

# Cleansing by Water and Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls and New Testament



A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE SCHOOL OF RELIGION, THEOLOGY & PEACE STUDIES  
IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Lynn Elizabeth Mills

23, March 2022

**Supervisor**

Benjamin Wold

## Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work.

## Permission

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).

  
\_\_\_\_\_

Lynn E. Mills

23 March 2022  
\_\_\_\_\_

Date

# Summary

The statement of John the Baptist that he baptises in water, but another will baptise in the Holy Spirit is found in some form in all four gospels and Acts. John's declaration prompts questions concerning the nature and antecedent traditions of water and Spirit baptisms. This thesis seeks to fill a gap in Second Temple scholarship by giving sustained and focused attention to dual cleansing by water and Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries and New Testament.

A combination of methodological approaches are employed in this project, namely: the historical critical approaches to textual studies, comparative methods, and statistical analysis. After the introduction, the thesis is divided into two parts; Part 1 focuses on the Scrolls found at Qumran, the Hebrew Bible, and other Second Temple literature, while Part 2 focuses on New Testament literature.

Chapter 2 explores the conceptualizations of the divine spirit in the Scrolls found at Qumran by identifying four activities of the divine spirit: (1) revealing knowledge and wisdom; (2) sustaining and creating a willing spirit; (3) cleansing and purifying; and (4) transforming. These classifications were determined by the action or activity the text attributes to or connects with the spirit. Chapter 4 examines the Spirit in the New Testament where the activities increased dramatically, both in terms of variety and frequency. While I identify over a dozen activities, I treat the six most frequent, namely: (1) prophesying; revealing wisdom and knowledge; (2) transforming; (3) bestowing spiritual gifts; (4) baptising/cleansing/sanctifying; (5) creating; and (6) empowering.

A different approach is used for the two chapters on water (Chs. 3, 5). I conducted a search for all cleansing words in the Hebrew scriptures and the Qumran discoveries to see where moral cleansing was present and particularly where this notion was paired with the divine spirit. The variety of words used for cleansing combined with the high frequency of the occurrences resulted in a large dataset requiring statistical analysis to identify patterns of meaning. This approach was then duplicated when investigating cleansing words in the New Testament.

The research presented here demonstrates that Ps 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 are exemplars of the metaphor of moral cleansing and exert influence on the Qumran discoveries, some other Second Temple compositions, and the New Testament. John's baptism, or better, immersion, is situated within ritual purification practices of Second Temple Judaism, and compared to but not conflated with the ritual and moral cleansing of the community self-identified as the Yahad within the Scrolls found at Qumran. I argue for the continuity of the divine Spirit from the Hebrew scriptures through to Second Temple literature. Examples from the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran discoveries demonstrate that John's audiences were familiar with the pairing of ritual and moral purification. Furthermore, they understood baptism with the Holy Spirit as an eschatological cleansing and transformation.

# Acknowledgments

I am extremely grateful to the many people who have made this PhD project possible. First and foremost, my deepest thanks go to my husband for his unfailing love, support, and encouragement from the moment I mentioned an interest in postgraduate study. I am profoundly blessed by a spouse who is willing to leave work and home and travel halfway around the world so that I could pursue this dream. Among the many gifts of my life, he is the greatest!

I chose Trinity College Dublin because of my supervisor Prof. Benjamin Wold. His expertise in the fields of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Early Judaism and Christianity was a critical factor in the decision, but so was his responsiveness and support. It's hard to say which I have appreciated more in the past five years. Ben's steadfast support, extremely quick response time, genuine concern, and sense of humour has seen me through the celebrations and challenges of a PhD program. I am eternally grateful!

This PhD would not have the depth and breadth it has without the École biblique et archéologique de Jérusalem. I am indebted to the Canadian Friends of the École Biblique for their generous financial support which enabled three research stays over the course of my PhD program. Words cannot express the depth of my appreciation for the experience of living in Jerusalem and studying in the astounding library of the École. My affectionate gratitude goes to the directors, brothers, and students at this amazing school, especially, Director Jean Jacques Pérennès; Librarians, Pawel Trzopek and Bernard Ntamak Songué and their staff; school secretary Sr Martine Dorléans, without whom navigating the convoluted process of an Israeli student visa during COVID would not have been possible; Olivier Catel, Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Jean-Michel de Tarragon, Émile Puech, and Łukasz Popko. I am also grateful for the funding

provided by the EU Erasmus program which provided financial support for an additional 2 months in Jerusalem in the summer of 2019 where I met with a number of scholars in my field and volunteered on an archaeological dig.

I would like to extend my thanks to the Trinity Long Room Hub for the opportunity to be an Early Career Researcher in Residence for the period of 2018–2020. The Hub provided me with a unique home in which to base my research and writing during this time. Many conversations among fellow PhD students in this interdisciplinary culture positively impacted my work.

Throughout the past five years I am been encouraged and supported by many friends who were willing to be sounding boards when needed and also provided distraction and a healthy balance of work and life. I would not have kept my sanity without the weekly video calls with my anam cara, Janet Taylor in Canada. Her friendship, sense of humour, and editing support have been crucial in completing this thesis. The friendship formed with Kate Oxsen, fellow Trinity PhD student, has been an unexpected gift. I am eternally grateful for her dark and delightful sense of humour as we navigated the vagaries of Trinity life, and for our time together living in the old City of Jerusalem. The past years have been deeply enriched by her friendship. Many others are not named here, I hope you know who you are and the depth of my gratitude.

Finally, I would like to express my love and appreciation for my family. Especially my parents from whom I inherited a few crucial traits which are required to pursue a doctorate: a strong curiosity, a reasonable level of tech savvy, a drive to do something well, and last but not least, the ability to laugh at oneself. Your love and support for me, and belief in me has led me to this point. You always said I could be anything I wanted to, I just never thought it would be this.

# Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents,

Bob and Donna Moore

# Table of Contents

Declaration.....	i
Permission.....	i
Summary.....	ii
Acknowledgments .....	iv
Dedication.....	vi
Table of Contents.....	vii
List of Charts, Tables, & Figures.....	xi
Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Water and Spirit .....	3
1.3 The Yahad.....	8
1.4 Methodology Notes.....	9
1.4.1 Comments on Textual Criticism.....	9
1.4.2 Comments on Echoes and Allusions .....	9
1.4.3 Comments on Statistical Analysis.....	10
1.6 Thesis Summary .....	14
Part I: Water and Spirit in the Qumran Discoveries .....	16
Part I: Introduction.....	16
Chapter Two: The Divine Spirit in the Qumran Discoveries .....	18
2.0 Introduction.....	18
2.1. Review of Significant Studies of the Spirit in the Discoveries at Qumran.....	21
2.2. Activities of the Divine Spirit.....	27
2.2.1 Prophecy/Revealing Wisdom .....	28
2.2.2 Sustaining/Creating a Willing Spirit .....	31
2.2.3 Purifying, Cleansing, and Atoning.....	33
2.2.4 Transforming.....	45
2.3. The Divine Spirit in 1QS I–IV.....	56
2.4 Excursus: A Note on “Your Holy Spirit” in 4QInstruction .....	64
2.4.1 Matthew Goff.....	65
2.4.2 Jean-Sébastien Rey.....	66
2.4.3 Benjamin Wold.....	67
2.4.4 Jonathan Ben-Dov .....	69

2.4.5 Excursus Summary.....	70
2.5. Concluding Remarks.....	71
Chapter Three: Water in the Qumran Discoveries.....	73
3.0 Introduction.....	73
3.0.1 Water: Metaphor, Metonymy, and Motif.....	74
3.0.2 Analysis of Cleansing Verbs.....	77
3.1. Review of Significant Studies on Ritual and Moral Purity.....	84
3.1.1 Common Purity.....	85
3.1.2 Conflation of Ritual and Moral Impurity.....	89
3.1.3 Purification at Qumran as Transformative Experience.....	95
3.2. Water in the Hebrew Scriptures.....	98
3.2.1 Isaiah.....	98
3.2.2 Jeremiah.....	99
3.2.3 Ezekiel.....	100
3.2.4 Psalms.....	101
3.2.5 Proverbs.....	107
3.3. Water in the Yahad.....	108
3.3.1 The Community Rule (1QS).....	108
3.3.2 The Hodayot (1QH <sup>a</sup> ).....	113
3.3.3 The Damascus Document (CD).....	121
3.3.4 Rituals of Purification (4Q414 & 4Q512).....	121
3.4. Water in Other Second Temple Literature.....	125
3.4.1 Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q381 and 11Q5).....	125
3.4.2 Other Cave 4 Scrolls.....	130
3.4.3 The Book of Jubilees.....	133
3.4.4 Testament of Levi.....	135
3.4.5 Joseph and Aseneth.....	139
3.4.6 Josephus.....	140
3.4.7 Philo.....	141
3.4.8 Sibylline Oracles.....	142
3.4.9 Psalms of Solomon.....	143
3.4.10 Ben Sira/Sirach.....	144
3.5. Concluding Remarks.....	147
Part II: Water and Spirit in the New Testament.....	149
Part II: Introduction.....	149

Chapter Four: The Divine Spirit in the New Testament.....	151
4.0 Review of Significant Studies.....	151
4.0.1 Studies on the Origins of New Testament Pneumatology.....	151
4.0.2 Studies on the Continuity of the Spirit from the Hebrew Scriptures to the New Testament.....	156
4.0.3 Studies Related to Activities of the Spirit in the New Testament.....	158
4.0.4 Summary of Relevant Pneumatology Literature.....	161
4.1 Introduction.....	162
4.2 Differing Portrayals of the Holy Spirit.....	165
4.2.1 Matthew & Mark.....	166
4.2.2 Luke-Acts.....	170
4.2.3 Johannine Literature.....	176
4.2.4 Pauline Epistles.....	178
4.2.5 Summary of Differing Portrayals of the Holy Spirit.....	181
4.3 Activities of the Divine Spirit.....	182
4.3.1 A Word from the Lord: Prophesying/Revealing Wisdom and Knowledge.....	183
4.3.1.1 <i>Filled with the Holy Spirit</i> .....	183
4.3.1.2 <i>Prophesying/Predicting</i> .....	185
4.3.1.3 <i>NT References to the Spirit and Prophecy in the Hebrew Scriptures</i> .....	186
4.3.1.4 <i>The Spirit Directs and Guides</i> .....	187
4.3.1.5 <i>The Spirit Gives Inspired Speech</i> .....	188
4.3.1.6 <i>The Spirit Gives Knowledge, Wisdom, and Understanding</i> .....	192
4.3.1.7 <i>The Spirit of Truth</i> .....	194
4.3.1.8 <i>Summary of “A Word from the Lord”</i> .....	197
4.3.2 Transforming.....	198
4.3.3 Being a Gift and Bestowing Spiritual Gifts.....	204
4.3.4 Baptising/Cleansing/Sanctifying.....	207
4.3.4.1 <i>Baptising and Cleansing</i> .....	207
4.3.4.2 <i>Purifying/Sanctifying</i> .....	214
4.3.4.3 <i>Summary of Baptising/Cleansing/Sanctifying</i> .....	216
4.3.5 Creating.....	216
4.3.6 Empowering.....	219
4.4 Excursus: The Holy Spirit Variant in the Lukan Lord’s Prayer.....	220
4.4.1 Arguments Used by Both Proponents “For” and “Against” the Authenticity of the Variant.....	225
4.4.2 Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with Counter Arguments.....	231
4.4.3 Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments.....	241

4.4.4 Arguments Against the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments .	244
4.5 Concluding Remarks.....	247
Chapter Five: Water in the New Testament.....	252
5.0 Introduction.....	252
5.0.1 Analysis of Cleansing Words.....	254
5.1 Review of Significant Studies.....	261
5.2 Water in the Gospels and Acts.....	276
5.2.1 John the Baptist.....	276
5.2.1.1 Jewish Ritual Immersions.....	277
5.2.1.2 The Community at Qumran.....	283
5.2.1.3 John's Baptism of Repentance.....	286
5.2.1.4 Prophetic Symbolic Act.....	291
5.2.2 Water in the Gospel of Mark.....	295
5.2.3 Water in the Gospel of Matthew.....	301
5.2.4 Water in the Gospel of Luke.....	304
5.2.5 Water in the Acts of the Apostles.....	306
5.2.6 Water in the Gospel and Epistles of John.....	308
5.3 Water in the Pauline Epistles.....	316
5.4 Water in Hebrews, 1 & 2 Peter, and James.....	321
5.5 Concluding Remarks.....	326
Chapter Six: Conclusion.....	330
Bibliography.....	338

# List of Charts, Tables, & Figures

## List of Charts

Chart 1: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in the Hebrew Scriptures (HB) and Qumran .....	79
Chart 2: Distribution of Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in Connection to (1) Cleansing from Sin and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit in the HB.....	80
Chart 3: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs (1) in Connection to Cleansing from Sin and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit in the Yaḥad vs. Non-Yaḥad .....	80
Chart 4: Distribution in the Yaḥad of the Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs (1) in Connection to Cleansing from Sin and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit .....	81
Chart 5: Comparing Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs Which Have a Connection to Cleansing from Sin (=Yes) to Those Which Do Not Have a Connection to Sin (=No) .....	82
Chart 6: Comparing Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs Which Have a Connection to a Divine Spirit (=Yes) to Those Which Do Not Have the Connection to Divine Spirit (=No).....	82
Chart 7: Possible Relationships for the Witnesses to the Holy Spirit Variant .....	234
Chart 8: Chart of Distribution of Cleansing Categories Across the Hebrew Scriptures (HB), Qumran and the NT.....	255
Chart 9: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in the HB, Qumran, and NT, Identifying Those Which Refer to Moral Cleansing as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Cleansing of Humans .....	256
Chart 10: Occurrences of Moral Cleansing in the HB, Qumran, and NT, Identifying Those Which Are Paired with a Divine Spirit as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Moral Cleansing.....	257
Chart 11: Distribution in the NT of the Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs (1) in Connection to Moral Cleansing and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit and (3) Compared to the Relative Length of Each Category .....	259
Chart 12: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in the NT, Identifying Those Which Refer to Moral Cleansing as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Ritual Cleansing Within Each Category.....	259
Chart 13: Occurrences of Moral Cleansing in the NT, Identifying Those Which Are Paired with the Divine Spirit as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Moral Cleansing.....	260

## List of Tables

Table 1: Key Elements in Psalm 51 .....	106
Table 2: Arguments Used by Both Proponents “For” and “Against” the Authenticity of the Variant .....	225
Table 3: Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with Counter Arguments .....	231
Table 4: Harmonization of the Lord's Prayer .....	236
Table 5: Ezekiel 36 and the Lord's Prayer .....	239
Table 6: Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments .....	241
Table 7: Arguments Against the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments .....	244
Table 8: Table of Distribution of Cleansing Categories Across the Hebrew Scriptures (HB), Qumran Discoveries (Qumran) and the New Testament (NT) .....	255

## Table of Figures

Figure 1: Kazen's Blended Space.....	272
Figure 2: Kazen's Complex Blended Space of John's Baptism.....	273

# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

I have baptised you with water;  
but he will baptise you with the Holy Spirit (Mark 1:8).<sup>1</sup>

The statement of John the Baptist above is found in some form in all four gospels and Acts (Matt 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33, Acts 1:5, 11:16). John baptises in water, but another will baptise in the Holy Spirit. What is baptism with water and the Holy Spirit? How are baptism in water and baptism in Spirit different and related? What is the background for John's baptism in water? Is there an antecedent for the notion of baptism in the Spirit?

The evangelists of the synoptic gospels describe John's baptism in water as an immersion of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. This image recalls the psalmist's plea, "Wash me thoroughly from my iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin" (Ps 51:2), and the word of the Lord to the people of Israel through Ezekiel:

I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. (Ezek 36:25–27)

The combination of water, repentance, and forgiveness invokes a metaphor of washing or cleansing. Is it correct to infer that John's baptism by ritual purification is combined with moral purification? If so, what antecedent traditions inform our understanding of

---

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all English translations of the Bible are from the *New Revised Standard Version Bible* (NRSV), copyright © 1989 the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

these two modes of purifying? Ps 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 demonstrate that the notion of moral cleansing is present in the Hebrew scriptures. The search for contemporary examples leads to the Qumran discoveries, especially compositions where the community self identifies as the *Yahad* (i.e., togetherness). As it turns out, *Yahad* literature also provides critical information regarding antecedents for baptism in the Spirit.

An understanding of the Spirit in this time and place is critical in ascertaining the nature of baptism in the Spirit. Is this the reified Spirit that centuries later comes to form the concept of the Trinity, and how should we understand the evolution of the reification of spirit? The Baptist does not explain what or who this Spirit is; but rather presumes that his audience is already familiar with this subject. However, when read from Christian theological contexts, baptism would seem like an odd activity for the divine Spirit when read as a pre-Pentecost event. Prophecy and anointing extraordinary people like the Baptist and Jesus are not surprising given how the Spirit of the Lord operates in the Hebrew Bible; however, that is not the action described here. Baptism is an immersion. While the NRSV translates *év* as “with”, or “by” it can also mean “in”. One is immersed in the Spirit just as one is immersed in water. Water and Spirit are the means of immersion. Post Pentecost, baptism in the Spirit shifts from an understanding of the Spirit being the means of baptism (i.e., mode) to being the object or gift. One receives the Spirit as a permanent endowment. However, the notion of the Spirit as a gift is an anachronistic projection of a later understanding of the Spirit onto John’s audience. So how would John’s audience understand being baptised with, or in the Holy Spirit? To answer this question, the history of traditions that inform John’s telling of the divine Spirit, namely, early Judaism, is investigated.

This thesis seeks to explore these and related issues with special attention given to the dual means of baptism in the New Testament, i.e., by/in both water and Spirit, through a study of antecedent tradition. Cleansing by water and Spirit are investigated individually and together to see where there are similarities and differences. As shall become clear, there is a preponderance of material found in the Dead Sea Scrolls that shape the trajectory of this study.

A critical aspect of this thesis is investigating ritual and moral impurity. It is therefore important to define these terms. The sources of ritual impurities are natural, unavoidable, impermanent, and not regarded as sinful; examples of this are childbirth and coming into contact with a corpse. Ritual purification is required to rid the body of these ritual impurities. Alternatively, moral impurity is sinful and is produced by committing acts which are prohibited and avoidable; examples are murder and sexual misconduct. Moral cleansing or purification is required to deal with this type of impurity. This thesis investigates how moral cleansing is effectuated in the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries and New Testament.

## **1.2 Water and Spirit**

This thesis is interested in both water and spirit, separately and together as the background for the dual means of baptism as seen in the New Testament. Therefore, each is examined on its own, and particular attention is given where they are connected.

Water is used in metaphors of cleansing, creation, re-creation, and transformation. Sometimes the process is metonymy and oftentimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two as George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's description of these two different processes demonstrates:

Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another. But metonymy is not merely a referential device. It also serves the function of providing understanding.<sup>2</sup>

Both metaphor and metonymy provide understanding and enable the layering of meaning. Lakoff and Johnson state that “metaphors are learned when two experiences occur at once.”<sup>3</sup> Dirt is removed by water, therefore water and cleansing are associated and can stand in for each other. W. Robertson Smith expands on this basic connection between water and cleansing and describes how cleansing takes on the meaning of purification in religious ritual, “the healing power of sacred water is closely connected with its purifying and consecrating power, for the primary conception of uncleanness is that of a dangerous infection. Washings and purifications play a great part in Semitic ritual, and were performed with living water, which was as such sacred in some degree.”<sup>4</sup>

Lakoff and Johnson state that, “symbolic metonymies that are grounded in our physical experience provide an essential means of comprehending religious and cultural concepts.”<sup>5</sup> Thus our experience of cleansing with water grounds our understanding of all purification rites including baptism. Likewise, water is associated with creation or birth because of experiences of birth through the water of the womb. The metaphor of birth is layered into other metaphors of change, transformation, or re-creation. Lakoff and Johnson give the example of making ice out of water and note that, “we conceptualize changes of this kind—from one state into another, having a new form and

---

<sup>2</sup> George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 36.

<sup>3</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 258.

<sup>4</sup> W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures On The Religion Of The Semites: The Fundamental Institutions*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: A&C Black, 1927), 184.

<sup>5</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 40.

function—in terms of the metaphor THE OBJECT COMES OUT OF THE SUBSTANCE.”<sup>6</sup> In this way immersion rituals are understood as cleansing, purifying, and transforming. In Pauline terms (Rom 6), the individual comes out of the waters of baptism a new creation.

In the late exilic context, cleansing metaphors are used in terms of ethical behaviour, moral cleansing, and transformation, and are extended to the divine Spirit (Ps 51; Isa 4:4; Ezek 36:25–27). The Yahad develop this concept and determine that ritual and moral cleansing coincide and that this cleansing can *only* happen through the holy spirit, i.e., water is not sufficient (1QS III, 3–9). Based on Gestalt theories of metaphor, namely that the “combination of primary subject (tenor) and modifying term (vehicle) results in a new and unique agent of meaning,” Volker Rabens argues that “God’s giving of the Spirit (tenor) is spoken of in terms which are suggestive of the pouring of a fluid, most likely of water (vehicle), thus resulting in a new meaning” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 9–10.<sup>7</sup>

In the New Testament, water and Spirit are paired in baptism (Matt 3:11, Mark 1:8, Luke 3:16; John 1:33) and metaphors of new birth (John 3:5). Otto Böcher makes the connection between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament when he states that “‘Water and Spirit’ is a complex that exemplifies and vividly shows how early Christianity maintains and develops inherited Jewish ideas, but through a new interpretation and application.”<sup>8</sup> In §§4.3.4 and 5.2.1 I argue that although this is

---

<sup>6</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors*, 73. Emphasis original.

<sup>7</sup> Volker Rabens, *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-ethical Life*, WUNT II/283 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 44 ff.

<sup>8</sup> “‘Wasser und Geist’ ist ein Komplex, an dem sich beispielhaft und ein- dringlich aufzeigen läßt, wie das junge Christentum ererbte jüdische Vorstellungen zwar beibehält und ausbaut, aber durch eine neue Deutung und Anwendung.” Otto Böcher, “Wasser und Geist,” in *Verborum veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Gustav Stählin, Otto Böcher, and Klaus Haacker (Wuppertal: Theologischer Verlag Brockhaus, 1970), 197–209, here 209.

certainly true of early Christianity, it is not true of John's audience and the first followers of Jesus. Raymond Brown contends that the "distinction of two types of baptism is common to all four Gospels and seems to be a Christian contribution, for in Hebrew thought baptism or cleansing with water and with a holy spirit come together." He further states that "Christian thought has divided these two aspects of baptism or cleansing, and thus succeeded in explaining the relation of John the Baptist's baptism to Christian Baptism."<sup>9</sup> In other words, early Christians separated water and Spirit into two different baptisms, John's baptism in water being the lesser, and Christian baptism in water and the Spirit being the greater as a plain reading of the Nestle-Aland 28<sup>th</sup> edition text of Acts 19 demonstrates. John's baptism was not sufficient, the Ephesian disciples must be baptised again in the name of the Lord Jesus, and they received the Holy Spirit when Paul laid hands on them (Acts 19:1–7). However, I argue in §5.2.1 that John's audience would have understood his baptism for the forgiveness of sins in their Jewish context. That is, they immersed their bodies in water for ritual purification and expected moral purification, viz. the forgiveness of their sins, through the divine Spirit.

It is necessary to comment on the use of the uppercase "Spirit" versus lowercase "spirit" on account of implied theological distinctions. Some scholars will use upper case "S" when they determine that the divine Spirit is in view, while others use the lower case "s".<sup>10</sup> Most standard English translations of the Bible use upper case "S", Spirit in both the HB and the NT when the translator considers the divine Spirit is in

---

<sup>9</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John: I–XII*, AB 29A (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966), 51.

<sup>10</sup> For example, James Charlesworth uses the upper case "S" and Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar use the lower case "s" when translating  $\pi\tau\tau$  as the divine spirit in their translations of the Community Rule (1QS).

view.<sup>11</sup> The RSV uses lower case “h” and upper case “S” for holy Spirit, (Ps 51:11, Isa 63:10–11), but otherwise, spirit is spelled with a lower case “s” in the HB. While the NRSV always uses a lower case “s” in the HB for spirit, both the RSV and NRSV use upper case “S” in the NT whenever the divine Spirit is in view. The choice of upper case “S” indicates the divine Spirit, which is reified (i.e., made concrete, a distinct entity) in some measure, often with the full implications of the separate and connected third person of the Trinity vis-à-vis the first council of Nicaea. This is not how the spirit of God was conceived of in ancient Israel and the Second Temple era.<sup>12</sup> In Jewish tradition, the spirit of the Lord is a manifestation of God, and it does not have a distinct reality apart from God. The concept of the divine spirit begins to change in exilic texts and Second Temple literature. While still not a reified entity, it nevertheless takes on some degree of agency. As noted above, most standard English translations of the NT, with the post-biblical doctrine of the Trinity in mind, write Spirit with an upper case “S” when the translator considers the divine Spirit is in view. The line between a non-reified spirit and a reified Spirit are blurred in late biblical and Second Temple compositions. It is often difficult to distinguish which is in view. As the concept of a divine Spirit is very fluid and complex it is an impossible task to determine with any amount of certainty which spelling should be used in every case. However that may be, as a general rule, in this thesis, when I offer a translation of “spirit” in Second Temple contexts it is spelled regularly with a lower case “s” to indicate a higher degree of ambiguity in regard to reification. In New Testament contexts, (when it is more clearly divine Spirit) upper case is used. As noted, this becomes a very difficult task when both

---

<sup>11</sup> NIV, NASB, ESV, and NKJV

<sup>12</sup> I agree with F. F. Bruce when he states, “We shall not expect to find the holy spirit treated as a person in the Qumran texts, and so it is best not to capitalize the initials and write ‘Holy Spirit’ as is normally done when the New Testament presentation is under discussion.” F. F. Bruce, “Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts,” *ALUOS*, no. VI (1969): 49–55, here 50.

contexts are under discussion; in these cases, the reader will see that an upper case “S” is most often used when the divine Spirit is determined.

