

Miryam T. Brand

Evil Within and Without

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

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Miryam T. Brand, *Evil Within and Without*

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Volume 9

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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	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D.N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992.
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AGPh	<i>Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie</i>
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATDan	Acta theologica danica
Aug	<i>Augustinianum</i>
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
Bjdr	<i>Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BLE	<i>Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique</i>
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	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
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	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EBib	<i>Etudes bibliques</i>
EDSS	<i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Edited by L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EgT	<i>Eglise et théologie</i>
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament

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

PACS	Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series
PTSDSSP	Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
QC	<i>Qumran Chronicle</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RelSoc	<i>Religion and Society</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
RRJ	<i>Review of Rabbinic Judaism</i>
RStB	<i>Ricerche storico bibliche</i>
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	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers</i>
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	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SPhilo	<i>Studia philonica</i>
SR	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
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	<i>Subsidia biblica</i>
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	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
VCSup	Vigiliae christianae Supplements
VD	<i>Verbum domini</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
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	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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Symbols Employed in Text Transcriptions

Dead Sea Scrolls

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

Ben Sira (Hebrew)

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

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” (*yšr hrʿ*, sometimes simply called “the inclination,” *hyšr*), a personified version of the human

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 Yeṣer 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, “Yeṣer 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 hēmār* (יֶצֶר חֲמָר) 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 יֶצֶר 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 Haraʿ* (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.

nation” (*yšr hṭwb*),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

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 (*yēšer hārā*) 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 *Yešer* (‘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 הרע’ and ‘יצר הטוב,’” *JSJ* 38 (2007): 80–91.

¹⁰ E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a Re-Edition of 4Q468i (4QSectorian 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 *šātān* 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 *yēšer* lacks textual evidence even in the Amoraic period, occurring only afterwards (idem, “Sexualizing the Evil Inclination: Rabbinic ‘Yetzer’ and Modern Scholarship,” *JJS* 60 [2009]: 264–81). In his recent work focusing nearly exclusively on the term *yēšer*, 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 *yēšer*; see *Demonic Desires*, 52. He also sees these texts as evidence of an early association of demonic forces with the *yēšer*. However, Rosen-Zvi’s exclusive focus on the term *yēšer* slants the results of his study to overemphasize the association of the *yēšer* with demonic forces in Qumran texts. While his argument for an association between the term *yēšer* and terms of a demonic nature is

phrases including *yšr* 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

valid, it does not follow that the *yēšer* 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

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

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 *ruah* 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 4QHoruscope (4Q186), *ruah* in the Scrolls reflects biblical categories (A. E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah 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 Ruah 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).

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-

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.

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 texts²⁴ 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.