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<초록>

고대 유대의 부활 신앙에 대해서 사해 사본은 우리에게 무엇을 말해주는가?

에밀 뤼에쉬

(예루살렘 성서 고고학 연구소 교수, 신약학)

이 글은 사해 사본의 도움을 받아 성경의 부활 신앙의 기원을 고찰하는 데 목적을 둔다. 추측컨대 주로 이 부활 신앙은 안티오쿠스 5세의 박해와 함께 시작되었고 다니엘 12장이 그 첫 번째 성경적 증거라고 본다. 본 저자는 이 부활 신앙이 보다 일찍이 포로기의 큰 상처를 겪었던 현자들의 반추에서 시작되었으며, 쿰란 두루마리의 몇몇 본문들에 나타나듯이, 그러한 부활 신앙의 암시들이 다니엘서보다 앞선 다른 성경 본문이나 위경 본문에서 나타나고 있다고 믿는다. 사해 두루마리의 어떤 본문들은 사후 세계와 마지막 심판 날에 있을 의의 부활에 대한 분명한 신앙을 증거한다. 그러나 그 부활은 이 세상에서의 보다 나은 삶으로의 귀환이 아니다. 그것은 하나님의 현존과 천사들과 함께하는 새 에덴의 영원한 삶으로의 부활이나 그러한 삶의 세계에 들어감을 의미한다. 그러므로 이러한 에세네파 신앙을 제시하는 히폴리투스의 글은 이 부활 신앙의 기원을 헬라 피타고라스적 신앙으로 돌리는 요세푸스의 글보다 훨씬 더 정확한 것이다.

<Abstract>

What can the Dead Sea Scrolls teach us about the belief in the resurrection in Ancient Judaism?

Prof. Emile Puech

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This lecture intends to consider the origin of the Biblical belief in resurrection with the help of the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is commonly supposed that this belief began with the persecutions of Antiochus IV and that Daniel 12 is the first biblical witness. The author believes that it began earlier in the reflection of the sages after the great trauma of the exile, and that there are indications of such a belief in other biblical and apocryphal books which are earlier than Daniel, as illustrated in some copies in the Qumran library. Some passages of the Dead Sea Scrolls witness to a clear belief in the afterlife and the resurrection of the just at the Last Judgment. But the resurrection is not a return to a better life on this earth. It is an awakening or entrance into an immortal life on a New Earth, in the presence of God and the company of the angels. Consequently, the passage of Hippolytus presenting this Essene belief is much more faithful than that of Flavius Josephus who ascribes to them a Greek Pythagorean belief.