### 1.3 The Yaḥad

The Covenant Community known from the Dead Sea Scrolls, which calls itself the Yaḥad, is a critical focus in the chapter to follow because of its unique emphasis on ablutions and spirit. Scholarly opinion varies widely on this group’s identity; therefore, it is necessary to outline the foundational understandings assumed in this study.<sup>13</sup> (1) It is no longer widely accepted that the scrolls are altogether sectarian literature or that the Yaḥad represents an extremely marginalized sect. (2) The Community Rule (1QS, 4QS) and the Damascus Document (CD, 4QD) represent different perspectives within the broader community. (3) The Rule scrolls evidence development over time. The evidence from the 4QS material demonstrates that there were different recensions of this composition. 1QS is a composite comprising of original content from the Yaḥad and other literary sources such as the Treatise of the Two Spirits. Nevertheless, 1QS as a whole expresses the ideology of the Yaḥad in a *certain* point and time. (4) The community at Qumran is part of a larger group of people connected by a particular ideology and theology, however they are not a completely homogenous group. (5) The Yaḥad may or may not be identified as, or associated with, the “Essenes,” but this is less important than the observation that the religious matrices of which they are a part are shared more widely than narrower definitions of a social group.

---

<sup>13</sup> For the insight to summarize my basic assumptions, I am indebted to Russell C. D. Arnold, “The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures*, ed. Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov, and Matthias Weigold, VTSup 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 547–562, here 549.

## 1.4 Methodology Notes

### 1.4.1 Comments on Textual Criticism

Because text critical inquiries are part of this study, a brief comment is warranted in this regard. While the goal of textual criticism has traditionally been to find the Urtext through a close analysis of all available manuscripts, one objective in this thesis is to find and value variant readings which illuminate the diverse understandings of moral cleansing and the divine Spirit in the scribal traditions of the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries, and New Testament. Although criteria such as, “the shorter reading and/or more difficult reading is preferred” are engaged with when analysing the Holy Spirit variant in Luke 11:2, they are not employed to determine the original text, but in fact to demonstrate the opposite, that the original text is impossible to restore. Variations among iterations of a text demonstrate differences in theological understandings. This study values the variants which reveal the rich diversity among the Jewish and Christian compositions, and the scribal hands that transmitted them.

### 1.4.2 Comments on Echoes and Allusions

B. J. Oropeza rightly argues that “since intertextuality has been employed in diverse ways over the years, biblical interpreters who adopt it should explain what they mean by it and the way they intend to use it.”<sup>14</sup> In this study, the term “echo” is used in its broadest sense. I look for influence of ideas, not citation of texts. This thesis is not

---

<sup>14</sup> B. J. Oropeza, “Quotations, Allusions, and Echoes: Their Meanings in Relation to Biblical Interpretation,” in *Practicing Intertextuality: Ancient Jewish and Greco-Roman Exegetical Techniques in the New Testament*, ed. Max J. Lee and B. J. Oropeza (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2021), 17–26, here 18. The term “echo” in this context is most often associated with Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). Cf. Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016). However, Paul Foster criticizes that it has been mis-used by subsequent scholars. Paul Foster, “Echoes without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 38, no. 1 (2015): 96–111.

arguing for authorial intention of incorporating text directly from Ps 51 or Ezek 36. Rather, the theological ideas present in these texts are part of the religious milieu of Second Temple Judaism and exert influence.

### 1.4.3 Comments on Statistical Analysis

Statistics is the method used for reaching conclusions from data collection, organization, analysis, interpretation, and reporting.<sup>15</sup> Whenever working with statistics it is critical to avoid the pitfalls of statistical fallacies.<sup>16</sup> Contrary to a popular adage, numbers do, in fact, lie, or can be made to. A few fundamental practices help to avoid this problem: (1) define the hypothesis and parameters of the study before beginning to gather data; (2) do not cherry pick the data which appears to support the hypothesis (i.e., use and analyse all the data which fits the defined parameters); and (3) do not assume that larger categories represent the same results as sub-categories. Examine subcategories closely and cross reference with larger categories to verify results.

Lincoln Moses cautions that, “the quality and credibility of a statistic, indeed its very meaning, depend upon the process that produced it.”<sup>17</sup> The process used in this study involves identifying words in the Hebrew and Greek languages which relate to water in a cleansing context. An Accordance Bible software search for all cleansing words, both in English and the original language (Hebrew or Greek) in the Hebrew scriptures and the Qumran discoveries is used to see where moral cleansing is present and particularly where this notion is paired with the divine spirit. This search is extended to a manual search in the critical editions of the primary texts and

---

<sup>15</sup> Lincoln E. Moses, *Think and Explain with Statistics* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1986), 2.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Herbert F. Spirer, Louise Spirer, and A. J. Jaffe, *Misused Statistics*, 2nd Rev. and Exp. ed., *Popular Statistics 7* (New York: M. Dekker, 1998); Lihshing Leigh Wang et al., “Common Fallacies in Quantitative Research Methodology,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Quantitative Methods, Vol. 2: Statistical Analysis*, ed. Todd D. Little (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 718–758.

<sup>17</sup> Moses, *Statistics*, 2.

commentaries of the Hebrew scriptures, the Scrolls, other Second Temple literature, and the New Testament. Further extending the search to secondary literature beyond commentaries is required when investigating variant texts such as the Western text of the New Testament and the Holy Spirit variant in Luke 11:2.<sup>18</sup> As cleansing is intimately related to purity and holiness in the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries, and New Testament, the data set is expanded to include words signifying purifying, sanctifying, and immersion. The selected data is then limited to occurrences where cleansing is an action opposed to a state of being and is restricted to body cleansing against those in which objects are washed. While all of the Hebrew words analysed in this study are verbs, there are some *action* nouns (καθαρότης, ἁγιασμός, βάπτισμα) in addition to verbs in the Greek analysis. The foregoing specifications result in a limited set of Hebrew words from the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries, and Greek words from Second Temple Literature and the New Testament.

The Hebrew words for cleansing are:<sup>19</sup>

- **טהר**: Qal 1. be clean, i.e. (miraculously) freed from leprosy by washing in the Jordan. 2. be clean ceremonially by washing with water, the flesh; garments. 3. be clean morally; more generally be pure. Pi. 1. cleanse, purify: a. physically. b. ceremonially. c. morally. 2. pronounce clean, ceremonially. 3. perform the ceremony of cleansing. Pu. 1. purify oneself: a. ceremonially. b. morally. 2. present oneself for purification.
- **רחץ**: Qal 1. trans. wash (with water), 2. intrans. wash, bathe (oneself) .Pu. be washed (+ מן of filth, fig.). Hithp. wash self (fig.).
- **ברר**: Qal 1. purge out, purify. Niph. purify oneself: a. ceremonially, the bearers of the sacred vessels. b. morally. Pi. purify. Hiph. 1. purify, cleanse. Hithp. 1. purify oneself. 2. shew oneself pure, just, kind.

---

<sup>18</sup> The term “Western text” is a misnomer as there are also manuscripts found in the East which attest the variant readings found in texts such as the Codex Bezae. Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism*, JSNTSup 236 (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 3.

<sup>19</sup> Meanings from BDB Abridged. Based on *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, by F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. Digitized and abridged as a part of the Princeton Theological Seminary Hebrew Lexicon Project under the direction of Dr. J. M. Roberts. Electronic text corrected, formatted, and hypertexted by OakTree Software, Inc. This electronic adaptation ©2001 OakTree Software, Inc. version 4.1

- **כבש**: Pi. 1. wash garments (i.e., by treading); fig. of Judah; || **קח** (which = wash person); Pt. = fuller (cf. Qal). 2. wash person, only poet. and fig.
- **טבל**: Qal dip: 1. trans., dip a thing in, c. acc. rei + **ב**: in blood, so esp. in connexion with sacrifices (also in fresh water); in water, for purification. 2. intrans., dip (oneself), sq. **ב**, in Jordan. Niph. be dipped, **ב** of water.
- **זכה**: Qal 1. be clean, pure, of man, in the sight of God. 2. be clear, be justified = be regarded as just, righteous, of God. Pi. make or keep clean, pure.
- **דך**: Qal 1. be bright, shining, 2. be clean, pure in God's sight, of heavens. Hiph. cleanse; fig. of making morally spotless.

The Greek words for cleansing are:<sup>20</sup>

- **καθαρίζω**: 1. to make physically clean, make clean, cleanse. 2. to heal a person of a disease that makes one ceremonially unclean, make clean, heal. 3. to purify through ritual cleansing, make clean, declare clean.
- **διακαθαρίζω**: to clean out.
- **διακαθαίρω**: to thoroughly purge, clean out.
- **καθαρισμός**: 1. cleansing from cultic impurity, purification. 2. cleansing from inward pollution, purify.
- **καθαρότης**: state or condition of being ritually cleansed, purity (used as an action noun in Heb 9:13).
- **λούω**: 1. to use water to cleanse a body of physical impurity, wash, as a rule of the whole body, bathe. 2. to use water in a cultic manner for purification, wash oneself, bathe oneself, cleanse, bathe. 3. to cause to be purified, cleanse.
- **λουτρόν**: bath, washing (used an action noun in Eph 5:26).
- **ἀπολούω**: wash something away from oneself, wash oneself, used in imagery of purification.
- **νίπτω**: 1. to cleanse with use of water, wash. 2. to provide generous service, wash feet.
- **ἀπονίπτω**: wash off.
- **ἀγνίζω**: 1. to purify or cleanse and so make acceptable for cultic use, purify. 2. to cause to be morally pure, purify. 3. to set oneself apart in dedication, to dedicate oneself.
- **ἀγιασμός**: personal dedication to the interests of the deity, holiness, consecration, sanctification (used as an action noun in 2 Thess 2:13; 1Pet 1:2).
- **ἀγνισμός**: 1. the process of making something cultically acceptable, purification. 2. the process of being morally purified, purification.
- **ἐκκαθαίρω**: 1. to remove as unclean, clean out. 2. to rid of something unclean, cleanse.
- **ράντιζω**: 1. to sprinkle liquid on something. 2. to cleanse oneself of impurities, cleanse, purify.

<sup>20</sup> Meanings from BDAG: Frederick W. Danker et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

- **ῥαντισμός**: sprinkling (used as an action noun in Heb 12:24 and 1 Pet 1:2).
- **βαπτίζω**:<sup>21</sup> 1. wash ceremonially for purpose of purification, wash, purify. 2. to use water in a rite for purpose of renewing or establishing a relationship w. God, plunge, dip, wash, baptize.
- **βάπτισμα**: the ceremonious use of water for purpose of renewing or establishing a relationship w. God, plunging, dipping, washing, water-rite, baptism (used as an action noun in Matt 3:7; Matt 21:25; Mark 1:4; Mark 10:38; Mark 10:39; Mark 11:30; Luke 3:3; Luke 7:29; Luke 12:50; Luke 20:4; Acts 1:22; Acts 10:37; Acts 13:24; Acts 18:25; Acts 19:3; Acts 19:4; Rom 6:4; Eph 4:5; 1 Pet 3:21).
- **βαπτισμός**: 1. water-rite for purpose of purification, washing, cleansing. 2. water-rite for purpose of purification, washing, cleansing (used as an action noun in Mark 7:4; Col 2:12; Heb 6:2; Heb 9:10).

As noted above, this thesis is concerned with the immersion of people as opposed to objects, and therefore the analysis is limited to only relevant occurrences. The resulting data is then divided into three categories: (1) all body cleansing (ritual or otherwise); (2) moral cleansing; and (3) occurrences of cleansing paired with a divine spirit. As context is key in determining these categories, it is obvious that this stage of the process is especially dependent on interpretation. My results may differ from those of others; however, those occurrences which are open to debate are few in number and the resulting variance would not significantly affect outcomes and conclusions.

Chapter 3 analyses the data found in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries. Comparisons are made between the two corpora to determine the share of distribution between them in the following three categories: (1) all occurrences of body cleansing; (2) occurrences of moral cleansing; and (3) occurrences of cleansing paired with a divine spirit. Then the data is analysed to determine which compositions within each corpora demonstrate a heightened interest in (1) moral cleansing and (2) cleansing

---

<sup>21</sup> The meaning of βαπτίζω, its cognates, and its designation as a technical term is challenged in this thesis cf. §§5.0; 5.2.1 and by Eckhard J. Schnabel, “The Meaning of βαπτίζειν in Greek, Jewish, and Patristic Literature,” *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 24 (2011): 3–40; Benjamin J. Snyder, “Technical Term or Technical Foul?: βαπτίζω (Baptizō) and the Problem of Transliteration as Translation,” *Stone-Campbell Journal* 21, no. 1 (2018): 91–113.

paired with a divine spirit against other compositions within the same corpora. Furthermore, the compositions of the Qumran discoveries are further divided into compositions which are written or valued by the Yahad and those that are not associated with the Yahad. This study takes a minimalist approach to grouping composition in the category “Yahad”; this includes the Community Rule (1QS), the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>), the Purification Rituals (4Q414 and 4Q512), and the Damascus Document (CD). The compositions within the category of Yahad are further analysed to determine which compositions have the most interest in moral cleansing and cleansing paired with a divine spirit.

Chapter 5 uses the same method to examine the Greek words for cleansing in the New Testament. However, the study incorporates the broadest data set of Chapter 3 for the initial analysis to determine the share of distribution among the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries and New Testament of: (1) all occurrences of body cleansing; (2) occurrences of moral cleansing; and (3) occurrences of cleansing paired with a divine spirit. The frequency of moral cleansing as a subset of all body cleansing, and moral cleansing paired with a divine Spirit within each corpora is determined and analysed. The focus then narrows to analysing the data within the New Testament comparing the distribution of the three categories across the compositions. Some compositions are grouped into categories, namely: Luke-Acts, Johannine writings, and Pauline Letters.

## **1.6 Thesis Summary**

This thesis seeks to fill a gap in Second Temple scholarship by giving sustained and focused attention to dual cleansing by water and Spirit in the Hebrew Bible, the Scrolls found at Qumran and New Testament literature. In the Hebrew Bible, Psalm 51

and Ezek 36:25–27 stand out as exemplars of the metaphor of cleansing, for the forgiveness of sins, and transformation or new creation of the person cleansed. The research presented here demonstrates that these passages exert influence on the Qumran discoveries, some other Second Temple compositions and the New Testament. Among the Scrolls, the Community Rule (1QS) and Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>) in particular share common themes of moral cleansing and transformation with Psalm 51 and Ezekiel 36. These themes are present among the New Testament writings, especially in the synoptic accounts of the baptism of John and the Pauline Epistles. Examples from the Hebrew Bible such as Ps 51, Ezek 36:25–27, and Joel 2:28–29, and from the Qumran discoveries such as 1QS III, 3–9; IV, 20–23, 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 28–30, demonstrate that John’s audiences were familiar with the pairing of ritual and moral purification. Furthermore, they understood baptism with the Holy Spirit as an eschatological cleansing and transformation so they could follow the Lord’s statutes and ordinances and walk in his straight paths.

# Part I: Water and Spirit in the Qumran Discoveries

## Part I: Introduction

Part One of this thesis looks to John the Baptist's context to better understand the nature of water and spirit baptisms. A survey of Second Temple literature, looking specifically for references to moral cleansing and a divine or holy spirit, reveals that the highest concentration is found in the Qumran discoveries, most especially in the texts written or used by the Yahad. The use of the term "holy spirit" in the Community Rule in connection to ritual and moral purification demonstrates a parallel with John's statement on baptism by water and Holy Spirit. Therefore, Chapter 2 concentrates on these texts and examines the different ways the divine spirit is conceived to gain some insight into what John's audience would have understood by the phrase "baptise you with the Holy Spirit" (Matt 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33). It is evident that the divine spirit is not a remote concept, but rather is experienced in personal and communal ways in the Yahad. I identify four activities of the divine spirit, namely: (1) in prophesying and revealing wisdom; (2) in sustaining and/or creating a willing spirit; (3) in purifying, cleansing, and atoning; and (4) in transforming the member of the Yahad so they can walk in straight paths. Of these four activities, the last two, viz. cleansing and transforming, connect directly to moral cleansing. Furthermore, the Yahad combines cleansing by water and spirit in one ritual which in turn merges ritual and moral purification (1QS III, 3–9). Analysis of cleansing verbs in Chapter 3 reveals a striking correlation between moral cleansing and the divine spirit in the texts of the Yahad.

Chapter 3 explores water, primarily in terms of cleansing with a concentration on moral cleansing in Second Temple literature. Moral cleansing is found throughout

the Jewish writings of the last century BCE and first century CE. This study endeavours to demonstrate that the connection between ritual and moral cleansing is already established in the Hebrew Bible (Isa 1:16; 4:4; Jer 2:22; 4:14; 33:8; Ezek 36:25–27; 37:23; Ps 51). Ezekiel 36 and Psalm 51 emerge as significant texts and key elements are identified in Psalm 51 which show up in many compositions of Second Temple literature.

# Chapter Two: The Divine Spirit in the Qumran

## Discoveries

### 2.0 Introduction

The writers of the so-called “sectarian” texts found at Qumran did not compartmentalize the spiritual world with strict classifications that include distinct entities and their respective definitions. Detected in these writings is a “working out” of their conceptions of spirit; that is, they seem to come at the subject with a variety of exploratory angles almost as if they were testing the phrase or concept in the very act of the expression. For this reason, it is a challenging task to trace out a consistent taxonomy of spirit even within one document such as the Community Rule or the Hodayot. The spirit can refer to humankind’s spirit, whether created at birth or as a new spirit given by God, it can refer to angels, or to the divine/holy spirit of the Lord. It can be male or female, interior or exterior, good, or bad, cosmic, or anthropological. Holy spirit can even refer to a spirit within a human being as seen in the Damascus Document (CD V, 11) and 4QInstruction (4Q416 2 ii, 6; 4Q418 8 6).<sup>22</sup> The word רוח, referring to spirit, breath or wind occurs 659 times in the so-called non-biblical texts found in the caves at Qumran. Beyond the variants for holy spirit (רוח קדש), there are more than 38 variant occurrences of spirit: רוח אמת (spirit of truth), ברוח רחמיך (spirit of compassion), רוח צדיק (spirit of righteousness), רוח דעת (spirit of knowledge), רוח אמונה (spirit of faithfulness), רוח עצה (spirit of the congregation or counsel), רוח החיים (spirit of life), רוח

---

<sup>22</sup> For a more detailed examination of the divine spirit cf. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John Levison, Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 167–240, here 170–174. For a detailed analysis of all occurrences of spirit cf. Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, SBLDS 110 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 71–183. Cf. Heinz-Josef Fabry, רוח, ed. G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz-Josef Fabry, 16 vols., vol. 13, TDOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 365–402.

רוח קשיטה (spirit of humility or modesty), רוח יושר וענוה (upright and humble spirit), רוח ענוה (an upright and good spirit), רוח קנאה (spirit of understanding), רוח בינה (spirit of understanding), רוח קנאה (spirit of zeal), רוח ישועה (spirit of salvation), ברוח עבדך (spirit of your servant), רוח אל לו (the spirit God has formed for him), רוח חדשה (new spirit), משיח הרוח (anointed of the spirit), רוח הסתר (spirit of concealment), רוח עולה (spirit of evil), רוח באישה (evil spirit), רוח רשע (spirit of wickedness), רוח זנות (unclean spirit or spirit of fornication), רוח טמאה (unclean spirit), רוח תופלה (spirit of insolence), רוח עוועים (spirit of confusion), מחיתה רוח (spirit of destruction), רוח תופלה (spirit of insolence), רוח בוז (spirit of contempt), רוח בשר (spirit of flesh), רוח אנוש or רוח אדם (spirit of humanity or mankind), רוח התועה (spirit of error), רוחות בליעל (spirits of Belial), רוחי (spirits of his lot), רוחות אור ורושך (spirits of light and darkness), רוחי אמת ועול (spirits of truth and injustice), רוחות אלוהים or רוחי אלוהים (divine spirits), רוחות ממזרים (spirits of bastards).

The point of departure in this chapter is a study on the concept of a divine spirit, whether specifically named holy spirit or not. Jörg Frey has observed that the term “holy spirit”, “is absent in Philo and Josephus and also in non-Jewish Greek literature. From this, we may conclude that the concept of *the* ‘holy spirit’ (or *a* ‘holy spirit’), sharing in and conveying God’s holiness, is almost probably a concept rooted and developed within Palestinian Jewish tradition.”<sup>23</sup> However, while there is no pairing of πνεῦμα and ἁγίου in Philo, Philo does speak of a divine spirit breathing into the created human (*Create* 135).<sup>24</sup> As attested in the Scrolls, the increase in the frequency of the

<sup>23</sup> Jörg Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sebastien Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 249.

<sup>24</sup> “But he asserts that the formation of the individual man, perceptible by the external senses is a composition of earthy substance, and divine spirit. For that the body was created by the Creator taking a lump of clay, and fashioning the human form out of it; but that the soul proceeds from no created thing at all, but from the Father and Ruler of all things. For when he uses the expression, “he breathed into,” etc., he means nothing else than the divine spirit.” (*Create* 135), cf. *Create* 144. Furthermore, C.D. Young translates πνεύματος θείου as “Holy Spirit”, in reference to wisdom, knowledge and prophecy. (*Giants* 23). Cf. ἐπιθειάσας (*Moses* 2.291); εὐαγῶς (*Spec. Laws* 1.68); ἐνθουσιᾶν (*Spec. Laws* 1.315); and θείου πνεύματος (*Virtues* 217).

terms “holy spirit” or “spirit of holiness” in the texts written in first century BCE to second century CE Palestine suggest that this concept is in its early development.

In sharp contrast to the two occasions of “holy spirit” in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 51:11; Isa 63:10–11), the term רוח קדש occurs a total of 58 times in the non-biblical texts from Qumran.<sup>25</sup> The majority of occurrences refer to a holy spirit, or spirit of holiness, which is the divine spirit. However, a few of the references refer to the holy spirit of an individual, in a context warning against exchanging “your holy spirit” as in 4QInstruction (4Q416 2 II, 6; 4Q418 8 6), or as an indictment against those who have corrupted “their holy spirit” as in the Damascus Document (CD V, 11). Additionally, a few refer to angelic beings as in the War Scroll (1QM XIII,2). This chapter concentrates on references to “holy spirit”/ “spirit of holiness” in an attempt to gain some insight into how the community at Qumran conceptualized a spirit “of” or “from” God, viz. a divine spirit, and how that spirit was instrumental in the construction of their individual and group identity. While the divine spirit is not reified in the texts found at Qumran, it nevertheless exhibits some level of agency. Pitts and Pollinger argue that there is a “clear stream of functional Spirit-monotheism” throughout the ancient and Second Temple texts. While the spirit functions within the roles of creator, redeemer, and revealer of wisdom, it is not a separate identity from the God of Israel.<sup>26</sup>

This study looks first at some significant secondary sources which were valuable in exploring the conceptualization of the divine spirit in the community at Qumran and how that spirit was instrumental in defining their individual and group

---

<sup>25</sup> And its variants רוח קדש, רוח קדושה, רוח קדשו, רוח קדשיהם, רוח קדשיו, רוח קדושך, רוח קדושכה, רוחות קדש קדשים

<sup>26</sup> Andrew W. Pitts and Seth Pollinger, “The Spirit in Second Temple Jewish Monotheism and The Origins of Early Christology,” in *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, TENTS 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 135–176, here 160.

identity. Conceptualizations of the divine spirit are investigated in §2.2 through a categorization of activities of that spirit. §2.3 examines 1QS I–IV as an integrated whole to trace out a theology of the divine spirit as portrayed by the redactor. The portrayal of “holy spirit” in 4QInstruction is examined and contrasted to the Community Rule and the Hodayot in §2.4. Finally, in §2.5, I offer a summary and synthesis of the preceding sections to argue that the divine spirit was not simply a way of speaking of God, but rather was essential to the Yaḥad, its identity and purpose.

## 2.1. Review of Significant Studies of the Spirit in the Discoveries at Qumran

There are a number of significant publications on the “spirit” as found among Qumran discoveries.<sup>27</sup> Early scholarship on “spirit” as found in these discoveries reflects the varied conceptualization of “spirit” within this diverse literature and the convoluted debates reflected in the earliest assessments. Indeed, we see some scholars reversing themselves as more Scrolls were published and appreciation grew for complexities and the heterogeneous nature of the materials. Karl G. Kuhn is the first scholar to attempt to define how “spirit” was conceptualized by the community at Qumran. Given that in 1950 only small sections of Cave I Scrolls were available, it is perhaps not surprising that Kuhn, reading through a New Testament lens, identified the transforming action of the holy spirit in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 32 as generating a new creation

---

<sup>27</sup> For early works see Karl G. Kuhn, “Die in Palästina gefundenen Hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament,” *ZTK* 47, no. 2 (1950): 192–211; Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, WUNT 6 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960); George Johnston, “‘Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Qumran Literature,” in *New Testament Sidelights: Essays in Honor of Alexander Converse Purdy*, ed. Harvey K. McArthur (Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1960), 27–42; Bruce, “Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts,” 49–55. For more recent scholarship cf. Alex R. G. Deasley, “The Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 21, no. 1–2 (1986): 45–73; Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*; Émile Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” *LASBF* 49 (1999): 283–297; Barry D. Smith, “‘Spirit of Holiness’ as Eschatological Principle of Obedience,” in *Christian Beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Craig A. Evans, *Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 75–99; Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins,” 167–240.

(*Neuschöpfung*) for humanity. What is remarkable is that his first analysis of the text was later supported by other Scrolls as they came to light, and subsequent scholarship on them.<sup>28</sup>

Erik Sjöberg is another early scholar to address the meaning of “spirit” in the Qumran discoveries. After disagreeing with K. G. Kuhn in an article in 1950, Sjöberg reversed himself in a 1955 article and agreed that the Hodayot are indeed speaking of a transformation, namely a new creation which is marked predominately by two characteristics: the conferring of knowledge, and the spirit of God.<sup>29</sup>

The most comprehensive treatment is that of Arthur Sekki.<sup>30</sup> His published dissertation attempts to categorize the uses of “spirit”; as male or female, divine, angelic, or human. Although Sekki’s work remains a valuable in-depth and wide-ranging etymological study of “spirit”, his focus is on a clear categorization of the term “spirit”, rather than on how “spirit” is conceptualized in any given passage. While the etymological detail of this study is commendable, it fails to offer perspectives on larger conceptual issues and too narrowly conceived categories. Indeed, as Eibert Tigchelaar notes, focusing on categorizing “spirit” in terms of humanity’s spirit, angelic spirit or God’s spirit in the Scrolls is problematic as “it assumes strict conceptual boundaries and ontological differences between one and the other,” which is not supported by the complex conception of spirit in the compositions found at Qumran.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Kuhn, “Die in Palästina,” 192–211. For a summary on the debate of the understanding of “spirit” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 32, 36 see Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 124, n. 104. Kuhn reversed himself and then reverted to his original analysis between 1952–1961.

<sup>29</sup> Erik Sjöberg, “Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum,” *ST* 4, no. 1 (1950): 45–85. “Diese Erneuerung ist vor allem durch zweierlei gekennzeichnet: durch die Verleihung der Erkenntnis und durch die Verleihung des Geistes,” Erik Sjöberg, “Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen,” *ST* 9, no. 2 (1955): 131–136, here 135.

<sup>30</sup> Note that Sekki has been strongly criticized for his treatment of the scrolls as a homogenous body of literature. See Maurya P. Horgan, “The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran,” *CBQ* 54, no. 3 (1992): 544–546.

<sup>31</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 229–230.

Tigchelaar’s detailed analysis of the Qumran texts, which in his own words, “might be of interest to the question about the historical origins of the early Christian conception of the Holy Spirit,” is of particular interest here.<sup>32</sup> In comparison with Sekki, he both narrows and broadens his approach. Tigchelaar restricts his focus to “holy spirit” while expanding it by looking at the *concept* of “holy spirit”, viz. the divine spirit, rather than the etymology of the phrase. The study first looks at numerous texts from the Judean wilderness which refer to God’s spirit, offering a brief critical textual analysis before explicating how the spirit is conceived in each context. Tigchelaar concludes with a broad-brush conceptual look at the divine spirit in the Scrolls compared with concepts of the holy spirit as found in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. One concept of the holy spirit which recurs frequently is as a purifying agent. Tigchelaar notes that there is an archetypal association of spirit of holiness and purification across many of the texts and states that “this association between a pure heart and spirit has been developed from Ezek 36:25–26 and Ps 51.” The importance of these two passages is returned to below.

Carol Newsom applies the theoretical model of indigenous psychology developed by Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock to the concepts of “self” and “spirit” in the Hodayot.<sup>33</sup> This excellent study is particularly helpful in attempting to navigate the polyvalent meanings of spirit in the Hodayot.<sup>34</sup> Newsom posits that in the Hebrew Bible, where the spirit is variously sent, placed, rests, or poured, “upon” (על) an

---

<sup>32</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 174.

<sup>33</sup> Paul Heelas, “Introduction: Indigenous Psychologies,” in *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self* (London: Academic Press, 1981), 3–18; Heelas, “The Model Applied: Anthropology and Indigenous Psychologies”, 39–63; Andrew Lock, “Universals in Human Conception,” in *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*, ed. Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock (London: Academic Press, 1981), 19–36.

<sup>34</sup> Carol A. Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the Hodayot,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken M Penner, and Cecilia Wassén, STDJ 98 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 339–354.

individual, the spirit is external to the individual while exerting some measure of influence or control over an autonomous self. If the preposition  $\text{ב}$  is used to indicate the spirit “in” an individual, then it is referring to the spirit one is given at birth. The Hodayot exhibits a different indigenous psychology; viz. the external spirit of God is conceptualized as within, internal to the individual and the self is not seen as unequivocally autonomous.<sup>35</sup> Newsom has been contributing to theories of the self in the Yahad for a number of years; in 2004 she offered an important study on how the Qumran community constructs its self-identity through the tools of discourse analysis.<sup>36</sup> This work is instrumental in understanding how the self is constructed in the individual and the community at Qumran. She states that “we first emerge as subjects in the context of language and receive our identities from various symbolic practices,” and “the Community Rule and the Hodayot are both texts that are self-consciously devoted to the formation of languages of self and community.”<sup>37</sup> An examination of the role of the divine spirit in the process of the construction of self in the Yahad is explored below.

Michael Newton uses the studies by Gartner and Klinzing on the Community of Qumran and the New Testament Church as substitutes for the Jerusalem Temple as the foundation for his thesis on purity.<sup>38</sup> Newton argues that there is no distinction between moral and ritual purity at Qumran because both transgressions result in polluting the community whether one has touched a corpse or slandered a brother. This study is

---

<sup>35</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 347–350.

<sup>36</sup> Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

<sup>37</sup> Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 12, 196.

<sup>38</sup> Bertil E. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism*, SNTSMS 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); Georg Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*, SUNT 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); Michael Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*, SNTSMS 53 (Cambridge University Press, 1985).

important because Newton argues that for the Qumran community purity was required in order to be a dwelling place of the divine as substitute for the defiled Temple in Jerusalem (CD IV, 17–18; V, 6–11; VI, 11–13; 1QpHab cols. VIII and XII).<sup>39</sup> The Community Rule makes it clear that it is by the holy spirit which resides in the community that the member can be cleansed and their sin atoned for.<sup>40</sup>

Barry Smith views “spirit of holiness” as a principle of obedience granted by God rather than a spirit from God.<sup>41</sup> He argues that in the Dead Sea Scrolls, God “grants his people ‘a spirit of holiness’” which “denotes a new spiritual disposition imparted by God to individual Jews.”<sup>42</sup> Using this framework, Smith surveys the occurrences of “spirit of holiness” in the Community Rule, the *Hodayot* and the *Barkhi Nafshi* (4Q434–438). With very few exceptions Smith reads רוח קודש as “spirit of holiness”, never as “holy spirit”, and equates it to a “principle of obedience” each time. Smith pushes back against a number of scholars who have not read “spirit of holiness” as “principle of obedience” and states in regard to Arthur Sekki that “it seems that the Christian teaching of the Holy Spirit influenced his [Sekki’s] interpretation of pre-Christian Jewish texts.”<sup>43</sup> While there is some merit in Smith’s criticism of Sekki’s approach, Smith’s equation of “spirit of holiness” with “principle of obedience” is too far reaching and absolute; instead, the “spirit of holiness” is better understood as *producing* a “principle of obedience.”

---

<sup>39</sup> For a refutation of the theory that the Yahad had rejected the Jerusalem Temple cf. Martin Goodman, “The Qumran Sectarials and the Temple in Jerusalem,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, ed. Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 90 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 263–273.

<sup>40</sup> 1QS III, 6–8

<sup>41</sup> Smith, ““Spirit of Holiness””, 75–99.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, ““Spirit of Holiness””, 76.

<sup>43</sup> Smith, ““Spirit of Holiness””, 87–88 n. 36.

Émile Puech surveys the conceptualization of the divine spirit across a wide range of Second Temple literature.<sup>44</sup> Similar to others, he frames his study through categories of activity or effect of the divine spirit. Whereas Tigchelaar identifies the frequency of the activity of purification, Puech notes the frequency of the closely related function of transformation. In reference to Jubilees 1:20–23, Puech argues that it is only through the spirit of God that one can follow the will of God, and describes the divine spirit in 1QS III, 6–9 as the agent of moral transformation in the heart of man.<sup>45</sup> Puech concludes his argument by stating that it is God who purifies by the divine gift of his holy spirit which operates in the heart of the purified man and transforms his spirit into a holy or sanctified spirit.<sup>46</sup>

Jörg Frey views the divine spirit as an eschatological means of purification and revelation in the Treatise of the Two Spirits. He states that, “the image is that of spiritual transfusion: the spirit of deceit in the person’s veins (i.e., in the person’s inner self) is to be removed, and (the) Holy Spirit is imagined as a purifying fluid, or even as replacing the former spirit of deceit.”<sup>47</sup> Frey notes that the spirit reveals “insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the sons of heaven, and the perfect in the Way may receive understanding” (1QS IV, 22) after cleansing. In other words, “purification seems to be the precondition for perfect understanding.”<sup>48</sup> While purification and revealing knowledge only comes at the eschaton in the Treatise of the

---

<sup>44</sup> Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 283–297.

<sup>45</sup> “C’est le bon esprit que Dieu met dans l’homme, l’esprit qui lui permet de suivre la volonté de Dieu.” Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 284. “l’agent de la transformation morale dans le cœur de l’homme.” Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 287.

<sup>46</sup> “C’est Dieu qui purifie et sanctifie par Son/ l’esprit saint qui est un don divin, un esprit sanctifiant qui opère dans le cœur de l’homme purifié et transforme son esprit en un esprit saint ou sanctifié.” Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 291.

<sup>47</sup> Jörg Frey, “The Notion of the Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Texts of the Early Jesus Movement,” in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, ed. Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal, STDJ 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 83–102, here 88.

<sup>48</sup> Frey, “Notion of the Spirit”, 88.

Two Spirits, these activities of the divine spirit are already present within the Yaḥad (1QS I, 7–8; II, 3; III, 6–8; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 36; VIII, 29–30; XX, 13–17). He argues that this is a strong argument against the Treatise being written by the Yaḥad and states that the community “only partially adopted its ideas.”<sup>49</sup> Frey also makes the important distinction that for the Yaḥad the revelatory activity of the spirit is not concerned with understanding dreams or visions, rather it is the interpretation “of the true meaning of the Torah and the other writings.”<sup>50</sup>

## 2.2. Activities of the Divine Spirit

The literature of the Second Temple era has its roots in the Hebrew scriptures. Notions of the divine spirit are developed from passages which connect the spirit with, (1) prophesying;<sup>51</sup> (2) strengthening and sustaining;<sup>52</sup> (3) purifying;<sup>53</sup> (4) transforming;<sup>54</sup> and (5) the presence of God.<sup>55</sup> Four activities of the Holy Spirit may be identified in the following documents written or valued by the Yaḥad found at Qumran: The Damascus Document, The Community Rule, Hodayot, Incantation (4Q444), the Words of the Luminaries (4Q504),<sup>56</sup> the Book of Jubilees,<sup>57</sup> and Serekh Damascus

---

<sup>49</sup> Frey, “Notion of the Spirit”, 88.

<sup>50</sup> Frey, “Notion of the Spirit”, 94.

<sup>51</sup> Deut 34:9; Exod 31:3; Num 11:24–30; 24: 2–9; Isa 11:2; Dan 5:14; Wis 7:7, 9:17; 1 Sam 10:6; 2 Sam 23:2; Neh 9:20, 30; Isa 61:1; Ezek 11:5; Joel 2:28–29; Mic 3:8.

<sup>52</sup> Ps 51:12.

<sup>53</sup> Isa 4:4; Ezek 36:25–27; Ps 51:1–12.

<sup>54</sup> 1 Sam 10:6; Ezek 11:19–20; 18: 30–32; 36:25–27; Ps 51:1–12.

<sup>55</sup> Isa 63:9–15; Hag 2:5.

<sup>56</sup> While there is no conclusive evidence that 4Q504 is composed by the Yaḥad, there is evidence it was copied at Qumran and was compatible with Yaḥad belief and practice. Cf. Esther G. Chazon, “Is Divrei Ha-Me’orot a Sectarian Prayer,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17. Emmanuel Tov lists 4Q504 as a text with “Sectarian markers, nature and scribal practice” Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STJD 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 270.

<sup>57</sup> While not a text written by the Yaḥad, the Book of Jubilees is the one of the most attested documents in the discoveries at Qumran and was heavily influential on the community. Charlotte Hempel, “The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy H. Lim (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 187–196, here 195–196. Cf. James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 40.

(4Q265).<sup>58</sup> These four activities of the spirit are often polyvalent within any given text, therefore there is some crossover of discussion. In these texts, concepts related to the holy spirit or God's spirit reflect an evolution from that found in parts of the Hebrew Bible, which is seen in the movement from the spirit *of* God to the spirit *from* God. While the holy spirit does not have agency as it does when developed in later New Testament writings, the authors of these texts associate the holy spirit or God's spirit with certain activities or manifestations. These activities are: (1) prophesying/revealing wisdom; (2) sustaining/creating a willing spirit; (3) purifying and atoning; and (4) transforming.

### 2.2.1 Prophesying/Revealing Wisdom

In the Hebrew Bible the spirit of the Lord is often given for the purposes of wisdom or prophetic knowledge.<sup>59</sup> Sometimes prophecy is a foretelling, a prediction of future events (e.g., Jer 34:2–5; Isa 7:1–9; Ezek 26:3–14; Amos 9:12; Zech 8). Other times prophecy is forthtelling, speaking a word from God (Jer 7:1–15; 26:1–19; Ezek 37:4–6; Mic 3:5). The spirit of the Lord is conveyed by different terms, it: fills, rests on, is in, is given, is sent, possesses, speaks through, is upon, falls upon, and is poured out. The recipient of this external force has access to preterhuman wisdom or knowledge. In Jubilees, the spirit of righteousness descends into Rebecca's mouth, and she speaks a blessing for Jacob (Jub. 25:13).<sup>60</sup> In several compositions from Qumran, the spirit is qualified as the "holy spirit" which is the giver of knowledge or wisdom. The

---

<sup>58</sup> Deasley identifies an additional activity of "source of joy" in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVII, 32, Deasley, "The Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 50. While Smith sees most of the activity of the spirit as an "eschatological principle of obedience", Smith, "'Spirit of Holiness'", 75–99.

<sup>59</sup> Deut 34:9; Exod 31:3; Num 11:24–30; 24: 2–9; Isa 11:2; Dan 5:14; Wis 7:7, 9:17; 1 Sam 10:6; 2 Sam 23:2; Neh 9:20, 30; Isa 61:1; Ezek 11:5; Joel 2:28–29; Mic 3:8.

<sup>60</sup> Craig Keener notes that "one Ethiopian MS has 'holy spirit'" but does indicate which one. Craig S. Keener, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 969, n. 349.

Community Rule states that knowledge of God's laws and the study of the Torah are revealed to the prophets by the holy spirit:

This (alludes to) the study of the Torah wh[ic]h he commanded through Moses to do, according to everything which has been revealed (from) time to time, and according to that which the prophets have revealed by his Holy Spirit (גלו הנביאים) (ברוח קודשו) (1QS VIII, 15–16a)<sup>61</sup>

Furthermore, in CD II, 12, those anointed by the holy spirit have the wisdom to teach those whom God calls by name:

And he taught them by the hand of <the anointed ones> with his holy spirit (ויודיעם) (ביד משיחוי רוח קדשו) and through seers of the truth, and their names were established with precision. But those he hates, he causes to stray. [ ] And now, sons, listen to me and I shall open your eyes so that you can see and understand the deeds of God, so that you can choose what he is pleased with and repudiate what he hates, so that you can walk perfectly on all his paths. (CD II, 12–16)<sup>62</sup>

Note that this wisdom gives to the chosen understanding and the ability to choose what pleases God and to “walk perfectly on all his paths.” This is a recurring theme in the Yahad compositions. On a few occasions, the Hodayot also refers to knowledge or wisdom from the spirit, which acknowledges that knowing or understanding is only possible through the divine spirit:

And I, your servant, know by means of *the spirit that you have placed in me* (ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי). (1QH<sup>a</sup> V, 35–36)<sup>63</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all Hebrew texts and English translations from 1QS are taken from James H. Charlesworth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 1 (Tübingen; Louisville: Mohr Siebeck; Westminster John Knox, 1994).

<sup>62</sup> Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 553.

<sup>63</sup> Translations from the Hodayot<sup>a</sup> are from Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>*, EJL 36 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012). The Hodayot<sup>a</sup> columns as reconstructed by the Stegemann/Puech system adopted by DJD 40 are used in this thesis.

And as for me, I know from the understanding that comes from you that through your goodwill toward a p[er]son you mul[tiply his portion] in *your holy spirit* (ברוח קודשך). Thus you draw him closer to your understanding. (1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 23–24)

I know *by the spirit that you have placed in me* (ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי). (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXI, 34)

And I, the Instructor, I know you, my God, *by the spirit that you have placed in me* (ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי). Faithfully have I heeded your wondrous secret counsel. By *your holy spirit* (ברוח קודשכה) you have [o]pened up knowledge within me through the mystery of your wisdom. (1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 14–16a)

Tigchelaar notes that this last passage is related to the Community Rule (1QS IV, 24; 1QS V, 21, 23–24) where understanding and deeds or perfect behaviour corresponds to one’s “lot” in God’s holy spirit. He states that “all in all, ‘God’s holy spirit’ is here associated with insight and corresponding behaviour.”<sup>64</sup> John Levison further notes that the authority of the instructor does not lie in his rank within the community, but in the holy spirit in him which gives him understanding.<sup>65</sup>

Although fragmentary, the author of 4Q506, 131–132, 9–11 (4QWords of the Luminaries<sup>c</sup>) expresses gratitude for the knowledge given by the holy spirit:

For [you are the God of knowled]ge, and every [tho]ught of [... bef]ore you.  
These things we know, [bec]ause you have [favou]red [us with] *the holy [spirit]*.<sup>66</sup>

Finally, 4Q444 1–4 I +5, 1–4 (4QIncantation), also fragmentary, asserts that God’s holy spirit empowers and that he gives a spirit of knowledge which fortifies in order to battle evil:

And as for me, because of my fearing God, he opened my mouth with his true knowledge; and from *His holy spirit*. (רוח קודשו) [...] truth for a[1] [ the]se. They became spirits of controversy (לרוחי ריב) in my (bodily) structure; law [s of God in] blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and

<sup>64</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 190.

<sup>65</sup> John R. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 189.

<sup>66</sup> García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1019. Cf. 4Q504 4, 4-5.

righteousness (ורוח דעת ובינה אמת וצדק) God put in [my] he[art ...] [...] And strengthen yourself by the laws of God, and in order to fight against the spirits of wickedness. (רוחי רשעה)<sup>67</sup>

As seen in these passages, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding are revealed by the divine spirit. Without the illumination given by the spirit, the individual lacks the ability to understand and follow the laws of God.<sup>68</sup> The next section moves from illumination to sustaining.

### 2.2.2 Sustaining/Creating a Willing Spirit

Although there is some crossover from the activity assessed above, there are a number of passages which explicitly speak to the spirit of the Lord giving strength without reference to knowledge or wisdom. According to the Community Rule and Hodayot, understanding of the laws of God is not enough to walk in his paths. The individual requires the assistance of the divine spirit to create a strong will to do so. The members of the Yahad have no faith in their own ability to walk perfectly in all God's ways as is especially well known in the negative anthropology found in the hymns. Additionally, the Treatise of the Two Spirits warns that even the Sons of Light are not immune to the deception of the Angel of Darkness who causes them to stumble. However, God has given his Angel of Truth to help them. Beyond the gifts of "wonderful wisdom" (וחכמת גבורה) (1QS IV, 3) and "a spirit of knowledge" (ורוח דעת) (1QS IV, 4), they are given a "zeal for righteous precepts, a holy intention with a steadfast purpose" (קנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת קודש ביצר סמוך ורוב חסדים) (1QS IV, 4b–5a).

---

<sup>67</sup> Esther Eshel, Esther G. Chazon, and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 374.

<sup>68</sup> Benjamin Wold contrasts this understanding of wisdom and spirit with 4QInstruction where the individual is given a spirit and wisdom at creation and it is only through the active pursuit of the רז נהיה (mystery of existence) that the spirit is maintained. Benjamin G. Wold, *4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies*, STDJ 123 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 143.

The Hodayot, in contrast to the Community Rule, views all humanity, whether cast into God's lot or not, as incapable of living righteously without the gift of the holy spirit. The strengthening power of the holy spirit assists the individual to cling to God's truth and serve him with a perfect heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 25). The author writes of a sustaining strength:

(vacat) I thank you, O Lord, that you have sustained me by your strength, and that you have spread *your holy spirit* upon me (וְרוּחַ קוֹדֶשְׁכָּה הַנִּיפּוֹתָה בִּי) so that I am not shaken. You have made me strong before the wars of wickedness, and in all their threats of destruction. (1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 9–10)<sup>69</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 25 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 9–10 echo Ps 51:12 (“Restore to me the joy of your salvation, and sustain in me a *willing spirit*”), where the holy spirit sustains a willing spirit within the hymnist.<sup>70</sup> This echo is even more striking in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVII, 32 as the holy spirit also causes joy in addition to supporting or sustaining:

With a sure truth you have supported me, and in *your holy spirit* you have made me rejoice (וּבְרוּחַ קוֹדֶשְׁכָּה תִשְׂעֶשְׂאֵנִי), and until this day [y]ou continue to guide me. (1QH<sup>a</sup> XVII, 32)

In the Words of the Luminaries (4Q504 1–2 R v 11–16a), God's holy spirit is poured out and causes people to return to God and obey him.

You did favours to your people Israel among all [the] countries amongst whom you had exiled them, to place upon their heart to turn to you and to listen to your voice, [in agreement] with all that you commanded through the hand of Moses, your servant. [Fo]r you have poured *your holy spirit* upon us ( יִצְקֶתָה אֶת רוּחַ קוֹדֶשְׁכָּה ) (עֲלֵינוּ), [to be]stow your blessings to us.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> In this passage Tigchelaar translates הַנִּיפּוֹתָה (נוֹף) as “sprinkled” rather than spread as he often does elsewhere. This choice of words and liquid metaphors of the holy spirit is investigated further in §2.3. Cf. Burrows translates “shed abroad thy Holy Spirit” Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: With Translations by the Author* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956), 409.

<sup>70</sup> This aspect of echoes of Ps 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 in the DSS and Second Temple literature is taken up in §§3.3–3.4 in particular. Echoes, allusions and intertextuality is a dynamic and complex discipline. This study looks for the ideas and influences of HB texts, not direct quotes or a minimum number of identical words in DSS and Second Temple Literature.

<sup>71</sup> García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1017.

Sekki notes that the whole group and not just a few prophets receive the holy spirit.<sup>72</sup> This is an important distinction which, assuming Sekki is correct, the Yaḥad picks up and develops further. Tigchelaar observes that these lines are dependent on Isa 44:3b where God promises to “pour my spirit upon your descendants, and my blessing on your offspring.” It is noteworthy that *Targum of Jonathan* on Isa 44:3b qualifies “spirit” as “holy spirit”. Moreover, we find the liquid representation of the divine spirit in both Isaiah and the Words of the Luminaries.<sup>73</sup>

### 2.2.3 Purifying, Cleansing, and Atoning

The activity of purification is central to the conceptualization of spirit in both the Hebrew scriptures and in many of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Tigchelaar notes that “just as physical water is used in the purification process of physical pollution, thus God’s immaterial spirit is requisite for the purification of spiritual impurity.”<sup>74</sup> In both Psalm 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 the holy spirit cleanses and purifies. Anja Klein notes that the combination of תהר and רוח, found only in these two passages is present in the Community Rule in 1QS III, 7–9 and IV, 21.<sup>75</sup> This activity is also found in the Hodayot. Carol Newsom observes that the hymnist frequently uses the phrase הניפותה על (to sprinkle over) in collocation with “your holy spirit.”<sup>76</sup> The meaning of the term נוף requires some attention; indeed, Newsom translates נוף as “spread” while Tigchelaar translates it as “sprinkle” in two key passages:

<sup>72</sup> Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 84; Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 159.

<sup>73</sup> This liquid representation of the divine spirit is also present in Sir 39:6; Enoch 91:1; T. Jud. 24:2–3; T. Benj. 9:4.

<sup>74</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 233.

<sup>75</sup> Anja Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’ to the ‘Spirit of Truth’: Observations on Psalms 51 and 1QS,” in *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Reinhard Gregor Kratz, FAT II/35 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 171–191, here 186.

<sup>76</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 349, cf n. 24. Newsom is the translator of the Hodayot for the SBL study edition and the DJD critical edition (40).

1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38

Newsom: [Blessed are you, God Most High, that ]you have **spread** your holy spirit upon your servant[ and you] have purified m<sup>o</sup>[...]t<sup>o</sup> his heart...

Tigchelaar: [Blessed are you, God Most High, that] you have **sprinkled** your holy spirit upon your servant [and you] have purified from [...] his heart...<sup>77</sup>

1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII, 29b, 33

Newsom: And over the dust you have **spread** [your holy] spirit ...  
... your [h]oly [spirit] you have **spread** forth in order to atone for guilt...

Tigchelaar: And over the dust you have **sprinkled** [your holy] spirit ...  
... your [h]oly [spirit] you have **sprinkled** in order to atone for guilt...<sup>78</sup>

Newsom elsewhere translates the Hebrew as “sprinkles over,” commenting that “in biblical Hebrew the verb נָחַץ ordinarily means ‘wave’, but when the reference is to rain or snow the verb apparently means ‘sprinkle’ (Ps 68:10; Sir 43:17).”<sup>79</sup> Tigchelaar defends the translation of “sprinkle” stating that, “with נָחַץ II, ‘to spray,’ ‘to sprinkle,’ or perhaps even to ‘shower,’ as in Ps 68:10 [English, Ps 68:9] and Prov 7:17.”<sup>80</sup> A Hebrew reader would be aware of the polyvalence and word play inherent in the word נָחַץ. To translate as “spread” rather than “sprinkle” misses the important Hebrew word play and liquid analogy which connects the divine spirit to cleansing and purification, therefore the translation of “sprinkle” is preferred. Newsom notes that liquid images of the spirit

---

<sup>77</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 188. Cf. Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 2 ed. (München: Kösel Verlag, 1971), 173. “[Ich preise dich, Herr! Denn] du hast deinen heiligen Geist auf deinen Knecht *gesprengt* [ . . . ] sein Herz.” Émile Puech translates נָחַץ as “répandu”, which like the Hebrew can mean spread or sprinkle. Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 288, 291. In conversation with Puech at the École Biblique in June 2018, I asked which meaning he intended. Puech was unwilling to narrow his translation further, preferring to keep the polyvalent meaning inherent in the Hebrew, stating that it was impossible to narrowly define the spirit.

<sup>78</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 196.

<sup>79</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 349, n. 24.

<sup>80</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 188; cf. n. 41. Cf. Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Law and Spirit of Purity at Qumran,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 2, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 93–105, here 101; Carol A. Newsom, “In Search of Cultural Models for Divine Spirit and Human Bodies,” *VT* 70, no. 1 (2020): 104–123, here 118–122 for a discussion on the liquid metaphors of the spirit.

are “used both to represent pervasive divine presence and spiritual transformation of individuals and communities.”<sup>81</sup> Liquid connotations are also found in the pairing of “spirit” and “pour” in the Hebrew Bible. The spirit is poured out (נָבַע) to give understanding (Prov 1:23). First and Second Isaiah use three different Hebrew words for “pour”:

For the LORD has *poured* (נָסַךְ) out upon you a *spirit* of deep sleep. (Isa 29:10)

until a *spirit* from on high is *poured* (עָרַה) out on us, and the wilderness becomes a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is deemed a forest. (Isa 32:15)

For I will pour (אָצַק) water on the thirsty land, and streams on the dry ground; I will pour (אָצַק) *my spirit* upon your descendants, and my blessing on your offspring. (Isa 44:3)

Isa 44:3 is explicit in connecting life giving water to the divine spirit as it pairs pouring water on a thirsty land with pouring the spirit upon the people of Israel. Moreover, Ezekiel, Joel, and Zechariah also employ this collocation using yet another Hebrew word, שָׁפַךְ which has the image of an abrupt violent outburst.<sup>82</sup>

when I *pour* (שָׁפַךְ) *out my spirit* upon the house of Israel... (Ezek 39:29)

I will *pour* (שָׁפַךְ) *out my spirit* on all flesh... in those days, I will *pour* (שָׁפַךְ) *out my spirit*... (Joel 2:28–29)

And I will *pour* (שָׁפַךְ) *out a spirit* of compassion and supplication on the house of David and the inhabitants of Jerusalem... (Zech 12:10a)

Sekki observes that the examples from Ezekiel and Joel are eschatological in nature.<sup>83</sup>

Zechariah can also be added to this observation. This becomes especially clear in 13:1,

“On that day a fountain shall be opened for the house of David and the inhabitants of

---

<sup>81</sup> Newsom, “In Search,” 118.

<sup>82</sup> So Klaus Koch, “Die Rolle der hymnischen Abschnitte in der Komposition des Amos-Buches,” *ZAW* 86, no. 4 (1974): 518. “wobei gewiß nicht an ein ‘Gießkannenprinzip’ gedacht ist, sondern an überschwemmende Flut.”

<sup>83</sup> Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 82.

Jerusalem, to cleanse them from sin and impurity.” This eschatological aspect in a liquid representation of the spirit is also recurring in the Yaḥad texts and is explored in more depth below.

In the following final example from the Hodayot the hymnist acknowledges that apart from God, humanity cannot be righteous, and he entreats God for cleansing by the holy spirit:

I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and so I entreat you with the *spirit* that you have placed in me (ברוח אשר נתתה בי) that you make your kindness to your servant complete [for]ever, cleansing me by *your holy spirit* (לטהרני ברוח) (קודשך) and drawing me nearer by your good favor, according to your great kindness. (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 29–30)

Holy spirit is often paired with purification as is especially clear from the Community Rule. Gudrun Holtz points out that this is not an original concept of the Yaḥad, indeed, “the motif of purification of humans by the Holy Spirit can already be found in texts produced before the foundation of the yahad, that is, in the teaching of the two spirits and in Ezekiel.... the present understanding of purification in 1QS is not a fundamental innovation by the yahad but is already found in Ps 51:12.”<sup>84</sup> However, in the covenant ceremony we see that it is only by the holy spirit that one is cleansed and purified; it is impossible to cleanse oneself:

He cannot be purified by atonement, nor be cleansed by waters of purification, nor sanctify himself in streams and rivers, nor cleanse himself in any waters of ablution. Unclean, unclean is he, as long as he rejects the judgments of God, so that he cannot be instructed within the Community of his (God’s) counsel. For it is by the *spirit* of the true counsel of God (ברוח עצת אמת אל) that the ways of man - all of his iniquities - are atoned. So that he can behold the light of life. It is by the *Holy Spirit* of the Community in his (God’s) truth (וברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו) that he can be cleansed from all his iniquities. It is by an upright and humble spirit that

---

<sup>84</sup> Gudrun Holtz, “Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: ‘Ritual-Physical’ and ‘Moral’ Purity in a Diachronic Perspective,” in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, ed. Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan, Dynamics in the History of Religion 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 519–536, here 529.

his sin can be atoned. It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes, that his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling (נה) with waters of purification, and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity. (1QS III, 4–9)

Tigchelaar argues that this section represents a development of theology from “purification from impurities” to “purification from sin.” He observes that, “the text adopts language from Leviticus but expands the notion of impurity to cover sinfulness in general.”<sup>85</sup> There are two primary ways that impurity is understood in the Hebrew scriptures: ritual and moral. The sources of ritual impurities are natural, unavoidable, impermanent, and not regarded as sinful; examples of this are childbirth and coming into contact with a corpse. Alternatively, moral impurity is sinful and is produced by committing acts which are prohibited and avoidable; examples are murder and sexual misconduct. While these two notions are separate in the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature, they are conflated at Qumran. Klawans states that “the two notions ... absorb into one, so that they considered sinners to be sources of ritual defilement and considered ritual impurity as sinful in some way.”<sup>86</sup> This critical section of the Community Rule (1QS III, 4–9) makes it clear that the candidate must begin with repentance before being cleansed and purified by the holy spirit (ברוח) and the purifying waters (במי נדה). Charlesworth elaborates that this “stress on atonement and purification as coming only from God is a major, and in a certain sense a unique, teaching at Qumran.”<sup>87</sup> The “certain sense” which Charlesworth uses to qualify his statement is that atonement and purification are not attained through a mediating sacrifice or washing rite, but directly from God. Significantly, purification is effected by God or his holy spirit only after repentance and submission on the part of the candidate. Indeed, Knibb

---

<sup>85</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 176. Cf. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 92.

<sup>86</sup> Jonathan Klawans, “Moral and Ritual Purity,” in *The Historical Jesus in Context*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C Jr. Allison, and John Dominic Crossan, Princeton Readings in Religions (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), 266–284, here 278.

<sup>87</sup> Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 13.

points out this distinction when he states that it is “important to observe that the purificatory rites were thought to have no effect unless accompanied by the appropriate inner disposition, that is one of sincere and wholehearted repentance, and of humble submission to God inspired by a spirit of true counsel and of holiness.”<sup>88</sup> Tigchelaar supports this argument observing that in 1QS III, 6–9 the writer presents three different ways that repentance and behaviour correspond and each includes reference to spirit and the subsequent purification from iniquities. He convincingly argues that the fourth clause should be read as a conclusion. Viz, only after purification from moral impurity by the divine spirit can one’s flesh be purified by waters for cleansing.<sup>89</sup> Leaney also picks up this distinction when he states that “to be cleansed from sin demanded both repentance and ritual purification.”<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, he critically observes the inner purification is only given by the spirit of true counsel if the individual submits to the prescribed disciplines. Repentance is more than just turning away from wicked ways; submission to God’s laws and the instruction of the community is required.

In the Hebrew scriptures, the pairing of cleansing and purification from sin with ritual purification is found in Ps 51 when the psalmist states: “Cleanse me with hyssop, and I will be clean” (Ps 51:7). Hyssop is a reference to the red heifer purification rite for one defiled by a corpse.<sup>91</sup> The sprig of hyssop was used to sprinkle the waters for purification upon the one defiled. Baumgarten sees this psalm as a background to the Yahad’s conflation of ritual and moral impurity and states that this “inference harmonizes quite well with the Qumran view that all transgressors of God’s word are

---

<sup>88</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 92.

<sup>89</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 176.

<sup>90</sup> A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, NTL (London: SCM, 1966), 139.

<sup>91</sup> Num 19.

impure, except that at Qumran it appears to have been more than a metaphor.”<sup>92</sup> He connects the divine spirit with ritual and moral purification when he writes that 1QS III, 7–9 “describes the purification characteristic of the Qumran community in which external ablutions, in this case sprinkling with water for lustration, are effective only when coordinated with inner receptivity for the divine holy spirit.”<sup>93</sup> Baumgarten also offers a reference from the Midrash on the Psalms to illustrate that the Yahad was not alone in this conflation:

It aroused the query in the Midrash on Psalms, ‘Did David actually fall into uncleanness? No, but into an iniquity whereby his soul was wounded unto death, as he said: My heart is wounded (חלל) unto death within me (Ps 109:22).’ The Midrash infers from this ‘that every man who commits a transgression is as unclean as though he had touched a dead body and must be purified with hyssop.’<sup>94</sup>

1QS III, 4–9 contains critical textual ambiguities that are of interest. Tigchelaar notes that the rare collocation רוח קדושה in 1QS III, 7 is usually translated as the noun “spirit” with the adjective “holy”; however, this is usually expressed by רוח קודש (“spirit of holiness”).<sup>95</sup> Alternatively, קדושה could be read as the noun “holiness.” 4Q255 (4QpapSerekh ha-Yahad<sup>a</sup>) II, 1 has a textual variant which reads רוח קודשו (“his holy spirit”). While different translators employ any one of these three options, they do not fundamentally change the meaning of the text. Regardless which reading is used, it is the holy spirit or spirit of holiness which purifies or cleanses. A far more critical ambiguity is the following word in the sentence, which is יהד in ליהד, which can be taken either as a verb or a noun. Although the following survey indicates that the

<sup>92</sup> Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 98.

<sup>93</sup> Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 100.

<sup>94</sup> Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 98. Baumgarten quotes from William G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms Vol. 1*, YJS 13 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), 472. For a contrasting view see Martha Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512,” *DSD* 8, no. 1 (2001): 9–37, here 34.

<sup>95</sup> Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 176.

balance of scholarly opinion is weighted in favour of לִיחַד as a verb, this reading misses a central tenet of the Yahad. This community defined itself as the dwelling place of the divine. Their identity is formed by the holy spirit's presence among them. Alexander and Vermès note in the critical edition of the variant text (4Q255), where they read לִיחַד as a noun, that the “syntax is obscure owing to an over-reliance on prepositions to carry the sense - a feature of S style. The lamed probably indicates possession (cf. Biblical Hebrew לְבוֹעֵז הַשְּׁדָה לְרֹחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ Ruth 2:3): the holy spirit ‘belongs to’ or ‘inheres in’ the Community.”<sup>96</sup> The community possesses the holy spirit, but the holy spirit also possesses the community. לִיחַד in 1QS III, 7 should be read in parallel with עֲצַת in 1QS III, 6; the community and the counsel of God's truth. The following examples demonstrate how the different readings of לִיחַד can significantly change the meaning of the passage:

(1QS III, 7b–8a) וּבְרוּחַ קְדוּשָׁה לִיחַד בְּאִמְתּוֹ יִטְהַר מִכּוֹל עֲוֹנוֹתָיו וּבְרוּחַ יוֹשֵׁר וְעִנּוּהָ תְּכַוֵּפֵר חַטָּתוֹ.

Verb<sup>97</sup>

It is through *a holy spirit uniting* him to his truth that he shall be purified from all his iniquities. It is through a spirit of uprightness and humility that his sin shall be wiped out.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>96</sup> Philip S. Alexander and Géza Vermès, *Qumran Cave 4 Serek Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, DJD 26 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 34.

<sup>97</sup> Géza Vermès, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, Revised 7th ed. (New York: Penguin Press, 2011), 101; Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 5; Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 136. However, Leaney *does* make the connection to the community when he explicates on his translation stating, “To be united with God's truth means to be united with those who practice God's truth by study of and obedience to the Law.” Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 143. Cf. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 373; Michael Owen Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 129; Puech, “L'esprit saint à Qumrân,” 293, emphasizes that the purpose of the holy spirit is for communion with his truth: “et, par Son l'esprit saint pour la communion à Sa vérité et par un esprit de droiture et d'humilité sera expié son péché”. Cf. Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 176; André Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran*, trans. Géza Vermès (New York: Meridian Books, 1962), 77; Theodor Herzl Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), 52; Sarianna Metso, *The Community Rule: A Critical Edition with Translation*, EJL 51 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 21; Charlotte Hempel, *The Community Rule from Qumran: A Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 73.

<sup>98</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 90–91.

Noun<sup>99</sup>

And it is by the *holy spirit of the community*, in its truth, that he is cleansed of all his iniquities. And by the spirit of uprightness and of humility his sin is atoned.<sup>100</sup>

A majority of translations favour ליהך as a verb rather than noun and consequently an understanding of purification by a holy spirit *dwelling in the community* is not found.

As a result, a crucial factor in the construction of the group identity is overlooked.

Another ambiguity which affects this concept of the holy spirit *in the community* is in 1QS III, 6 where לֵא could be either the preposition,<sup>101</sup> which is often translated as “about”,<sup>102</sup> “with regard to”<sup>103</sup> or “concerning”,<sup>104</sup> or the proper noun “God”.<sup>105</sup> Puech reads לֵא as the preposition and translates 1QS III, 6 as:

car, par l’esprit du conseil de vérité concernant les voies de l’homme, seront expiées toutes ses iniquités.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 11. “Und durch den heiligen Geist (,der) der Gemeinschaft in seiner Wahrheit (gegeben ist,) wird er gereinigt von allen seinen Sünden, und durch den Geist der Rechtschaffenheit und Demut wird seine Sünde gesühnt.” Cf. Preben C. H. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, STDJ 1 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958), 24. On pp 61-64 note 21, W-M gives a detailed argument for reading ליהך as a noun rather than verb comparing with CD II, 12ff. Cf. Luigi Moraldi, *I manoscritti di Qumrân*, Classici delle religioni (Turin: Unione Tipografico — Editrice Torinese, 1971), 140; Robert L. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study*, JSNTSup 62 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991), 147; Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 13; Alexander and Vermès, *Serek Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, 34; *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-language Edition*, (Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/Word Alliance, 1996), Jean Duhaime, 94; Paolo Sacchi, 108; Hermann Lichtenberger, 122.

<sup>100</sup> García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 75.

<sup>101</sup> Webb argues for reading לֵא as the preposition stating that to read it as “God”, “leaves דרכי אשׁ without an explicit connection with the previous clause, which requires some interpolation or emendation of the text. Therefore, it is better to read לֵא as the preposition לֵא” Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 147, n. 44.

<sup>102</sup> Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 137; Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 107.

<sup>103</sup> Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 90; Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 176; Metso, *The Community Rule: A Critical Edition with Translation*, 21.

<sup>104</sup> Vermès, *Complete DSS*, 101; García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, 5; Hermann Lichtenberger, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-language Edition* (Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/Word Alliance, 1996), 122.

<sup>105</sup> Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 24; Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 10; Moraldi, *I manoscritti di Qumrân*, 140; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 75; Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 13; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 129; *Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-language Edition*, Duhaime, 94; Sacchi, 108. ; Sacchi,

<sup>106</sup> Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 293.

However, if אל is taken as the proper noun “God”, it can be translated as Charlesworth does: “by the spirit of the true counsel of God.” This reading also fits with the repetition of phrases and concepts within 1QS II, 22–III, 12: “Community of God” (ביחד אל), “Community of truth” (ביחד אמת), “covenant of God” (בברית אל), “his true Community” (יהד אמחו), “Council of the Community” (בעצת יחד), “Community of his council” (ביחד יחד), “Holy Spirit of the Community in his (God’s) truth” (ברוח קדושה ליחד באמתו), and “covenant of the everlasting Community” (ברית יחד עולמים). Translating אל as a preposition versus a noun leads to very different understandings of the holy spirit and its relation to the community. Where אל is taken as the proper noun “God” it is critical to note that contrary to the other references in either the Hebrew Bible or the Scrolls, in this Yahad text it is the holy spirit *in God’s community* which purifies and atones for humanity’s ways. Wise *et al.* translate line 6 as:

For only through the spirit *pervading* God’s true society can there be atonement for a man’s ways.<sup>107</sup>

To be sure “pervading” takes creative liberty; however, it does fit within the overall conceptualization of the divine spirit in the Yahad. The community was intent on creating a pure dwelling place for God as a replacement for the defiled Temple (1QS V, 5–6; VIII, 5–6; IX, 3–6). Newton touches on this foundational theology of the community when he states that “the rules of purity must be kept because God is present and he will only remain present as long as his dwelling place is kept pure.”<sup>108</sup> All the hypervigilance of purity laws and rules of the community at Qumran are directed towards one goal, namely, to be the dwelling place of God and thereby to bring about atonement for the land.<sup>109</sup>

---

<sup>107</sup> Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 129.

<sup>108</sup> Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 51.

<sup>109</sup> Yonatan Adler suggested in a private conversation, in June 2019, that the concern for purity was not necessarily hypervigilance; it was not “more than” another sect of Judaism, as much as “differently than”.

The atonement for the land is not an individual concern, but rather is corporate.<sup>110</sup> This is one of the most important understandings of the holy spirit in the Yahad, as it is only through the spirit of the true counsel of God (i.e., the Yahad) that there can be atonement and an individual be purified from all iniquity.<sup>111</sup> Furthermore, members of this community make a very important distinction for themselves;<sup>112</sup> they:

1. are God’s true counsel as opposed to other Jews “chosen by divine will” (4Q265 7, 8–9);<sup>113</sup>
2. are “a house of perfection and truth in Israel” (1QS VIII, 9);
3. are joined together with the sons of heaven to be an assembly for the Council of the Community, and their assembly is “a House of Holiness, for the eternal plant during every time to come” (1QS XI, 8–9);
4. are holy men who comprise this community and will make atonement for the land, they are “chosen by (divine) pleasure to atone for the earth,” (1QS VIII, 6);
5. “uphold the covenant of eternal statutes” and “will be accepted to atone for the land” (1QS VIII, 10).

Finally, from the Miscellaneous Rules (olim Serekh Damascus), we learn that when “there will be in the council of the Communit[y] fift[een] men as God foretold through his servants] [the p]rophets, the council of the Community will be established [in truth as an eternal plant, truthful witnesses, and chosen by] (divine) will, and a sweet odour to *atone for the [ea]rth*, an off[ering ? ]” (4Q265 7, 7–9).<sup>114</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Hannah K. Harrington, “Holiness and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 8, no. 2 (2001): 124–135, here 133.

<sup>111</sup> Contra Sekki who sees “spirit” in 1QS III, 6 and 8 referring to humanity’s spirit, not God’s spirit, Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 107.

<sup>112</sup> For a recent treatment on the distinction the Yahad makes for itself as “An Eternal Planting” and a “House of Holiness” cf. Paul Swarup, *The Self-Understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community: An Eternal Planting, a House of Holiness*, LSTS 59 (London: T&T Clark, 2006).

<sup>113</sup> Joseph M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, DJD 35 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 70.

<sup>114</sup> Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, 70.

Not only does this holy community make atonement for the land, but it also replaces the need for sacrifices and burnt offerings. In light of this, there is another critical textual ambiguity of interest in 1QS IX, 4:

לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח.

Charlesworth reads the מן in מבשר and ומחלבי as comparative, i.e., “more than” rather than “from” as Wise *et al.* do when they translate “through.”<sup>115</sup>

When, according to all these norms, these (men) become in Israel a foundation of the *Holy Spirit* in eternal truth, they shall atone (כפר) for iniquitous guilt and for sinful unfaithfulness. so that (God’s) favor for the land (is obtained) *without* the flesh (מבשר) of burnt-offerings and *without* the fat (ומחלבי) of sacrifices. The proper offerings of the lips for judgment (is as) a righteous sweetness, and the perfect of the Way (are as) a pleasing freewill offering. (1QS IX, 3–5)<sup>116</sup>

Charlesworth offers a translation which states that the holy spirit will make atonement *without* any need for sacrifices. Cecilia Wassén also argues for this view when she states that, “the text makes plain that there is no need for actual physical sacrifice. The community’s ability to atone stems from its perfect observance of the laws made possible by its exclusive possession of true knowledge of the covenantal laws revealed through the Spirit (9:3).”<sup>117</sup> Whereas Wise *et al.* have atonement gained *through* the sacrifices of the men of the community. When מן is read as comparative, the spirit of holiness or holy spirit is instrumental in gaining atonement, while Wise’s (*et al.*)

---

<sup>115</sup> For comparative readings cf. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 210, 225; Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 383; Vermès, *Complete DSS*, 110; Bruce, “Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts,” 55; Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 294. For reading “from” cf. Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 139.

<sup>116</sup> Charlesworth admits that the Hebrew in line 4 is “terse” and acknowledges Knibb’s excellent translation. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 39. Cf. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 383; Vermès, *Complete DSS*, 110; Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 210, 225; Bruce, “Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts,” 55; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 138; Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 294; Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins,” 183.

<sup>117</sup> Cecilia Wassén, “Do You Have to Be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple?: Sanctuary Metaphors and Construction of Sacred Space in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul’s Letters,” in *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*, WUNT 305 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 55–86, here 61.

translation diminishes the role of the holy spirit to guidance towards establishing eternal truth.

In all renderings, 1QS IX, 3–6 is viewed as eschatological: “*When* these come into existence in Israel in accordance with all these rules” (1QS IX, 3). In this passage, the community claims the eschatological role of a foundation or dwelling place for the divine spirit and atonement for the land.<sup>118</sup> This eschatological purification is taken up in the Treatise of the Two Spirits:<sup>119</sup>

Then God will purify by his truth all the works of man and purge for himself the sons of man. He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from the veins of his flesh. He will *purify him by the Holy Spirit* (לטהרו ברוח קודש) from all ungodly acts and *sprinkle* (נזה) upon him the *Spirit of Truth* (רוח אמת) like waters of purification, (to purify him) from all the abominations of falsehood and from being polluted by a spirit of impurity. (1QS IV, 20–22a)

While 1QS III, 6–9 addresses the entrance to the community and 1QS IV, 20–22 the eschaton, both associate atonement and purification with holy spirit and adopt the language of Ezek 36:25–27 which promises purification and a new spirit.<sup>120</sup>

We have now seen that the divine spirit is acknowledged as the illuminator of wisdom and knowledge, the creator of a willing spirit and the one who cleanses, purifies, and atones. The final activity encompasses all of these activities as the agent of transformation.

#### 2.2.4 Transforming

The divine spirit transforms the individual from one who walks in wicked ways to one who walks in the ways of God. This transformation begins with knowledge and

---

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 91.

<sup>119</sup> Because of the complexities of the conceptualization of the Lord’s spirit in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, it is returned to below (§2.3).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 181.

understanding of the laws of God. Then a desire to follow those ways (i.e., a willing spirit) is created within the individual. As observed in §2.3, 1QS III, 4–9 states that one is cleansed and purified by the holy spirit in the community after humbling the soul to all God’s laws. This passage pairs the holy spirit with the purifying waters. 1QS III, 9–12 continues this description of cleansing and further describes the transformation of the individual as one who walks perfectly in all God’s ways.

his flesh can be cleansed, by sprinkling with waters of purification, and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity (ולתקדש במי דוכי). May he establish his steps for walking perfectly in all God’s ways, as he commanded at the appointed times of his fixed times, and not turn aside, to the right or to the left, and not transgress a single one of all his commands. Then he will be accepted by an agreeable atonement before God, and it shall be unto him a covenant of the everlasting Community. (1QS III, 9–12)

Charlesworth translates the word *התקדש* as “sanctifying himself.” This is the hitpaal (passive-reflexive) *binyan* of the verb “to be holy.” As such, it is not the individual who *makes* himself to be holy, but rather the individual brings about this transformation by humbling himself to the holy spirit who effects the transformation into one who will not transgress a single one of God’s commands. The contrast between the description of the one who cannot fully repent in 1QS III, 1–3 and the one who does and is therefore purified and transformed is dramatic. The former ploughs in the filth of their wickedness and the latter does not turn aside from God’s commands, but rather walks perfectly. The description of this transformation is rather more idealistic than realistic as the passage on the Treatise on the Two Spirits attests. It is evident that even the Sons of Light will stumble, and it is only in the eschaton that the final and complete transformation is achieved.

In the Community Rule and Hodayot there is a tension between the spirit God created for humanity at birth, the spirit placed in humanity to assist in the struggle

against evil, and the spirit which effects the final transformation in the eschaton. The difficulty of determining which spirit is in view is complicated by the fact that uses of the concept do not fit into exclusive categories but rather overlapping and permeable ones. Newsom states that in the Hodayot, “one might ask if there is a substantive difference between ‘the spirit’ and ‘your holy spirit’ that would account for the different pattern of usage, but there does not appear to be.”<sup>121</sup> Using 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 14–16 as an example she states that “here the two terms, ‘spirit’ and ‘your holy spirit’, appear to be synonymous, and both have to do with the interior experience of the speaker.”<sup>122</sup> Contrary to the Hebrew Bible where the preposition כ is used to indicate the spirit “in” an individual, that is referring to the spirit one was given at birth, in the Hymns this “spirit in” is the internalized spirit of God. Newsom points out that this change is not pure innovation, but rather is based upon an interpretation of Ezekiel’s concept of an eschatological transformation,<sup>123</sup> as 36:25–27 states:

I will *sprinkle* (זרק) clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and a *new spirit I will put within you*; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. *I will put my spirit within you*, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances.

וְזָרַקְתִּי עֲלֵיכֶם מֵיִם טְהוֹרִים וְטִהַרְתֶּם מִכָּל  
טְמֵאוֹתֵיכֶם וּמִכָּל־גְּלוּלֵיכֶם אֲטַהֵר אֶתְכֶם: וְנָתַתִּי  
לְכֶם לֵב חֲדָשׁ וְרוּחַ חֲדָשָׁה אֶתֶן בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְהִסַּרְתִּי  
אֶת־לֵב הָאֲבָן מִבֶּשְׂרֹכֶם וְנָתַתִּי לְכֶם לֵב בָּשָׂר: וְאֶת־  
רוּחִי אֶתֶן בְּקִרְבְּכֶם וְעָשִׂיתִי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־בְּחַקֵּי תִלְכוּ  
וּמִשְׁפָּטַי תִּשְׁמְרוּ וְעָשִׂיתֶם:

Here and in Ezek 11:19–20, Ezekiel describes purification followed by dramatic transformation. The individual is only able to follow the statutes of God after the gift of a new spirit and a new heart. God declares that the heart of stone will be removed.

<sup>121</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 349.

<sup>122</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 349.

<sup>123</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 350.

Importantly it is replaced by a heart of flesh. Elsewhere flesh is contrasted negatively with God's spirit, but in Ezek 36:26; 11:19–20, flesh (yielding and soft) is contrasted with stone (hard and impermeable) and cast in a positive light.

Scholars have debated whether the “new spirit” in Ezek 36:26 is the same as “my spirit” in 36:27.<sup>124</sup> George Montague argues that both refer to the Lord's spirit because they both function similarly, namely to produce a willing observance of the law.<sup>125</sup> While Walther Eichrodt parallels “new heart” with “new spirit” in v. 26, both Montague and Eichrodt, in company with the vast majority of scholars, agree that the Lord's spirit transforms the individual/nation of Israel creating a willing and obedient servant/nation. What is important for Eichrodt is that obedience comes from within a person and is brought about by the outpouring of the spirit. Moreover, he argues that the spirit pervades the inner being and brings the individual into union with God's nature and will.<sup>126</sup> This important passage from Ezekiel not only influences the authors of the Community Rule, but also the hymnists of the Hodayot, particularly in a context of transformation.

---

<sup>124</sup> For those arguing an equivalency see Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 155–158; Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, WBC 29 (Waco, TX: Word, 1990), 179; Daniel I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 355–356; James E. Robson, *Word and Spirit in Ezekiel*, LHBOTS 447 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 242–249; Dale Lunderville, *Spirit and Reason: The Embodied Character of Ezekiel's Symbolic Thinking* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 375; Paul Joyce, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, LHBOTS 482 (New York: T&T Clark, 2009), 204; Steven Shawn Tuell, *Ezekiel*, NIBCOT 15 (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009), 247; Daniel I. Block, *Beyond the River Chebar: Historical, Literary, and Theological Studies on the Book of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: James Clark & Co, 2014), 155–158.

For those who see the “new spirit” as parallel to “new heart” see Walther Eichrodt, *Ezekiel: A Commentary*, OTL (London: SCM, 1970), 499; Finny Philip, *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Judaism and in the Early Development of Paul's Theology*, WUNT 2.194 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 39–40.

<sup>125</sup> George T. Montague, *The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 47.

<sup>126</sup> Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 500. Cf. Verena Schafroth, “An Exegetical Exploration of ‘Spirit’ References in Ezekiel 36 and 37,” *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 29, no. 2 (2009): 66–68.

From the very beginning of Qumran scholarship, the concept of the spirit has been debated. As discussed previously (§2.1), Kuhn was the first to enter the fray in 1950 with his thesis of a new creation (*Neuschöpfung*) which he found in the Hodayot, particularly in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 32–33:

The way of man does not last except by the *spirit which God created for him* (ברוח יצר אל לו), to perfect a way for humankind so that they may know all His works by His mighty power and the abundance of His mercies upon all those who do His will.<sup>127</sup>

Kuhn compares this passage with 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, 20–24, observing that the purified spirit enters into the community. From these sections Kuhn concludes that the word יצר does not refer to the creation of man but rather a new creature which God creates when the candidate enters the community.<sup>128</sup> In the Hodayot and the Community Rule there is a tension between a concept of predestination, being given a good spirit at birth with your lot being cast with the Sons of Light, and the requirement of an additional “sprinkling” of the holy spirit in order to be purified and strengthened to walk in God’s ways in preparation of the eschaton. The tension is different in these two texts. One’s lot given at birth is stressed in the Community Rule as it is critical that the members have been selected, set aside from birth to be this holy community. In the Hodayot the hymnist has a strong negative anthropology, and the transforming power of the holy spirit is required to produce any good in the individual. The author describes himself as:

a creature of clay and a thing kneaded with water, a foundation of shame and a well of impurity, a furnace of iniquity, and a structure of sin, a spirit of error, and

---

<sup>127</sup> Tigheelaar notes that whether יצר is a noun as here or a verb in 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 26, יצר כול רוח, “the inclination of every spirit” the two uses “complement one another: the text emphasizes God as creator of a human’s inclination.” Tigheelaar, “Historical Origins”, 193.

<sup>128</sup> “Es ist zu beachten, daß hier mit dem Wort יצר nicht von der Schöpfung des Menschen die Rede ist, sondern gewissermaßen von einer Neuschöpfung, nämlich der Zugehörigkeit zu der Gemeinde.” Kuhn, “Die in Palästina,” 201, n. 7.

a perverted being, without understanding, and terrified by righteous judgements.  
(1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 23–25)

Whereas Kuhn compares 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, 20–24 with 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 32–33, Sjöberg compares the passage with 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 13–17 and comes to the same conclusion, namely that the individual is redeemed from a weak and sinful existence by entering the community and becoming a new creation.<sup>129</sup> This is evident from 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 13–17 where the individual is purified from sin, united with the children of God’s truth and together they are renewed. As previously observed, it is the spirit of God which purifies and strengthens; now we see that it further transforms the individual into a new creation.<sup>130</sup> Newsom states that it “is specifically God’s holy spirit that ‘purifies’ the speaker ([1QH<sup>a</sup>] VIII, 30) and draws him near to God’s understanding ([1QH<sup>a</sup>] VI, 24). This holy spirit is not something that he possesses by right of birth but is external to his original status.”<sup>131</sup> With these passages in mind (cf. n. 130), we have some context to interpret the fragmentary remains of 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 18–20:

18. [ and] a perverted [sp]irit has rule[d] over a vessel of dust [ ] and [ ]

19. [ ] *m s* [ ] [ ] *yk* from dus[t rl]ghteous and *kb* [ ]

20. by means of your ho[l]y spirit [which yo]u [placed] in me [ ]

The holy spirit given to the individual is what frees the vessel of dust from the perverted spirit and changes it from dust to righteousness. As we have seen in the Prophecy/Wisdom section above, spiritual knowledge only comes from God’s holy spirit. Sekki convincingly observes that in the Scrolls there is “no clear reference in

---

<sup>129</sup> “Aus dieser schwachen und sündigen Existenz wird der Mensch durch den Eintritt in die Sekte und die dadurch geschehene Neuschöpfung erlöst.” Sjöberg, “Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen,” 135.

<sup>130</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; 1QH<sup>a</sup> V, 35-36; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 23-24; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 25, 29-30; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 9-10; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVII, 32; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 14-16a; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII, 29, 33; 1QS III, 6-8; 1QS IV, 20–23; 1QS IX, 4.

<sup>131</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 349.

which the sectarian regards his own spirit (whether inborn or acquired in the community) as the source of his divine knowledge.”<sup>132</sup> An intriguing example of the tension between humanity’s spirit, a spirit given to humanity, and the holy spirit from God is found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 29:

[Blessed are you, God of compassi]on on account of the *spirits* that you have granted me.

The phrase רוּחַ אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה בִּי (“the spirit you have given me”) occurs five times in the Scrolls and among them רוּחַ occurs in the plural only once. Scholars are divided on the meaning of spirit in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 29 with many identifying it with the spirit of God while others identify it with the spiritual dispositions given to the member when he enters the community.<sup>133</sup> Sekki notes that the latter interpretation is consistent with the context of this particular hymn and, “seems to support the view that the psalmist is referring to spiritual dispositions and capacities which he has received not in birth but as a faithful member of the sectarian community.”<sup>134</sup> Newsom observes that the “positive spirits that God has given the speaker” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 29 are contrasted with the “trials and afflictions of humankind that are effected by means of spirits of evil” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 13–20.<sup>135</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 29–37 describes the effects of the positive spirits gifted to the speaker. 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38 begins the final and fourth section of this long hymn and concludes the discussion of evil and positive spirits with a statement of gratitude for God’s holy spirit which is sprinkled (נִרְפָּה) on the speaker and purifies his heart forever. Therefore, while positive spirits assist the individual to walk in all that God loves, it is the divine spirit which effects the final transformation.

---

<sup>132</sup> Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 86.

<sup>133</sup> For a fuller discussion of this cf. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 135–136.

<sup>134</sup> Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah*, 136.

<sup>135</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, Eileen M. Schuller, and Carol A. Newsom, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> with Incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a-f</sup>*, ed. Emmanuel Tov, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 74.

The transforming activity of the holy spirit in the Hymns strengthens the individual and it creates a new disposition or spirit so that he is able to respond to God's mercy by holding on. This may be observed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 36–37 where the hymnist's spirit holds fast in the face of affliction. However, the divine spirit creates and directs a process of transformation in the individual which is only fully realized in the eschaton. Terence Cuneo describes this transformation and fusion of divine and human agency in terms of a “neural wiring hook-up” where the reactions, feelings, thoughts, and attitudes of the divine spirit become operative in the human, thereby initiating a process-state of transformation.<sup>136</sup> The divine spirit is exterior to the individual and yet exercises its agency within the interior of the individual to the extent that the agency of the individual is retrained by the divine spirit to walk in the ways of righteousness. This retraining by the divine spirit is essentially what Eichrodt observes in Ezek 11:19–20 and 36:25–27.

The community at Qumran is very concerned with moral/ethical and ritual purity, both in their present time and in the eschaton. Leaney argues that the Yaḥad is the first Jewish group that we know of who believed that moral impurity effectuated ritual defilement.<sup>137</sup> Newton also argues that there is no distinction between ritual and moral offence at Qumran as both contaminated the individual and consequently polluted the community.<sup>138</sup> As discussed previously (§2.2.3), they are a community which has set itself apart to be a “true and blameless house of Israel.” How they understand their responsibility for atoning for the land is rooted in their understanding of moral impurity. Klawans argues that in the Yaḥad moral impurity is not metaphorical

---

<sup>136</sup> Terence D. Cuneo, *Ritualized Faith: Essays on the Philosophy of Liturgy*, Oxford Studies in Analytic Theology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 180.

<sup>137</sup> Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 139.

<sup>138</sup> Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 48–49. Cf. Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 75–86.

or figurative. The community believes that it is not just the individual who is substantially defiled, but also the sanctuary and the land through them.<sup>139</sup> The Treatise on the Two Spirits explicates their understanding of the moral weakness of humankind; spirits of truth and falsehood vie for influence and dominance. An Angel of Darkness seeks to corrupt the righteous (1QS III, 21–22). The community at Qumran understands that it requires outside help to overcome the Angel of Darkness and his allied spirits. This help comes from a spirit of holiness or holy spirit which is present in the community.

The process of purification, atonement, and transformation is echoed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 30 where it is evident that the process is ongoing: “cleansing me by your holy spirit and drawing me nearer by your good favor, according to your great kindness.” Frey notes that “The cleansing expressed here is not imagined as an eschatological cleansing (as hoped for in 1QS IV, 21–23), but rather a continuous process of growing closeness to God which is granted by his kindness and favour.”<sup>140</sup> This spirit purifies them and makes atonement, but it does not stop there. It transforms them so that they are able to resist the unclean spirit:

He will *purify him by the Holy Spirit* from all ungodly acts and sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth like waters of purification, (to purify him) from all the abominations of falsehood and from being polluted by a spirit of impurity. (1QS IV, 21–22)

Note again the liquid metaphor with the pairing of the “Holy Spirit” and “sprinkle”; in this case the Hebrew verb נָזַח is unambiguous in its meaning of sprinkle. Jubilees also speaks of this transforming activity of the holy spirit:

---

<sup>139</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 41.

<sup>140</sup> Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit”, 237–260, here 255.

I will create a holy spirit for them and will purify them in order that they may not turn away from me from that time forever. (Jub. 1:23b)<sup>141</sup>

Barry Smith suggests a theory which he calls the “principle of obedience” and explains that a person “comes under the influence of a principle of obedience which naturally leads to repentance, the turning from sin toward obedience to the law. In response to this repentance, God atones for sin.”<sup>142</sup> Smith sees the very act of repentance as an indication of transformation. The principle of obedience given to the individual refers both to the “spirit of holiness”, as he equates the two, and to the transformation this gift effects. He emphasizes that this principle of obedience which effects repentance is a “manifestation of the eschatological mercy of God” and is unique to the Yāḥād.<sup>143</sup> In fact, this is not unique, as Montague also sees this evident in Ezekiel: “But for Ezekiel, who has a keen sense of human depravity, Israel cannot, by simply deciding to do so, return to full life with the Lord. Her awareness of her sinfulness comes *after* she experiences God’s redeeming act and the gift of his spirit, not before.”<sup>144</sup> Levison argues that “the spiritual renewal that is envisaged in the writings of Ezekiel is a protracted process.”<sup>145</sup> Ezekiel begins by commanding Israel to “get yourselves a new heart and a new spirit” (Ezek 18:31), but by the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Ezekiel realizes that Israel is not capable of true repentance and renewal. God alone can remove their heart of stone and renew them (Ezek 36:25–27).

---

<sup>141</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all English translations from Jubilees are taken from James VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: Translation*, trans. James C. VanderKam, CSCO 511 (Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

<sup>142</sup> Smith, ““Spirit of Holiness””, 87.

<sup>143</sup> Smith, ““Spirit of Holiness””, 88.

<sup>144</sup> Montague, *The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition*, 47. Emphasis mine.

<sup>145</sup> John R. Levison, “The Promise of the Spirit of Life in the Book of Ezekiel,” in *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal*, ed. David B. Capes, Larry W. Hurtado, and Alan F. Segal (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007), 247–259, here 248.

Smith contrasts the eschatological passage 1QS IV, 18–21 with 1QS III, 6–8 where the spirit of holiness is “already present in the community, effecting repentance and atonement,” stating that “this is a present manifestation of the eschatological mercy of God.”<sup>146</sup> Menahem Kister notes this tension between 1QS IV 20–21 and *Barkhi Nafshi* where the transformation happens at the entrance to the community.<sup>147</sup>

Puech also sees this present and future work of the holy spirit in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, where a community member already seems to be participating with this outpouring of the holy spirit which causes him to lead a life of perfection while still waiting for the definitive effusion in the future. He can then be holy and hold fast to the truth by walking in righteousness with a true and good spirit.<sup>148</sup> While there has been a transformation which aids the member of the Yaḥad in living uprightly, it is only at the appointed time that the holy spirit completes the task of purification, and the individual can no longer be polluted by an impure spirit. Joseph Baumgarten draws the same connection between a present and eschatological work of the spirit. He points to 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 30 (לטהרני ברוח קודשך) and 1QS III, 7 (variant in 4Q255 II, 2) to illustrate how the Yaḥad perceives the work of the holy spirit to be ongoing in their community.<sup>149</sup> The Yaḥad exemplifies both a realized and a future eschatology. While looking forward to the final and complete transformation when they will be “perfect in the way”, they are

<sup>146</sup> Smith, ““Spirit of Holiness””, 86. Cf. Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit”, 255.

<sup>147</sup> Kister argues that *Barkhi Nafshi* is a sectarian text. Menahem Kister, “Body and Sin: Romans and Colossians in Light of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, ed. Jean-Sebastien Rey, STDJ 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 171–207, here 195, cf. 178.

<sup>148</sup> “Le qumrano-essénien semble déjà participer à sa manière de cette effusion de l’esprit saint qui, une fois purifié par l’esprit saint et l’eau, lui donne de mener une vie de perfection ... tout en attendant dans le futur l’effusion définitive. Il peut alors être saint et tenir ferme à la vérité en marchant dans la droiture avec un esprit vrai et bon.” Puech, “L’esprit saint à Qumrân,” 290. Cf. Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d’une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*, 2 vols., EBib 21–22 (Paris: J Gabalda, 1993), 369–370, 394.

<sup>149</sup> Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 101.

urgently instructed to seek and engage in this transformation in the present in order to preserve a state of holiness in the community where God can dwell.

This “now and not yet” aspect of the transforming action of the spirit of God is framed by Newsom as a “complex interior life.”<sup>150</sup> The self is formed by a spirit which has been placed internally by an external divine entity. This internal spirit does not temporarily inhabit the individual but permanently reconstructs their essential self. However, the perverted spirit is not eliminated. It still has some influence. The transformation is an ongoing work of the divine spirit. This is an innovative concept in Israelite and early Jewish indigenous psychology. In Ezekiel the new creation is a collective phenomenon for the children of Israel and the defective spirit is removed. In contrast, in the Hodayot it is an individual experience where one’s consciousness, the self, or “I” identifies with the self transformed by the divine spirit and is simultaneously aware of other aspects of oneself (a spirit of flesh or error) which vie for dominance, but which one is now able to resist.

The transforming activity of the divine spirit is critical to the self and group identity of the Qumran community. Both the Hodayot and the Community Rule state that divine spirit is required to walk in the ways of God. The Community Rule proclaims that the holy spirit dwells in the community and it is only by humbling oneself to this divine spirit resident in the community that one can become a member, be instructed in the laws of God, purified, and transformed.

### **2.3. The Divine Spirit in 1QS I–IV**

---

<sup>150</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 351.

The first four columns of the Community Rule, sections that have been called the Covenant Renewal Ceremony (1QS I, 1–III, 12) and the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III, 13– IV, 26), reveals complex notions of spirit within Yaḥad literature. If one treats these two sections as a whole, the first four columns reveal a progression from outside the Yaḥad to the eschatological time of an appointed visitation of judgement. While it has long been established that the Treatise of the Two Spirits is an earlier and separate composition inserted into the Rule of the Community at a later time, the redactor of 1QS places the Treatise in a particular place with good reason.<sup>151</sup> Indeed, Schofield suggests this when she writes that “even this longest copy of S is not a completely haphazard collection of material but, as received, forms an integrated whole.”<sup>152</sup> The following is a macro view of these columns and attempts a “narrative” approach with concerns for how this final piece of literature was received by and functioned in the community in regard to conceptualizations of spirit.

1QS I begins with a statement of purpose, describing the member of the community. There are 22 infinitives in this short section detailing the actions required and the actions to be avoided in the community.<sup>153</sup> In today’s corporate parlance, this is the community’s mission statement.

---

<sup>151</sup> This is not intended to be an analysis of the Treatise of the Two Spirits, but rather as part of a greater theological statement. There are many excellent analysis of the Treatise and a good place to start is Levison’s survey of the scholarship in the first fifty years, John R. Levison, “The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 2, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 169–194. For an altogether different and enlightening discussion of the Treatise see Newsom’s discourse analysis in Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 77–190. Hempel theorizes that the redactor of the Treatise was also the final redactor of 1QS, Charlotte Hempel, “The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community,” in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–120.

<sup>152</sup> Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*, STDJ 77 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 87. Cf. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 106–107.

<sup>153</sup> Pace David A. Lambert, “Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 501–513, here 504.

1QS I, 16–1QS III, 6 gives a glimpse at the liturgy recited and enacted in the annual covenant renewal ceremony.<sup>154</sup> The verb עבר (“to cross over”) is repeated a number of times in this section in reference to entering the community or covenant. Although Brownlee’s proposition that this ceremony was enacted at the Jordan is attractive, the extant texts are not enough to confirm his thesis.<sup>155</sup> The section echoes the covenant ceremony with blessings and curses found in the narrative about Joshua leading Israel across the Jordan (Deut 27). Here we find a symbolic re-enactment of entering the land (= covenant).<sup>156</sup> For Qumran, when an individual enters the community, they are entering into a space that is consecrated to God, it is a pure holy dwelling place for the divine. As Newsom astutely observes, “the ritual described is not only a recommitment ceremony, as its echoes of Deuteronomy 27–30 and Nehemiah 8–10 suggest, but also a *tableau vivant* of the spirit of holiness and truth in the world.”<sup>157</sup> Just as Israel was commanded to remember Passover and the Day of Atonement each year, this community also repeated this ceremony of repentance and crossing over annually. While some scholars argue for the Day of Atonement to be the day of this ceremony, others argue for the third month and the festival of *Shavu’ot* (the Festival of Weeks, First Fruits, or Pentecost).<sup>158</sup> The latter is more convincing and is supported by

---

<sup>154</sup> For a discussion on the ceremony from a liturgical perspective see, Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 219–236.

<sup>155</sup> William Hugh Brownlee, “The Ceremony of Crossing the Jordan in the Annual Covenanting at Qumran,” in *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: Festschrift für J.P.M. van der Ploeg* (Kevelaer, Germany: Butzon und Bercker, 1982), 295–302.

<sup>156</sup> For a discussion on “spatial movement across a marked boundary” see Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 118; Ellen Juhl Christiansen, *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study in Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers*, AGJU 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 170–172.

<sup>157</sup> Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 122.

<sup>158</sup> For those who support the Day of Atonement cf. Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 60; Shemaryahu Talmon, “‘Manual of Benedictions’ of the Sect of the Judaean Desert,” *RevQ* 2, no. 4 (1960): 475–500, esp. 498–500. For those who support *Shavu’ot* cf. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 104; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, STDJ 210 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 141; Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers*, 219; Stephen J. Pfann, “The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, STDJ 30 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 337–352, esp. 342–343; Eileen M. Schuller, “Petitionary

4Q275 (4QCommunal Ceremony) 1, 3; 4Q266 11, 17; 4Q270 7, ii, 11; and Jub. 6:17. In fact, Jubilees establishes *Shavu'ot* as the time for covenant and revelation. In addition to many other important events, Moses receives “the two stone tablets, the law and the commandments” (Gen 19:1, Jub 1:1) in the third month.<sup>159</sup> Alexander and Vermès state that it is possible that the seven weeks preceding the ceremony referred to in 4Q275 2, 1 run from Passover to the Festival of Weeks and “would have been a period of particular self-examination and preparation.”<sup>160</sup> This ceremony served as both a renewal ceremony for those already a part of the *Yahad* and those entering for the first time as part of the initiation process.<sup>161</sup> Jean-Baptist Humbert argues that Qumran was the site for a gathering of the sectarians from the dispersed community for the festivals of Passover and *Shavu'ot*. The ritual burial of animal bones fits the context of Passover, and the large collection of small bowls and plates (versus the smaller number of

---

Prayer and the Religion of Qumran,” in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 29–45, esp. 41; Robert A. Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,” *JSJ* 33, no. 2 (2002): 131–152, esp. 144; James VanderKam, “The Festival of Weeks and the Story of Pentecost in Acts 2,” in *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* ed. Craig A. Evans (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004), 192–193; Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, STDJ 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 54; Steven D. Fraade, *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*, JSJSup 147 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 99; Tigchelaar, “Historical Origins”, 167–240, esp. 237; George J. Brooke, “The Visualisation of the Sacred at Qumran,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel S. Baden, Hindy Najman, and Eibert Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 225–240, here 233. Note also that Brooke finds merit in Brownlee’s Jordan location proposal. Daniel Vainstub, “The Covenant Renewal Ceremony as the Main Function of Qumran,” *Religions* 12, no. 8 (2021): 1–26, esp. 4.

<sup>159</sup> For a detailed discussion of the importance of *Shavu'ot* cf §4.2.2.

<sup>160</sup> Alexander and Vermès, *Serek Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*, 214.

<sup>161</sup> Contra Michael A. Daise, “The Temporal Relationship Between the Covenant Renewal Rite and the Initiation Process in 1QS,” in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, ed. Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 150–160. Robert Kugler argues that the entry ceremony “would have occurred near the beginning of the process, perhaps after the initial examination by the *paqid* (1QS 6:13–15a),” Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,” 141. Greater detail on the initiation process is found in 1QS V, 7–24; 1QS VI, 13–23. For recent treatment on the initiation into the *Yahad* where Daise appears to reverse his position see Michael A. Daise, “Processual Modality in Qumran Ritual: Introduction into the Counsel of the *Yahad* in 1QS,” *ASE* 30, no. 2 (2013): 303–315. Cf. Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 54–81; Pfann, “Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony”, 337–352.

drinking vessels) suggests the festival of first fruits (*Shavu'ot*) where small offerings of grains of wheat, salt, and incense, olives, dates, and figs would be on display.<sup>162</sup>

The delineation between those inside and those outside is neither hereditary nor nationalistic, but rather is marked by spiritual qualities. Those outside the Yaḥad are impure; they are under the influence of Belial, and according to Yair Furstenberg, even possessed by impure spirits. Therefore, “to join the sect necessitates the creation of ritual techniques to relieve the newcomer from the hold of the impure spirits as well as ridding him of his constitutional impurity.”<sup>163</sup> Importantly, the description given for the positive or pure spiritual qualities is not of the individual, but rather the community. Indeed, this is found in 1QS II, 24–25 where we read, “the Community of truth, of virtuous humility, of merciful love, and of righteous intention [towa]rds one another, in a holy council, and members of an eternal assembly.” The community itself is more than the sum of its parts; it takes on a life of its own and is the dwelling place for God. Certainly, the whole would be nothing without the parts and those parts are obedient, steadfast, and sincerely repentant members as detailed in the mission statement. According to Christiansen, membership in the Yaḥad covenant requires “a radically changed life-style based on priestly perfection, that is, on purity boundaries.”<sup>164</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> Jean-Baptiste Humbert et al., *Khirbet Qumran et Ain Feshkha: Fouilles du P. Roland de Vaux. IIIA L'archéologie de Qumran*, NTOA.SA 5a (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 68–69, 74–75. Cf. Vainstub, “The Covenant Renewal Ceremony as the Main Function of Qumran,” 1–26, esp. 4. Vainstub posits that all members of the Yaḥad communities gathered at Qumran each year for *Shavu'ot* and the covenant renewal ceremony.

<sup>163</sup> Yair Furstenberg, “Initiation and the Ritual Purification from Sin: Between Qumran and the Apostolic Tradition,” *DSD* 23, no. 3 (2016): 365–394, here 372. The term ‘constitutional impurity’ is coined by Gudrun Holtz. Holtz argues that there is a category of impurity beyond ritual and moral while containing elements of both. This is the constitutional impurity of humanity as compared to the purity of God. She describes it as “a fundamental anthropological category that applies to all human beings without exception.” Holtz, “Purity Conceptions”, 524. Additionally Holtz sees this constitutional impurity in the Treatise of the Two Spirits where humanity is not capable of choosing their actions but is under sway of the two spirits until the final eschatological purification.

<sup>164</sup> Ellen Juhl Christiansen, “The Consciousness of Belonging to God’s Covenant and What It Entails According to the Damascus Document and the Community Rule,” in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments*, ed. Frederick H Cryer and Thomas L Thompson, JSOTSup 290 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 93.

In contrast to the obedient candidate, the Rule warns those who are not sincere in their repentance and gives a description of one who refuses to enter the Yaḥad: “to walk in the stubbornness of his heart ... his soul detests instructions about knowledge of righteous precepts. He is unable to repent” (1QS II, 26–III, 1). He cannot “cleanse himself in any waters of ablution” (1QS III, 5). It is only by joining the Yaḥad community that one comes under the influence of God’s holy spirit which inheres in the community. This results in “an upright and humble spirit” (1QS III, 8) and repentance. Subsequently, the candidate then receives the purifying waters and is purged. From here onward one must obey the commandments of God without fail in order to belong to the “Covenant of the everlasting Community.” (1QS III, 12)

Now that the candidate has successfully entered the community, instruction is given regarding the two competing spirits providing a more complex and nuanced understanding of what it means to walk in God’s ways. The Treatise’s literary form is wisdom literature, and it predates the Yaḥad.<sup>165</sup> The presence of the Treatise within the Cave 1 Community Rule has caused intense scholarly debate in regard to multiple issues. Some see a multi-stage development of the Treatise itself, while others see it as a whole.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, the theology of the Treatise does not fit seamlessly into the overall theology of the Yaḥad as evidenced within 1QS as a whole and in the Hodayot

---

<sup>165</sup> For a nuanced review of scholarship on the Treatise as wisdom literature cf. Matthew J. Goff, “Looking for Sapiential Dualism at Qumran,” in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 20–38. For a discussion of the dating of the Treatise cf. Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 121–28.

<sup>166</sup> For support of a multi-staged development cf. Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran*, SUNT 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 17–27; Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté,” *RB* 76, no. 4 (1969): 541–543; Jean Duhaime, “Instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes a Qumrân (1QS III, 13-IV, 26),” *RB* 84, no. 4 (1977): 572–594; Metso, *Textual Development*, 113–114. For support of a single source cf. Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit”, 250; Jacob Licht, “An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, *ScrHier* 4 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965), 88–100; Puech, *La croyance des esséniens*, 430–432.

where the divine spirit is given to humanity in order to transform the human fleshy nature rather than two spirits, one evil and one good, who vie for dominance of the individual. Otto Betz was the first scholar to discover this dissonance, further stating that the views were so interwoven that it was probable that the Yahad itself was unaware of their distinctiveness.<sup>167</sup>

The Treatise teaches that God has appointed two spirits, one of truth and one of falsehood, from the beginning of time until the “time appointed.” Both these spirits influence the individual and compete for dominance. God has determined who will be righteous and the Prince of Light governs them. Conversely the Angel of Darkness governs those chosen to be a wicked people. However, and critically, the authority of the Angel of Darkness also extends to the corruption of the righteous: “all their sins, their iniquities, their guilt, and their iniquitous works (are caused) by his dominion.” (1QS III, 22) It is clear that despite the transformation enacted at the entrance to the community, the righteous can still stumble. Loren Stuckenbruck argues that the Treatise of the Two Spirits served a similar function in its community of origin as it did in the Yahad and states that “The Treatise provided its original community, and subsequently the Qumran community, with a theological framework that enabled these groups to come to terms with discrepancies between the ideology and identity they claimed for themselves on the one hand and realities of what they experienced on the other.”<sup>168</sup> Rosen-Zvi argues that the Treatise of the Two Spirits explains how in the worldview of predestination, “the cosmology of the yahad can account for the election of the sect, but

---

<sup>167</sup> “Beide Weisen, eine den Menschen bestimmende übermenschliche Macht zu beschreiben, sind so eng miteinander verbunden, daß die bisher betriebene Qumranforschung und wohl auch die Sekte selbst ihre ursprüngliche Selbständigkeit nicht empfunden hat.” Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, 143.

<sup>168</sup> Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism,” in *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*, ed. Armin Lange, JAJSup 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 145–168, here 168.

not for the depravity and sinfulness of its members. The combination of election with sinfulness requires a more complex and conflicted system.”<sup>169</sup> The cosmological section of warring angels of light and darkness is mirrored and qualified in the anthropological section of internal spirits vying for dominance.<sup>170</sup> Thankfully, the member is not fighting this evil spirit on their own; the God of Israel and his Angel of Truth assist the members in the Yaḥad to resist this spirit of falsehood (1QS III, 24). They are promised that this state of spiritual warfare in which they are the pawns will come to an end at the appointed time as we have seen in 1QS IV, 20–21.

Menahem Kister, following Jacob Licht, offers an intriguing reading of 1QS IV 20–21. He translates: “Then God will sift through all man’s deeds in His truth, and will refine for himself the *structure of man*, by smelting out any spirit of injustice from the bodily members of his flesh.”<sup>171</sup> Both Kister and Licht read מְבִנֵּה, “structure” rather than מְבִנֵּי (מֵן – partitive), “some of the sons”.<sup>172</sup> From the plate images in the *Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark’s Monastery* and the Israel Museum Digital Dead Sea Scrolls, that alternative transcription is hard to defend.<sup>173</sup> This reading would also challenge the predestination theology of the remainder of this section. The Yaḥad did not subscribe to

---

<sup>169</sup> Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: ‘Yetzer Hara’ and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity*, Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 50–51.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Stuckenbruck, “Interiorization of Dualism”, 145–168, esp. 161–168.

<sup>171</sup> Kister, “Body and Sin”, 174.

<sup>172</sup> Licht, “An Analysis”, 97.

<sup>173</sup> Millar Burrows, *Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark’s Monastery, v 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habbakuk Commentary, v 2 Manual of Discipline* (Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950), Manual of Discipline, Plate IV. Israel Museum Digital Dead Sea Scrolls: <http://dss.collections.imj.org.il/community>. There are three examples of *heh* as the final letter of a word at the beginning of lines 20 and 21 in 1QS IV. In general, and in these cases the *heh* is formed with horizontal stroke from right to left over two vertical lines that leaves a ligature that extends over the left vertical line. This is very clearly not the case. In addition to the absence of a horizontal line above the vertical lines there is actually a horizontal stroke which extends from the right vertical stroke to the left vertical stroke. This can only be taken as *nun* and *yod* (or *vav*, as the *yod* and *vav* are indistinguishable in 1QS).

a universalist soteriology, rather, salvation is reserved for the elect, namely the chosen Yahad of God.

1QS IV, 21–26 indicates that at the appointed time the holy spirit will complete the transformation of the members of the Yahad, and they will no longer be at the mercy of the Angel of Darkness. Although Charlesworth translates IV, 23a as “and all the glory of Adam shall be theirs without deceit,” (ולהם כול כבוד אדם ואין עולה יהיה) a better rendering is “All the glory of Adam will be theirs, evil will not exist”<sup>174</sup> because it fits with the finality of the end of the dominion of the Angel of Darkness and, additionally, is a much more straightforward and literal translation of the last three words in the phrase.

The holy spirit completes the final transformation and is evidently not the Prince of Light whose reign is ended with the Angel of Darkness at the time of visitation (1QS IV, 26). The holy spirit has the power to completely transform the upright so that “all the abominations of falsehood” (1QS IV, 21) are defeated. We see this holy spirit at the entry to the community in purifying the candidate, through the process of transformation (the now and not yet), and at the appointed time of the eschaton to complete the task.

#### **2.4 Excursus: A Note on “Your Holy Spirit” in 4QInstruction**

The majority of the occurrences in the Qumran discoveries of רוח קדש refer to a holy spirit, or spirit of holiness, which is the divine spirit. However, two refer to a person’s holy spirit: in 4QInstruction is a warning against exchanging “your holy spirit”

---

<sup>174</sup> Leaney translates as “all perversity being gone” Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 154. cf. Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect*, 55; Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings From Qumran*, 82; Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 17; Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, 141; Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 376.

(4Q416 2 ii, 6; 4Q418 8 6), and in the Damascus Document is an indictment against those who have corrupted “their holy spirit” (CD V, 11). 4QInstruction’s phrase “your holy spirit” is found in the context of teachings about economics, especially regarding debt and poverty, and how one interprets this has considerable implications for the meaning of the composition broadly. The concept of the holy spirit in 4QInstruction may also be compared with that of the Community Rule (1QS) and the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>) as a way of assessing its relationship to Yaḥad compositions. In this short note the four different views on “your holy spirit” as found in the treatments by Matthew Goff, Jean-Sébastien Rey, Benjamin Wold, and Jonathan Ben-Dov are presented to demonstrate what is at stake in its interpretation.

Teaching about economics is a frequent concern in sapiential literature. Both Proverbs and Ben Sira are notable for their many wisdom sayings on poverty and wealth.<sup>175</sup> While 4QInstruction shares in the common subject of refraining from loans and pledges as found in traditional wisdom literature, its connection to one’s holy spirit is unique.

#### 2.4.1 Matthew Goff

According to Goff, the vision of Hagu in 4Q417 I 13–18 describes two types of people, the “spiritual people” (עַם רוּחַ) and the “fleshly spirit” (רוּחַ בִּשְׂרָר). Only the spiritual people have access to the vision.<sup>176</sup> The *mevin* (understanding one) is one of the spiritual people and can lose his elect status, and therefore his eternal life, if he goes into debt or guarantees a loan for someone else. His holy spirit is the mark of his elect

---

<sup>175</sup> For example: Prov. 1:19; 3:27; 11:25; 11:26; 13:11; 14:21; 17:18; 22:16; 22:22–23; 22:26–27; 22:7; 22:9; 28:27; Sira 3:30–4:10; 7:32; 11:18–19; 13:3–24; 14:3–15; 29:1–28; 31:1–11; 34:24–27.

<sup>176</sup> Matthew J. Goff, “Genesis 1–3 and Conceptions of Humankind in 4Q Instruction, Philo and Paul,” in *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 2: Exegetical Studies*, ed. Craig A. Evans and Danny Zacharias, SSEJC 15 (London: T&T Clark, 2009), 114–125, esp. 116–117; Matthew J. Goff, *4QInstruction*, WLAW 2 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013), 17–19.

chosen status.<sup>177</sup> This interpretation fits with the concept of the holy spirit in the Yaḥad in that the mark of the election of the Yaḥad is the holy spirit which dwells in the community. Although, in 1QS and the Hodayot the holy spirit is the divine spirit, and the elect status of the community is contingent on maintaining a pure community for the holy divine spirit. The holy spirit and thus the elect status can be lost through impurity, rather than unwise dealings with debt.

#### 2.4.2 Jean-Sébastien Rey

In contrast to Goff, Rey reads universalism rather than election in 4QInstruction.<sup>178</sup> All humanity has access to the “mystery of existence” (רז נהיה), but not all pursue this wisdom.<sup>179</sup> According to Rey, 4QInstruction is a text of the Essenes (read Yaḥad here) which provides a more nuanced view of determinism than that of the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III, 13–IV, 26). As Rey does not equate the holy spirit with a mark of elect status, he is able to diminish the significance of the phrase “your holy spirit”. The axiom “for no price exchange your holy spirit” is equated with “do not sell yourself”, “do not sell your honour”, and “do not give money as a pledge of your inheritance.” All are warnings against slavery following an unpaid debt.<sup>180</sup> However, although Rey sees “your holy spirit” here as the spirit of the *mevin*, he nonetheless views it as a divine spirit received from God:

Dans les trois cas que nous avons recensés (CD V 11, VII 4 et 4Q416 2 ii 6) l’ « esprit saint » désigne l’esprit divin que l’homme a reçu de Dieu pour vivre, dans une conception proche de celle de Gn 6,3 ; Jb 27,3 ; Ps 51,13 ; Ps 104,29 ; Ez 36,26.<sup>181</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Goff, *4QInstruction*, 72–73, 84–85.

<sup>178</sup> Jean-Sébastien Rey, *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatologie*, STDJ 81 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 338.

<sup>179</sup> Rey, *4QInstruction*, 302–303.

<sup>180</sup> Rey, *4QInstruction*, 84.

<sup>181</sup> Rey, *4QInstruction*, 83.

It is not clear how this divine spirit *from* God is not the holy spirit *of* God. This tangled view of the spirit is reflected in the Treatise of the Two Spirits where it is often difficult to separate the divine spirit from a human spirit. It is perhaps not surprising that Rey problematizes the “holy spirit” in 4Q416 2 ii 6 as he views both 4QInstruction and the Community Rule as products of the Essenes and therefore reads 4QInstruction through that particular lens.

### 2.4.3 Benjamin Wold

While Wold also reads a universal rather than elect access to רז נהיה, he has a unique view among the four perspectives examined in this note. In contrast to Rey who views wisdom as universal, for Wold, it is also the spirit that is given to all, but one must continue to pursue the רז נהיה to keep the spirit.<sup>182</sup> Goff and Rey see a dualistic creation of humanity divided into two groups, the “spiritual people” and the “fleshy spirit,” whereas Wold places the division post creation. As he rightly points out, reading the Vision of Hagu (or indeed all of 4QInstruction) through the lens of the Treatise of Two Spirits promotes an understanding of a spirit/flesh dualism in this composition.<sup>183</sup> Wold emphasizes two critical phrases in the Vision of Hagu to support his thesis. First is the much-debated phrase: וינחיליה לאנוש עם רוּחַ (4Q417 1 i line 16). Following Cana Werman, the first עם is read as the attributive of אנוש (people) and the second as the preposition (with), thus, “He made humanity, a people with a spirit, to inherit it.”<sup>184</sup> Second, Wold translates the phrase: ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח ב[ש]ר (4Q4171 i line 17) as: “and no longer is hagu given to a f[le]shly spirit.” Wold argues that “no longer” (ועוד לוא) implies that the fleshy spirit did once have Hagu and therefore “there is no

<sup>182</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 106–108; Benjamin G. Wold, “The Universality of Creation in 4QInstruction,” *RevQ* 26, no. 2 (2013): 211–226.

<sup>183</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 99.

<sup>184</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 105.

ontological and predetermined distinction between spiritual and fleshly people in 4QInstruction; in fact, there are no “people of flesh,” only a spirit that is labelled “fleshly.”<sup>185</sup> This positive anthropology is in direct contrast to the negative anthropology found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> where the fleshly spirit is the base state of all of humanity.<sup>186</sup> There, the holy spirit is only available to the elect who enter the Yaḥad. In the worldview of 4QInstruction the holy spirit of the *mevin* is not a mark of election, but of faithful pursuit of revealed wisdom. Part of this revealed wisdom is instruction on ethical behaviour.<sup>187</sup>

This interpretation of positive anthropology and ethical instruction in 4QInstruction lays the foundation for viewing the instruction on debt in a different light. Wold argues that, “the way that one exchanges or belittles spirit is not straightforwardly about trading it for wealth, but rather how one attends to a relationship with a fellow member of the community when dealing with wealth and poverty.”<sup>188</sup> Indeed as Wold observes, the *mevin* is instructed to be satisfied with what God has given him (4Q417 2 i 19–20; 4Q416 2 i 22b) and borrowing would infer that his divine inheritance is not enough. Therefore, Wold concludes that the *mevin* is being instructed on how to respond to a neighbour in need rather than how to borrow money for himself. The *mevin* does not go into debt for himself, but to assist his neighbour.<sup>189</sup> In this reading, the phrase, “by your words” is clarified. The ethical teaching here is how one speaks to his neighbour in need. Therefore, one exchanges their holy spirit when one does not preserve the dignity of their neighbour when giving surety for them.<sup>190</sup>

---

<sup>185</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 105–107.

<sup>186</sup> Where humanity is seen as, “a creature of clay and a thing kneaded with water, a foundation of shame and a well of impurity, a furnace of iniquity, and a structure of sin, a spirit of error, and a perverted being, without understanding, and terrified by righteous judgements.” (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 23–25)

<sup>187</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 133, 198, 200–201.

<sup>188</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 51.

<sup>189</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 137.

<sup>190</sup> Wold, *4QInstruction*, 137–138.

#### 2.4.4 Jonathan Ben-Dov

Ben-Dov posits that the spirit is a transferable commodity which is interconnected with the life and capital of an individual.<sup>191</sup> They are all part and parcel of the inheritance given by God to each person. Ben-Dov builds on the work of Menahem Kister who takes the discussion of mixing (כלאים) agricultural items in 4Q418 103 ii 6–9 as an allegorical instruction warning against mixing wealth with outsiders;<sup>192</sup> and an alternative reading of 4Q416 2 ii 21: “not [according to] your prescribed portion” (כלי היקבד)<sup>193</sup> vs. the critical edition transcription and translation: “do not dishonour the ‘vessel’ (or ‘wife’) of your bosom” (בלו חוקכה).<sup>194</sup> In support of Kister’s reading Ben-Dov points to the composite text 4Q417 2 17-19 + 4Q418 7b, 64, 66:

ונחלתכה קה ממנו ואל תוסף עוד. ואת אשר יטריפכה אכול ואל תוסף עוד, פ[ן] תק[צור] חייכה

Your share you should take from Him, no more. What he feeds you, you should eat, do not overdo it, les[t you sh]orten your life.<sup>195</sup>

From this Ben-Dov argues that as spirit, life and material possessions are all an inherited portion, one should not mix (or trade) them with outsiders. In contrast to Rey who views the instruction in 4Q416 2 ii as straightforward financial advice, Ben Dov sees the purse which is used for surety as “one’s metaphysical share, saved for him in heaven.”<sup>196</sup> Because the spirit is connected to one’s material inheritance from God, one

---

<sup>191</sup> Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Family Relations and the Economic-Metaphysical Message of *Instruction*,” *JSP* 30, no. 2 (2020): 87–100.

<sup>192</sup> Menahem Kister, “Qumran, Jubilees, and the Jewish Dimensions of 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1,” in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, ed. Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal, STDJ 127 (Leiden: BRILL, 2018), 103–139, esp. 110–113. Contra John Strugnell and Daniel Harrington who read this passage in literal agricultural senses, John Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV, Sapiential Texts: Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mûsar lē Mēvîn): 4Q415 ff., with a Re-edition of 1Q26*, DJD 34 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 330.

<sup>193</sup> Menahem Kister, “A Qumranic Parallel to 1 Thess 4:4? Reading and Interpretation of 4Q416 2 ii 21,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 365–370, here 366. In support of this reading Ben-Dov points to a composite text 4Q417 2 17-19 + 4Q418 7b, 64, 66

<sup>194</sup> Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV (DJD 34)*, 90, 93.

<sup>195</sup> Ben-Dov, “Family Relations,” 91.

<sup>196</sup> Ben-Dov, “Family Relations,” 92.

jeopardises one's spirit in financial interactions. Each person must accept the portion given to them by God. Taking or giving loans is not simply in terms of money, the (holy) spirit is also exchanged as it is completely intertwined with material inheritance.<sup>197</sup>

#### 2.4.5 Excursus Summary

This brief survey of four scholars' widely different views on the phrase, "do not exchange your holy spirit" has revealed the challenge of interpreting this fragmented and complex composition. While all four scholars view the holy spirit in 4Q416 2 ii 6 as the spirit of humanity given by God, Rey nuances this view by stating that the holy spirit is a divine spirit received from God. For Goff, this holy spirit is a sign of the *mevin*'s elect status, which can be lost when he goes into debt or guarantees a loan. While Rey views the phrase as a euphemism for the similar surrounding phrases such as "do not sell yourself," he does not thereby diminish the concept of the holy spirit given by God. Ben-Dov sees the spirit as an interconnected part of one's portion or inheritance from God. While that spirit can shift between family members, such as between parents and children, and husband and wife, the spirit is not lost unless it is traded through a financial transaction with someone from outside the community. For Wold, 4QInstruction is concerned with ethics. The holy spirit of the *mevin* is not lost merely through acquiring financing, but in how one speaks with, i.e., treats, the community member one has come to the aid of.

There are clear differences in how the Yahad compositions (in particular 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup>) views the holy spirit in comparison with 4QInstruction. While the holy spirit is a mark of the elect status of the Yahad it is the divine spirit, not a spirit of humanity.

---

<sup>197</sup> Ben-Dov, "Family Relations," 93.

Additionally, and importantly, in Wold's reading, the views of humanity in the Yaḥad compositions and 4QInstruction are diametrically opposed. The former has a very negative anthropology (original sin if you will) while the latter envisages a positive anthropology, that is, an original blessing of a holy spirit and access to revealed wisdom. As John R. Levison notes, identifying "the spirit humans possess from birth as holy spirit opens a new chapter in reflections upon the holy spirit in the emerging world of Judaism."<sup>198</sup>

## 2.5. Concluding Remarks

The Yaḥad at Qumran set themselves apart by a set of beliefs and practices, and by removing themselves from the greater society. They saw themselves as a holy community consecrated to atone for the land and prepare for the appointed time of visitation. Their understanding of the holy spirit or divine spirit was central to how they constructed their self and group identity. The individual is cleansed and purified by the holy spirit upon entry to the community as seen in 1QS III, 4–9. Indeed, purification and atonement are only possible through the holy spirit which inheres in the community. The member is transformed into a new creation by this same holy spirit to "perfect a way for humankind" as seen in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 33. The *Hodayot* is explicit in its portrayal of humankind as dust, a vessel of clay which is incapable of being good (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 23–25) and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* makes it clear that the Angel of Darkness causes the Sons of Light to stumble. It is only through the ongoing work of the divine spirit that the member can hold fast (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 36–37). Finally, in the conclusion of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, the holy spirit purges the member from all impurity (1QS IV, 21–22) at the eschaton. From beginning to end, the Yaḥad is infused

---

<sup>198</sup> Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 130.

with the work of the divine spirit. This fresh insight into the central role of the divine spirit in the forming of the identity of the community and its members changes our understanding of the Yahad and sheds new light on the development of the reification of the holy spirit. Without the holy spirit there is no community of God which can atone for the land. Indeed, not only does the community possess the holy spirit, but the holy spirit also possesses the community and constructs their very identity.

## Chapter Three: Water in the Qumran Discoveries

### 3.0 Introduction

In this chapter we now turn to the element of water and its symbolism in early Jewish literature especially in regard to how it is viewed as an agent of cleansing from sin, and transformation. The aim is to demonstrate that the concept of cleansing from sin and subsequent transformation vis-à-vis water is highly developed in the Yaḥad and that this development is built upon the Hebrew Bible, particularly Ps 51 and Ezek 36. The treatment of this topic is organized in four main parts. First (§3.0.1), a review of the motif and symbolism of water in the Hebrew scriptures is offered to better understand antecedent traditions that exerted influence on the Yaḥad. In the second part (§3.0.2), the focus narrows to water in terms of cleansing. Here cleansing is explored through an analysis of Hebrew verbs (זכך, זכה, נקה, טבל, ברר, כבס, טהר, רחץ). This investigation sheds some light on significant patterns of usage in the Hebrew scriptures and the Qumran discoveries, particularly when paired with notions of transformation and a divine spirit. Third (§3.1), a review of significant studies on purity—specifically common purity, ritual and moral purity, and the transforming effect of purity at Qumran—is offered to better situate this chapter within a broader scholarship. The studies reviewed here provide a lens for the examination of passages relevant to cleansing from sin which comprises the remainder of the chapter. The fourth part (§§3.2–3.4) focuses specifically on the occurrences of purification from sin identified in the previous analysis (§3.0.2). We also note where the divine spirit is mentioned whether as an agent of cleansing and/or transformation. This final part is divided into three sections. The first section (§3.2) examines passages in the Hebrew scriptures which form the background and source (directly or indirectly) for Second Temple literature. The second section (§3.3)

explores passages from compositions written by the Yahad. Here we look for influences from the Hebrew scriptures and a development of moral purity and transformation. The third section (§3.4) reviews passages from other Qumran discoveries, some of which may have been valued by the Yahad, and other Second Temple literature such as Philo and Josephus. This section explores whether there is a development of moral purity and transformation outside of the writings by the Yahad.

### 3.0.1 Water: Metaphor, Metonymy, and Motif

Water, one of the four classical elements, is vitally necessary for our daily existence. It is, of course, much more than a natural element; it extends beyond survival and manifests itself in recurring metaphors and metonymies. Water as a metaphor or metonymy of creation and life, or alternatively as chaos and the grave, become motifs as they reappear in ancient traditions. Literal water together with water as metonymy or metaphor are often combined in ancient literature, so that a story about an ocean may progress a narrative while conveying more than the elemental. A primeval ocean is a fundamental component in many of the ancient world's creation stories. Within the Jewish and Christian scriptural traditions, we observe a watery chaos at the beginning of creation in Genesis 1:2 and are told that another classical element, namely the רוּחַ (most often translated as “spirit”, but also “wind” and “breath”) of God hovered over the waters.<sup>199</sup> This is the first of many such connections between water and spirit in Jewish and Christian writings. Just a few verses later (1:10) is the first occurrence of the word מִקְוֵה (miqveh): וַיִּלְמְקוּהָ הַמַּיִם, a gathering or reservoir of waters, which God called

---

<sup>199</sup> While many English translations (e.g., NASB, NIV, ESV and NKJV) render רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים as “the Spirit of God” the NRSV translates the phrase as “a wind from God.” For a discussion on the variant translations cf. Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis: 1–15*, WBC (Waco, TX: Word, 1987), 16–17; Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 111–114; Bruce K. Waltke and Cathi J. Fredricks, *Genesis: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001), 60.

the seas. Although peculiarly absent in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature in reference to ritual purification, this term is used for the ritual baths in the Talmud and rabbinic Judaism and yet is commonly used in reference to an earlier period.<sup>200</sup>

As water comes in various forms, from life giving rain and oasis springs to dangerous seas and floods, it has both positive and negative connotations. In positive terms, water is a metaphor for creation, new creation, life, birth, transformation, cleansing, and purification, and in negative terms for death, chaos, and the grave. Sometimes these meanings are mixed together as in the story of Noah and the flood (Gen 6–9). Wenham states that “the first creation returns to the watery chaos that characterized the earth before the separation of land and sea.”<sup>201</sup> This is seen in Gen 7:11 where the “great deep (תְּהוֹם רַבָּה) burst forth, and the windows of the heavens were opened.” The use of תְּהוֹם is reminiscent of its use in the creation story in Gen 1. In the flood story, the deluge sent by God cleansed the earth of all life forms which had the breath of life, except those saved in the ark. The term used for this cleansing/purging in Gen 7:4 is מָחָה (blot out). It occurs in 6:7 and twice in 7:23. This is the term used for completely removing sin in Isa 44:22, Jer 18:23, Ps 51:1, 9; 109:14; and Neh 4:5. As this blotting out occurs through a deluge of water, the flood is seen as cleansing the earth of wickedness.<sup>202</sup> It was a great devastation, but also a new birth or new creation for the earth and its creatures.<sup>203</sup> Ezekiel 47 describes a very different flood in his vision of the new Temple. This flood was a cleansing flow of water sourced from the Temple

---

<sup>200</sup> Cf. m. Yoma 8:9; b. Yoma 85b:8; m. Miqw. 5:4; b. Pesah. 109a:7.

<sup>201</sup> Wenham, *Genesis: 1–15*, li. Cf. Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 1 (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1967), 92–93.

<sup>202</sup> In the Book of the Watchers’ retelling of the flood story, the term used is καθαρίζω (to cleanse) (1 Enoch 10:20, 22). Hamilton reads the root מָחָה as “to erase by washing.” Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17*, 275. Cf. Waltke and Fredricks, *Genesis: A Commentary*, 127, 140; Ronald Hendel, “The Rainbow in Ancient Context,” *TheTorah.com* (2016), <https://thetorah.com/article/the-rainbow-in-ancient-context>.

<sup>203</sup> Cf. Waltke and Fredricks, *Genesis: A Commentary*, 121, 127–130. For a discussion on the parallels between the first creation and re-creation in the flood story.

which went out in all directions to heal the land, and even transform the Dead Sea into fresh living water. Zechariah describes an end time when there is only day, no night, the weather is always warm and balmy and living waters will flow out of Jerusalem to water the whole land, and there will be no drought in the summer.<sup>204</sup> The entire land of Israel is transformed into a verdant paradise.

Jeremiah uses a fountain of living water as a symbol for the God of Israel.<sup>205</sup> It is clear that the underlying associations of sustaining life are present, especially when contrasted with the cracked cisterns which Israel dug for themselves and can hold no water. The motif of a fountain of living water to depict God or as a blessing from God is also found in the Scrolls (CD XIX, 32–34; 1QSb I, 4–5; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XVI, 5–6). It is noteworthy that in the Words of the Luminaries, those who have turned away from God are said to have abandoned the fount of living water (4Q504 1–2 R v 1–5), and just a few lines later the writer praises God for not abandoning his people and uses a liquid analogy when stating that the divine spirit will be poured out on Israel (4Q504 1–2 R v 15).

Washing in water is much more than a concern for hygiene as Exodus 30 reveals. It is critical to the consecration of the priest in order to serve the Lord. YHWH commands Moses to make a bronze basin for washing (לְרִחֻץ). Aaron and his sons are commanded three times to wash (רָחַצוּ) their hands and feet with water (רִחֻצוּ מֵיִם) whenever they come to the tent of meeting. YHWH warns them twice that they must do this otherwise they will die (Ex 30:17–21). Here, water, and specifically washing in water is protection against death. It not only cleans, but also purifies the individual so they can enter a holy place.

---

<sup>204</sup> Zech 14:6–8

<sup>205</sup> Jer 2:13; 17:13

The symbols of cleansing, purification, creation, and re-creation are present in Ezek 36:25–27 and Ps 51. Water is a powerful element in transformation and is examined in detail below (§§3.2.3, 3.2.4). The motif of cleansing from sin and transformation created in these passages is repeated in many subsequent works of Jewish literature. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 make special note of where this motif in Ps 51 in particular is echoed in Second Temple literature.

The following section turns to the particular symbols of cleansing, purification, and transformation. As there is a strong association between water and purity, it is beneficial to examine the Hebrew words used for washing and purification in the Hebrew scriptures and the Qumran discoveries.

### 3.0.2 Analysis of Cleansing Verbs

Jonathan D. Lawrence's significant contribution to the field conducts an extensive survey of washing in the Hebrew Bible, the Scrolls, and other Second Temple literature and the archaeological evidence of ritual baths.<sup>206</sup> Lawrence organizes his study into three broad categories: (1) washing for ritual purity; (2) metaphorical uses of washing; and (3) initiatory uses of washing. Although there are some overlaps between Lawrence's investigation and this study, namely both start with an analysis of cleansing verbs, some data is unique given that there is an important difference in focus. While Lawrence is concerned with all instances of washing, the point of departure here is the specific intersection of purification and cleansing from sin with special interest in how it is at times paired with a divine spirit.

---

<sup>206</sup> Jonathan David Lawrence, *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*, AcBib 23 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2006).

An examination of verbs related to cleansing or purification in the non-canonical Qumran discoveries and the Hebrew scriptures reveals some interesting patterns. The study looks at the following verbs: זכה, זכך, רחץ, טהר, כבס, ברר, טבל, נקה as they occur primarily in reference to cleansing or purification of body. While multiple copies or iterations of a document can reveal its importance to the community, counting each occurrence of a cleansing verb in every iteration will cloud the data. Therefore, in the following analysis, occurrences of a verb are only counted once even if it is attested in more than one iteration of the document.<sup>207</sup>

As discussed previously determining which scrolls are used by the Yahad in their community and therefore influenced their theology is problematic. Therefore, this analysis restricts the category of Yahad to those texts which are universally considered compositions of the Yahad and the Rituals of Purification.<sup>208</sup> Only the following Yahad compositions contain cleansing verbs in the context of moral purity: the Community Rule, the Hodayot, the Damascus Document, and Rituals of Purification.

In both the Qumran discoveries and the Hebrew scriptures, the verbs most frequently used in reference to cleansing, or purification of the human body are טהר and רחץ; compositions from Qumran (i.e., in non-canonical texts) have slightly more occurrences of טהר than רחץ, while in the Hebrew scriptures there are slightly more instances of רחץ than טהר. As one would expect, there is a high occurrence of usage in the context of purity rules in the copies of the Temple Scroll (11Q19 and 11Q20) and the Book of Leviticus. However, the interesting patterns which emerge involve the

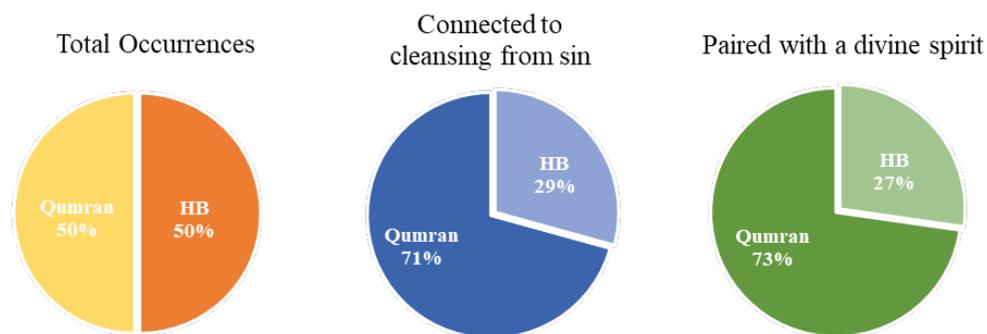
---

<sup>207</sup> For example, טהר is found twice in 1QS III: 7, 9, and twice in 4Q255 fragment 2 lines 1 and 3, and twice in 4Q257 III: 10, 12. It is only counted twice not six times as these lines are almost identical in each iteration.

<sup>208</sup> Esther Eshel argues successfully that both 4Q414 & 4Q512 are sectarian compositions. Esther Eshel, "4QRitual of Purification A," in *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, DJD 35 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 139. Although Tov does not indicate sectarian nature for 4Q414 & 4Q512, he does indicate sectarian markers and scribe. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 266.

correlations between how these verbs are used with ideas of cleansing from sin and/or pairing with a divine spirit. If all instances of cleansing verbs found at Qumran and in the Hebrew Bible are taken together, then those total occurrences show that they each contain half and thus have an equal interest in this terminology. However, this changes dramatically when isolating occurrences which refer to cleansing from sin and/or are paired with a divine spirit. Qumran holds the majority, 71% and 73% respectively.

Chart 1: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in the Hebrew Scriptures (HB) and Qumran



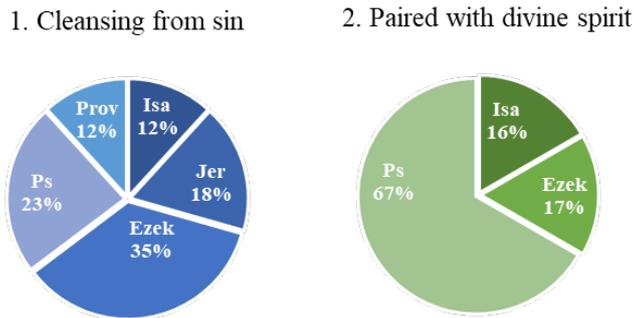
The Hebrew scriptures occurrences of cleansing from sin<sup>209</sup> or paired with a divine spirit<sup>210</sup> are clustered in the major prophets, Psalms and Proverbs. It is noteworthy that טהר and כבס each occur twice in Psalm 51 (vv. 4, 9 Hebrew<sup>211</sup>); they correlate with the notion of cleansing from sin *and* are paired with a divine spirit. Additionally, the root טהר is used as an adjective in 51:10 in reference to a clean heart. The pairing with a divine spirit is repeated three times in 51:10–12 where the psalmist pleads for transformation. These motifs of cleansing from sin and transformation are most strongly echoed in Ezek 36:25–26 (cf. §3.2.1).

<sup>209</sup> זכה: Prov 20:9; Is 1:16. רחץ: Is 1:16. טהר: Ps 51:2 (Heb); Ps 51:7 (Heb); Prov 20:9; Jer 33:8; Ezek 24:13 (three times); Ezek 36:25; Ezek 37:23. כבס: Ps 51:4 (Heb); 51:9 (Heb); Jer. 2.22; Jer. 4:14.

<sup>210</sup> רחץ: Is 4:4. טהר: Ezek 36:25 - pairs with the divine spirit in Ezek 36:27. Ps 51:4 (Heb); 51:9 (Heb) - paired with Holy Spirit in 51:13 (Heb). כבס: Ps 51:4 (Heb); 51:9 (Heb) - paired with Holy Spirit in 51:13 (Heb).

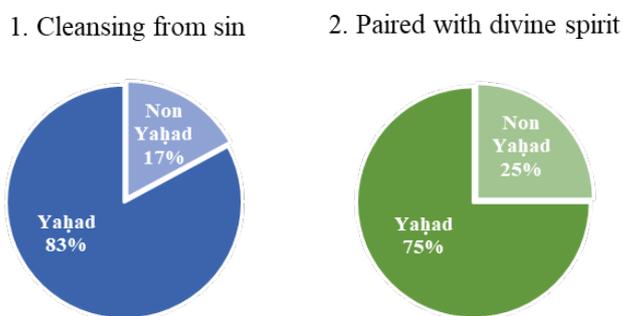
<sup>211</sup> The Hebrew versification of Psalm 51 is different from English translations which do not include inscriptions in the numbering of verses. While the Hebrew starts numbering the verses at the inscription which comprises verses 1 and 2, the English starts at zero and denotes the inscription as a single verse. Thus verse 1 in the English begins with “Have mercy on me, O God.” The LXX and Vulgate follow the Hebrew versification but numbers the Psalm as Ps 50.

Chart 2: Distribution of Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in Connection to (1) Cleansing from Sin and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit in the HB



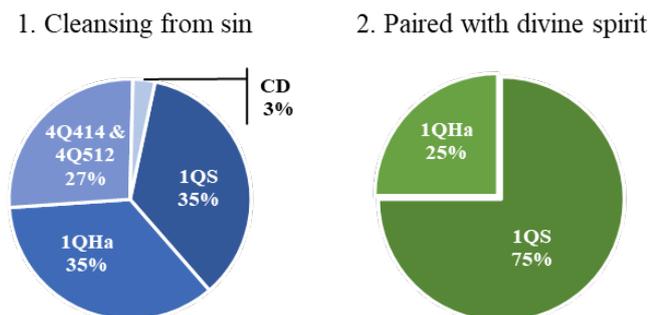
The higher frequency of occurrences of cleansing from sin and/or are paired with a divine spirit in the Qumran discoveries compared to the Hebrew scriptures (Chart 1) demonstrates that the concepts of cleansing from sin and transformation by a divine spirit found in Ps 51 and Ezekiel are developed in the scrolls found at Qumran. Additionally, and importantly, this analysis reveals that the vast majority of these occurrences are found within the Yaḥad compositions, thereby signifying the importance of the notions of cleansing from sin and transformation by a divine spirit in the Yaḥad.

Chart 3: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs (1) in Connection to Cleansing from Sin and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit in the Yaḥad vs. Non-Yaḥad



The occurrences of cleansing from sin are found in the Community Rule,<sup>212</sup> the Hodayot,<sup>213</sup> and the Rituals for Purification (4Q414 & 4Q512).<sup>214</sup> In contrast to the abundance of occurrences in these three Yaḥad compositions, there is only one occurrence of cleansing from sin in the Damascus Document. The occurrences of cleansing verbs paired with a divine spirit are clustered in the Community Rule<sup>215</sup> and the Hodayot.<sup>216</sup>

Chart 4: Distribution in the Yaḥad of the Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs (1) in Connection to Cleansing from Sin and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit



When we compare the occurrences of cleansing verbs which have a connection to cleansing from sin to those which do not have the connection, then we find that the Yaḥad is almost always concerned with cleansing from sin when speaking of body purification. The only outlier is the Damascus Document. This evidence points to the conflation of moral and ritual purification at Qumran.

<sup>212</sup> זכה: 1QS III, 4; VIII, 16–18; IX, 9 (set in a negative- "have failed to cleanse their path by separating from perversity and walking blamelessly." רחץ: 1QS III, 5. טהר: 1QS III, 4, 5, 7, 8; IV, 21; V, 13–14; XI, 14–15; ברר: 1QS IV, 20.

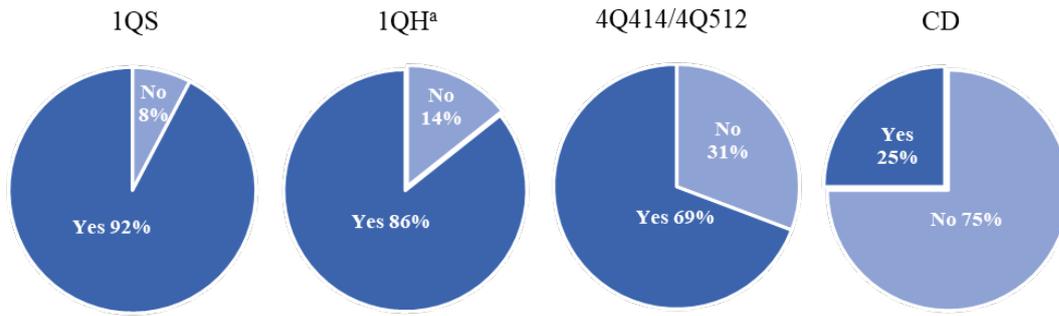
<sup>213</sup> טהר: 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 30; IX, 34; X, 5; XI, 22–23; XII, 37–38; XIV, 11; XV, 33; XIX, 13, 33. ברר: 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 23; VIII, 28.

<sup>214</sup> רחץ: 4Q414 frg. 13, lines 5, 7. טהר: 4Q414 frgs. 2ii–4 lines 1, 4, 8 (4Q512 frgs 42–44 ii, 5); frg. 13, lines 2, 7, 9; 4Q512 frgs 29–32 line 9.

<sup>215</sup> זכה: 1QS III, 4–6; VIII, 16–18. רחץ: 1QS III, 5–6. טהר: 1QS III, 4, 5, 7, 8; IV, 21. ברר: 1QS IV, 20.

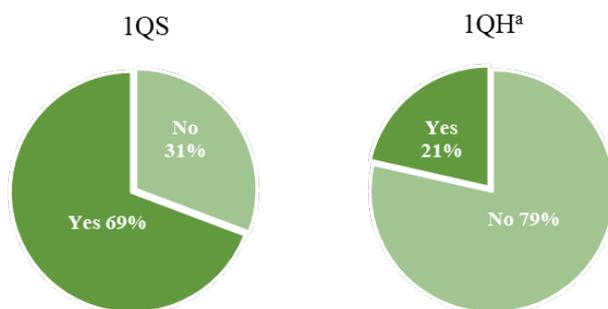
<sup>216</sup> טהר: 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 30. ברר: 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 28.

Chart 5: Comparing Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs Which Have a Connection to Cleansing from Sin (=Yes) to Those Which Do Not Have a Connection to Sin (=No)



As stated above, the occurrences of cleansing verbs paired with a divine spirit are only found in the Community Rule and the Hodayot. The highest frequency of which is found in the Community Rule (75% of all occurrences). More significantly, in the Rule itself, the majority of the occurrences of cleansing verbs are paired with a divine spirit (69%). This percentage points to the importance of the role of the divine spirit in moral purification and transformation in this document.<sup>217</sup> While the percentage of occurrences of cleansing verbs which are paired with a divine spirit in the Hodayot is considerably less (21%), the specific texts are significant and are examined below (§3.3.2).

Chart 6: Comparing Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs Which Have a Connection to a Divine Spirit (=Yes) to Those Which Do Not Have the Connection to Divine Spirit (=No)



This analysis provides significant insight into the development of moral and ritual purification in the Yahad. As Chart 1 shows, while the Hebrew scriptures and

<sup>217</sup> These occurrences of cleansing verbs paired with a divine spirit are also present in a few of the cave 4 iterations: טהר: 4Q255 frg 2 lines 1, 3 (1QS III, 7, 8); 4Q257 II, 6, 7, 10, 12 (1QS III, 4, 5, 7, 8); 4Q262 frg 1 lines 1, 2 (1QS III, 4, 5). זכה: 4Q257 II, 6–10 (1QS III, 4–7). רחץ: 4Q257 II, 7–10 (1QS III, 5–7).

Qumran discoveries share an equal number of occurrences of cleansing verbs, a substantial majority of instances where those verbs are concerned with moral purity and transformation are found in the Scrolls. Further, within the Qumran discoveries, the vast majority of such occurrences are found within the Yaḥad documents (Chart 3). This demonstrates the importance of moral purity to the Yaḥad in particular. Chart 4 reveals the extent to which moral purity and transformation is important and indeed central to Yaḥad theology. In the Community Rule in particular, almost every reference to ritual cleansing also refers to moral cleansing, and the majority also refer to a divine spirit. Therefore, it is clear that while the concept of cleansing from sin and transformation is present in the Hebrew Bible, it is developed in the Yaḥad to the point that its end result is a conflation of ritual and moral purification. One cannot be ritually clean without also being morally clean. Additionally, the role of the divine spirit is revealed to be highly developed and almost unique to the Yaḥad. There is a total of sixteen occurrences of cleansing verbs which are paired with a divine spirit in the Qumran discoveries; only four of these are not in Yaḥad compositions. However, it is noteworthy that these occurrences are in scrolls likely used and valued by the Yaḥad, namely, 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381), 4QCommunal Confession (4Q393), and 4QWords of the Luminaries<sup>a</sup> (4Q504).

In the next section a selection of studies on purity with a focus on those specifically related to cleansing are reviewed to provide a foundation for understanding ritual and moral purity in the Hebrew scriptures and the Qumran discoveries. These studies help illuminate the importance of moral purity and transformation before turning in the following sections to an examination of the passages which contain cleansing verbs in connection to sin and/or a divine spirit in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature.

### 3.1. Review of Significant Studies on Ritual and Moral Purity

This section reviews the contributions which shape the study of ritual and moral purity and are crucial to an understanding of the topic. The following literature review is restricted to scholarship after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the knowledge of ritual and moral impurity and purification rites has expanded significantly since the publication of the Scrolls. Contemporaneously, extensive widespread archaeological discoveries of over 1000 stepped pools for ritual purification in Judea and Galilee have shed new light on this subject.<sup>218</sup> As Adler states, “The evidence points to widespread observance of the purity laws among lay Jews on an everyday basis, a phenomenon that most likely grew out of a straightforward understanding of the pentateuchal purity regulations.”<sup>219</sup>

Purity and impurity are central to the religion of the ancient Hebrews and Early Judaism. Indeed, as Adele Reinhartz states, “in the ancient world, . . . the concepts of

---

<sup>218</sup> Adler provides the estimate of 1000 as of 2017 in Yonatan Adler, “On the Origins of Tevilah (Ritual Immersion),” *TheTorah.com* (2017), <https://thetorah.com/on-the-origins-of-tevilah-ritual-immersion/>. Adler prefers the term stepped pool rather than *miqveh* given that *miqveh* means pooled or gathered water, therefore by definition, it can’t be a *miqveh* without the water. For discussion on the how these discoveries have changed our understanding of common purity cf. Yonatan Adler, “The Archaeology of Purity: Archaeological Evidence for the Observance of Ritual Purity in Erez-Israel from the Hasmonean Period until the End of the Talmudic Era (164 B.C.E.–400 C.E.)” (Bar-Ilan University, 2011); Yonatan Adler, “Tosefta Shabbat 1:14 – “Come and See the Extent to Which Purity Had Spread” An Archaeological Perspective on the Historical Background to a Late Tannaitic Passage,” in *Talmuda de-Eretz Israel Archaeology and the Rabbis in Late Antique Palestine*, ed. Steven Fine and Aaron Koller, SJ 73 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 63–82; Yonatan Adler, “Between Priestly Cult and Common Culture: The Material Evidence of Ritual Purity Observance in Early Roman Jerusalem Reassessed,” *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 7, no. 2 (2016): 228–248; Yonatan Adler, “Toward an “Archaeology of Halakhah”: Prospects and Pitfalls of Reading Early Jewish Ritual Law into the Ancient Material Record,” *Archaeology and Text* 1 (2017): 27–38; Pieter F. Craffert, “Digging up Common Judaism in Galilee: Miqva’ot at Sepphoris as a Test Case,” *Neotestamentica* 34, no. 1 (2000): 39–55; Stuart S. Miller, “Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Other Identity Markers of “Complex Common Judaism,”” *JSJ* 41, no. 2 (2010): 214–243; Stuart S. Miller, *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Ritual Purity Among the Jews of Roman Galilee*, JAJSup 16 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015); Ronny Reich, *Miqva’ot in the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Pr; Israel Exploration Soc, 2013); Boaz Zissu and David Amit, “Common Judaism, Common Purity, and the Second Temple Period Judean Miqwa’ot (Ritual Immersion Baths),” in *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism*, ed. Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008), 47–62.

<sup>219</sup> Adler, “Between Priestly Cult and Common Culture,” 229.

purity and impurity were frequently used to define the conditions that regulated access to the divine.”<sup>220</sup> While the study of purity and impurity in the Hebrew scriptures and Second Temple literature is a vast discipline in and of itself, the review here focuses narrowly on: (1) purity and impurity as the context for purification rites, specifically washing in water; (2) the extent to which purity was kept by the common people in their daily lives; and (3) how the image of water is used to reference cleansing from sin. A related point of interest is *miqva’ot*, and how that shows up in terms of an interior cleansing and transformation.

### 3.1.1 Common Purity

Jacob Neusner was one of the first scholars in the last century to advocate for the practice of purity observance by common people outside the Temple and its priests. On the one hand, Neusner connects the performance of purity rites directly or indirectly to the Temple and its priests; this relates to: (1) the Pharisees in the context of eating “(ordinary, everyday meals) in a state of ritual purity *as if one were a Temple priest:*”<sup>221</sup> (2) the *Yahad*, who according to Neusner were former Temple priests:<sup>222</sup> and (3) the “ordinary people,” who would “have gone through a rite of purification”<sup>223</sup> in order to enter the Temple for the celebration of festivals. On the other hand, Neusner argues that the common people’s concern with purity did not originate in the Temple cult. After the destruction of the Temple, the rabbis extended the notions of purity and impurity as

---

<sup>220</sup> Adele Reinhartz, “Introduction,” in *They Shall Purify Themselves”: Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*, EJL 24 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 1–6, here 1.

<sup>221</sup> Jacob Neusner, *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism*, 2nd ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 83. (emphasis original). For a detailed study of table fellowship see Jacob Neusner, “The Fellowship (חבריה) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth,” *HTR* 53, no. 2 (1960): 125–142. where Neusner states that although the fellowship was a Pharisaic movement, it did not include all the Pharisees (125) and cut across class, caste, family, and gender boundaries (128).

<sup>222</sup> Jacob Neusner, *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: the Haskell Lectures 1972–1973*, SJLA 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 50.

<sup>223</sup> Jacob Neusner, “The Idea of Purity,” *JAAR* 43, no. 1 (1975): 15–26, here 20.

metaphors and created an intricate system of purity observance wholly detached from the Temple. In Neusner's view this was a return to the concept of purity before the Priestly Code:

We must not be taken in by the viewpoint of the priestly writers in the Hebrew Scriptures. Their claim that purity was primarily a cultic concern simply is utterly false. Uncleanness served as a metaphor for sexual misdeed, idolatry, or unethical behavior. Cleanness was compared to sexual purity, service to one God alone, and correct action. These metaphors were natural in the context of the cult, which above all else signified holiness and produced the right relation to God. But they did not originate in the Temple cult.<sup>224</sup>

Neusner contrasts Temple and common purity by drawing attention to the redaction of the Priestly code in the sixth century BCE as a turning point from common purity to cultic purity before returning to common purity in Pharisaic and rabbinic Judaism.<sup>225</sup>

David P. Wright similarly contrasts the Priestly code with the Holiness School. He argues that the Holiness School "builds on the cultic customs of the Priestly Torah" and "ensures that popular holiness is not just an abstract religious idea."<sup>226</sup> Here he acknowledges that there is a popular or common holiness outside of the Temple which the School codified and thereby legitimized; much like the Rabbis of the first and second centuries CE who codified the popular practice of immersion for ritual purification.<sup>227</sup>

Gedalyahu Alon develops a theory of common holiness to explain purity outside of the Temple and priestly life in the Second Temple era. He points to the practice of

---

<sup>224</sup> Neusner, "The Idea of Purity," 24.

<sup>225</sup> Neusner, "The Idea of Purity," 25.

<sup>226</sup> David P. Wright, "Holiness in Leviticus and Beyond: Differing Perspectives," *Interpretation* 53, no. 4 (1999): 351-364, here 363.

<sup>227</sup> Miller, *Intersection of Texts and Material Finds*, 306; Benjamin G. Wright, III, "Jewish Ritual Baths-- Interpreting the Digs and the Texts: Some Issues in the Social History of Second Temple Judaism," in *Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, ed. Neil Asher Silberman and David B Small, JSOTSup 237 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 190-214, here 192-193.

washing one's hands or even immersion before prayers in *The Letter of Aristeas* and the *Sibylline Oracles* as examples of a common purity. The cleansing is not based on "actual defilement but on the fact that the service of the heart is likened to the Temple service, which requires washing of the hands and immersion even by those who are clean."<sup>228</sup> Alon sees the washing signifying an interior piety, not only an external body ritual. Washing hands was not limited to prayer but extended to eating meals. This reflects "the extension of the priestly sanctity to all Israel and of the purity of holy things to common foodstuffs."<sup>229</sup> Alon is careful to point out that this extension of holiness is not universal, and points to the Sadducees as an example of the tendency to restrict the laws of purity to the priests.<sup>230</sup>

E. P. Sanders observes the diaspora practice of washing hands before prayers and the Pharisaic practice of washing hands before sabbath and festival meals as a development of the purity laws of Leviticus.<sup>231</sup> Sanders points to the Essenes as an example of the extension of purity laws stating that they bathed and changed their clothes before eating (*J.W.* 2.129) because they "treated the community as if it were the Temple and the common table as if it were the altar."<sup>232</sup> The Yaḥad is mentioned separately in this practice of washing before the common meal which is called the "purity" (טהרת) in 1QS V, 13 (cf. §3.3.1).<sup>233</sup> Additionally, Sanders points to the plethora of *miqva'ot* finds in Judea and Galilee as proof that the "use of immersion pools was

---

<sup>228</sup> Gedalyahu Alon, "The Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness," in *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple and Talmud* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 190–234, here 202. Emphasis mine.

<sup>229</sup> Alon, "Bounds", 231.

<sup>230</sup> Alon, "Bounds", 232–233.

<sup>231</sup> E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: SCM, 1990), 30–31. It should be noted that Neusner and Sanders disagreed on many aspects of the Pharisees. Cf. Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 242–254.; and Jacob Neusner, "Mr. Sanders's Pharisees and Mine," *BBR* 2 (1992): 143–169.

<sup>232</sup> Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 37.

<sup>233</sup> Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 37. This is not to suggest that Sanders viewed the Yaḥad as a separate sect from the Essenes as his treatment of "The Essenes and the Dead Sea Sect" shows. Cf. E. P. Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE* (London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992), 342–379. Sanders explicates the common meal and the 'Purity' of the Essenes, 352–358.

common to one and all: aristocrats, priests, the laity, the rich, the poor, the Qumran sectarians, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees. The evidence in favour of general observance could not be more impressive.”<sup>234</sup>

Eyal Regev uses an interdisciplinary approach to investigate practices of purity in the Second Temple era. Building on the work of Neusner, Alon, Oppenheimer, and Sanders, Regev uses archaeology and anthropology to examine the concept of common purity or holiness. The material discoveries of stone vessels and stepped pools throughout Judea and Galilee point to a widespread concern for purity outside of the Temple system.<sup>235</sup> Regev states that “the ordinary people who observed it [non-priestly purity] attempted to follow the priestly way of life in a state of holiness and purity.”<sup>236</sup> From an anthropological viewpoint, rituals of purification are rites of passage from the secular to the sacred. Regev concludes that “those who voluntarily observed purity in order to eat, pray, and read Scripture were seeking holiness in their everyday life, outside the realm of the Temple and the priestly system.”<sup>237</sup> As the title of Regev’s essay shows, purity in the Second Temple era is an individual concern. By the Second Temple era, purity had developed from an exterior experience to an interior spiritual experience of the Divine.

While the majority of the scholars reviewed here see the move from priestly purity to common purity as a development in the Second Temple era, Wright sees evidence of this development in the Holiness code. The analysis of cleansing verbs (§3.0.2) reveals that there is a concern for moral purity outside the Temple cult in the

---

<sup>234</sup> Sanders, *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE*, 223.

<sup>235</sup> Eyal Regev, “Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism,” *JSJ* 31, no. 2 (2000): 176–202, here 182–186. Both Adler and Miller share this view, cf. Adler, “Between Priestly Cult and Common Culture,” 228–248; Adler, “Archaeology of Purity.”; Miller, “Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels,” 214–243; Miller, *Intersection of Texts and Material Finds*.

<sup>236</sup> Regev, “Pure Individualism,” 186.

<sup>237</sup> Regev, “Pure Individualism,” 187.

Hebrew Bible. An examination of the relevant passages below (§3.2) will demonstrate a concern for non-priestly purity in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel corporately, and in Psalm 51 individually. When the concern for purity and holiness moves from the Temple to the wider population, it naturally moves from a single focus on ritual exterior purity to an inclusion of interior moral purity.

### 3.1.2 Conflation of Ritual and Moral Impurity

In addition to advocating for common purity in ancient Israel and Early Judaism, Neusner also argues that moral and ritual impurity were conflated at Qumran stating that “The yahad’s laws treat committing a sin not as a metaphor for becoming unclean, but as an actual source of uncleanness.... He is actually unclean and requires a rite of purification.”<sup>238</sup> As discussed in §2.2.3, it was imperative that each member of the Yahad was clean so that their community could be the dwelling place of the Divine.<sup>239</sup>

Regev develops his theories of the individual’s concern for purity in Qumran, where the interior spiritual experience results in a merging of ritual and moral purification. Regev argues that the purification liturgies of 4Q512 and 4Q414 “add further evidence that the manner in which ritual practice is interwoven with atonement of sin demonstrates that it is more than metaphorical.”<sup>240</sup> Indeed, Regev suggests that at Qumran ritual purification in water is a substitute for sacrifices because it is through

---

<sup>238</sup> Neusner, *The Idea of Purity*, 54.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Ian Werrett, “The Evolution of Purity at Qumran,” in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, ed. Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan, *Dynamics in the History of Religion 3* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 494–518, here 515.

<sup>240</sup> Eyal Regev, “Washing, Repentance, and Atonement in Early Christian Baptism and Qumranic Purification Liturgies,” *Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting 3* (2016): 33–60, here 35. Regev argues against Martha Himmelfarb’s contention that the writers of 4QD, 1QS and 4Q512 used P’s language of purity and purification as metaphors for sin and moral impurity. Himmelfarb, “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512,” 9–37, esp. 34–37.

this rite, coupled with repentance, that the member is forgiven, and his sins atoned for.<sup>241</sup>

Michael Newton is one of the early scholars to see a conflation of ritual and moral impurity at Qumran. Newton argues that “Both moral wrongdoing and levitical impurity cause defilement which can only be removed by washing preceded by repentance on the part of the polluted person.”<sup>242</sup> For Newton, the strict observance of purity rules in the Yaḥad is a result of the community being a replacement for the Temple. Just as previously, the Temple had to be holy for God to dwell there, so now the community must be the alternate holy dwelling place for God because the Temple was defiled.

Hannah K. Harrington makes a number of contributions to the study of purity and Qumran.<sup>243</sup> Early on she argues against Neusner and Sanders that there was any innovation in the concepts of impurity at Qumran and among the Rabbis, but rather their systems of purity were merely a more stringent approach to the Levitical laws.<sup>244</sup> Harrington, following her advisor Jacob Milgrom, maps the purity systems of Qumran and the Rabbis onto scriptural purity laws. She further rejects the view of García Martínez<sup>245</sup> and Newton<sup>246</sup> that the Yaḥad viewed their community as a substitute for

---

<sup>241</sup> Regev, “Washing, Repentance, and Atonement,” 39.

<sup>242</sup> Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 28. Cf. §2.1 for a further discussion on this work.

<sup>243</sup> Hannah K. Harrington, *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations*, SBLDS 143 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 1993); Harrington, “Holiness and Law,” 124–135; Hannah K. Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 5 (London: T&T Clark, 2004); Hannah K. Harrington, “Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls—Current Issues,” *CurBR* 4, no. 3 (2006): 397–428; Hannah K. Harrington, “Ritual Purity,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 329–347.

<sup>244</sup> Harrington, *Impurity Systems*, 1–2.

<sup>245</sup> Florentino García Martínez, “The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution,” in *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 139–57, esp. 152, 156–157.

<sup>246</sup> Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 49. Cf. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism*; Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*; Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 37; Lawrence H. Schiffman and

the Temple in Jerusalem. However, this view was later reversed in her monograph, *The Purity Texts*, where she states, “after the break with the Temple, the community is seen as a substitute and must be protected just as the Temple was. Levels of purity in the community parallel levels of purity required in the Temple and in the holy city.”<sup>247</sup> Harrington also acknowledges that “ritual and moral impurity are intertwined.”<sup>248</sup> While these statements appear to be dramatic reversals of earlier arguments, they are better understood as developing along a straight line from scripture. Harrington has been consistent in her writing that the purity systems represented at Qumran and among the Rabbis are directly linked and rooted in the purity laws of the Hebrew scriptures; to use her phrase: “they are on a continuum.”<sup>249</sup> They may have developed and become more stringent, but they come from the same root. This principle is shown in her discussion of the eschatological importance of purification in the Yaḥad when she states that the, “connection between water purification and the outpouring of the spirit of God at the eschaton is a biblical principle” and that “just as the spirit worked in conjunction with water to effect the first creation (Gen 1:2), so also at the eschatological rejuvenation.”<sup>250</sup> She goes on to make a direct connection with Zech 12:10; 13:1 and Ezek 36:25.

Jonathan Klawans contribution to the study of ritual and moral purity in the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran discoveries is particularly important for this study.

---

Chaim Potok, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 290.

<sup>247</sup> Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 38.

<sup>248</sup> Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 13.

<sup>249</sup> Harrington, “Purity and the DSS,” 419.

<sup>250</sup> Hannah K. Harrington, “Accessing Holiness via Ritual Ablutions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature,” in *Sacrifice, Cult, and Atonement in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Henrietta L. Wiley and Christian A. Eberhart (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 71–95, here 86.

Klawans builds on previous work in this area<sup>251</sup> and develops the distinction between ritual and moral impurity in the Hebrew Bible<sup>252</sup> and the conflation of the two in the sectarian literature of the scrolls.<sup>253</sup> He refers to this idea as “the defiling force of sin, or in other words, the impurity of immorality.”<sup>254</sup> Klawans observes that in the Hebrew scriptures, particular sins defile, resulting in moral rather than ritual impurity;<sup>255</sup> whereas in the literature of the Yāḥād these boundaries are crossed.<sup>256</sup> He identifies five ways that immorality and impurity are conflated, these are: (1) the sins of outsiders are described as impurities; (2) outsiders were not permitted to eat of the pure food; (3) insiders who have transgressed are also banned from the pure food; (4) moral repentance is only effective with ritual purification; and (5) ritual purification is only effective if accompanied by repentance.<sup>257</sup>

Gudrun Holtz has offered a third category of impurity at Qumran (cf. §2.3).

Alongside ritual-physical and moral impurity, Holtz posits that there exists a constitutional impurity which “is concerned with what is possessed by humans from birth. It cannot be completely removed by ritual means.”<sup>258</sup> This is a helpful insight into the concepts of moral and ritual purity at Qumran. As seen in the Hodayot, humanity is

---

<sup>251</sup> Scholars such as Adolph Buchler, Jacob Neusner, David P. Wright, Hannah Harrington, E. P. Sanders, Michael Newton, Joseph Baumgarten, Shaye Cohen, David Flusser, and Mary Douglas. For more details cf. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 163, nn. 1, 2.

<sup>252</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 21–42.

<sup>253</sup> Jonathan Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism,” *JJS* 48, no. 1 (1997): 1–16; Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*; Jonathan Klawans, “Ritual Purity, Moral Purity, and Sacrifice in Jacob Milgrom’s Leviticus,” *RelSRev* 29, no. 1 (2003): 19–28; Klawans, “Moral and Ritual Purity”, 266–284; Jonathan Klawans, “Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins, Oxford Handbooks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 337–402. Whereas Toews argues that the distinction between ritual and moral impurity was maintained at Qumran. Rather, the “change is that lustrations now cleanse not only ritual impurity but moral impurity as well. There is, therefore, a homogenizing of purification, not impurity.” Casey Toews, “Moral Purification in 1QS,” *BBR* 13, no. 1 (2003): 71–96, here 94.

<sup>254</sup> Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism,” 1–16, here 1.

<sup>255</sup> Sexual sins, idolatry and bloodshed. Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism,” 3.

<sup>256</sup> Klawans notes that this is not a universal concept at Qumran as it is not present in 4QMMT or the Temple Scroll. Cf. Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 72 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 7–8; Werrett, “The Evolution of Purity at Qumran”, 494–518, esp. 512–514.

<sup>257</sup> Klawans, “The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism,” 8–10.

<sup>258</sup> Holtz, “Purity Conceptions”, 524–525.

completely unable to overcome its sinful nature. Impurity is inherent and it is only through the cleansing of the divine that one can become pure. In 1QS, the individual is at the mercy of the two spirits and cannot choose between right or wrong. Holtz states that it is only at the eschaton that God “purifies humans by removing all prerequisites to do evil and by empowering them through the Holy Spirit to walk in holiness.”<sup>259</sup>

Yair Furstenberg compares initiation and purification rites from Qumran and the Apostolic Tradition to examine the blurring of ritual and moral impurity.<sup>260</sup> He concludes that the “two corpora share the challenge of expelling the impure presence of sin through concrete ritual patterns of bodily purification.”<sup>261</sup> Furstenberg views the conflation of moral and ritual impurity at Qumran as characteristic of a wider trend in the Second Temple era stating that it is the “reification of moral impurity” which facilitates this blurring of categories.<sup>262</sup> He makes an insightful connection between this reification and the association of sin with the possession by a demon. As sin is conceived as an object, one can expel it by various prayers and incantations. This is seen at Qumran through the initiation rite which relieves “the newcomer from the hold of the impure spirits as well as ridding him of his constitutional impurity.”<sup>263</sup> Thus intangible sin becomes something which can be dealt with through a physical process. By contrasting the Damascus Document and 4Q265 with the initiation in 1QS, Furstenberg convincingly argues that initiation into the Yaḥad developed into a purification procedure.<sup>264</sup>

---

<sup>259</sup> Holtz, “Purity Conceptions”, 527.

<sup>260</sup> Furstenberg, “Initiation,” 365–394.

<sup>261</sup> Furstenberg, “Initiation,” 365.

<sup>262</sup> Furstenberg, “Initiation,” 370.

<sup>263</sup> Furstenberg, “Initiation,” 372.

<sup>264</sup> Furstenberg, “Initiation,” 374–387.

Joseph Baumgarten’s extensive work on the legal and liturgical texts of the Qumran discoveries illuminates a number of critical factors for this study. These are: (1) liturgies or purification blessings found in the Scrolls contain both instructions for the purification ritual and prayers to be recited during the ritual;<sup>265</sup> (2) “immersion was one of the requirements for admission into the Yaḥad;”<sup>266</sup> (3) purification is through the holy spirit;<sup>267</sup> and (4) a link exists between purification of the body and purification of the spirit, or in other words, ritual and moral purification, at Qumran.<sup>268</sup>

Neusner and Regev see a transition in the Hebrew scriptures from metaphorical use of ritual purity language in regard to sin to a very real enactment of purification from moral impurity at Qumran. Harrington, on the other hand, does not view moral purity as metaphorical in the Hebrew scriptures, but rather as literal.<sup>269</sup> Therefore, at Qumran, it is not a case of a development from metaphorical to literal, instead she states that “ritual and moral impurity are intertwined.”<sup>270</sup> While disagreeing on the status of moral (im)purity in the Hebrew scriptures, these three scholars all agree that ritual and moral impurity are intermingled at Qumran; as do the remaining scholars reviewed here. Klawans extends this co-mingling one step further and argues that sin results in ritual impurity. There is a cause-and-effect relationship between the two which works both ways. Sin causes ritual impurity, and ritual purification (coupled with repentance)

---

<sup>265</sup> Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 199–209.

<sup>266</sup> Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7”, 199–209, here 199. Cf. Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Purification Liturgies,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 200–212, here 211.

<sup>267</sup> Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7”, 206–209; Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Use of מִי נִדָּה for General Purification,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, ed. Galen Marquis, et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in Cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 481–485; Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 93–105, here, 100–101. The discussion on the liquid metaphors of the holy spirit is particularly helpful.

<sup>268</sup> Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7”, 207, 211; Baumgarten, “Purification Liturgies”, 209; Baumgarten, “Use of מִי נִדָּה”; Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 98, 100.

<sup>269</sup> Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 10.

<sup>270</sup> Harrington, *The Purity Texts*, 13.

cleanses one from sin. Holtz introduces a third category of impurity at Qumran which ritual purification cannot eradicate. This constitutional impurity is an integral part of humanity and will only be purged at the eschaton by the divine spirit. Baumgarten also views the holy spirit as the agent of cleansing at Qumran, but for both the regular purifications and the final cleansing.

### 3.1.3 Purification at Qumran as Transformative Experience

An additional important factor of Baumgarten's work is that purification at Qumran was a transformative experience.<sup>271</sup> Contrary to Stegemann who argues that the purification ritual at Qumran had no "sacramental meaning such as forgiveness of sin,"<sup>272</sup> Baumgarten argues convincingly that these rites are not "merely external acts . . . these purifications were viewed as the means by which the holy spirit restores the corporate purity of Israel."<sup>273</sup>

Russell Arnold investigates the liturgies of the Qumran community through the lens of ritual studies and speech act theory which posits that some types of speech perform an action as well as provide information. Arnold states that "speech act theory recognizes that rituals do something in the saying, rather than explain or express something in what it says."<sup>274</sup> His informative study of the covenant renewal ceremony places the cleansing from sin by the holy spirit into the wider context of the whole ceremony and its function in the community. He underscores the importance of a holistic approach when he states that it is only "by attempting to understand the whole

---

<sup>271</sup> Baumgarten, "The Purification Rituals in DJD 7", 199, 201, 209. Cf. Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies", 208, 211–212.

<sup>272</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes -- Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 83–166, here 110.

<sup>273</sup> Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies", 211.

<sup>274</sup> Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 15.

communication, and not just the words devoid of social context,” that we will “discover the multivalent meanings of the experience of liturgy for the people living at Qumran.”<sup>275</sup> Thus we can see the performative aspect of the curses and blessings in the covenant renewal ceremony in a new light. These are not simply descriptive words, but also words which cause a blessing or curse. The confessions cause repentance which is required for the purification bath to be effective.<sup>276</sup> Arnold further states that for “a ritual to be successful, therefore, the participants in the ritual ought at least to know that what they are doing carries more significance than the act in itself.”<sup>277</sup>

An essay by Alexandria Frisch and Lawrence H. Schiffman explores how spirit and flesh interconnect with purity at Qumran. Based on the exclusion of people with any physical deformity from the Yahad, Frisch and Schiffman posit that “the sectarians conceptualized the body as a union of spirit and flesh that together was a source of sin in opposition to the divine.”<sup>278</sup> This insight leads to an added dimension to the conflation of moral and ritual impurity at Qumran. Moral impurity was not only from spirit, but also from flesh. Therefore, ritual purification in water is a real actualized purification, not simply a metaphor. The authors argue that 1QS III, 4–9 “not only reveals that atonement and cleansing are both necessary to reverse sin, but that the reason for this dual process is the corporate nature of the body. In other words, since the body is flesh and spirit combined, then purification must affect both.”<sup>279</sup> They qualify this by stating that it is a divine spirit which purifies, not actual water.<sup>280</sup>

---

<sup>275</sup> Arnold, *Social Role of Liturgy*, 15.

<sup>276</sup> *Contra* Lambert, “Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?”, 505.

<sup>277</sup> Arnold, “DSS, Qumran, and Ritual Studies”, 548.

<sup>278</sup> Alexandria Frisch and Lawrence H. Schiffman, “The Body in Qumran Literature: Flesh and Spirit, Purity and Impurity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 23 (2016): 155–182, here 173.

<sup>279</sup> Frisch and Schiffman, “The Body in Qumran Literature,” 176.

<sup>280</sup> Frisch and Schiffman, “The Body in Qumran Literature,” 176–177.

These studies all agree that moral purification at Qumran is a transformative experience. Unlike washing your clothes, where the only lasting affect is a slow wearing of the cloth, purification by the divine fundamentally alters the individual so that they can walk in straight paths (§2.2.4).

The studies briefly examined in this section lay the foundation for the following analysis of various texts where cleansing is found in the context of sin and/or a divine spirit in the Hebrew Bible, Yaḥad compositions and other Second Temple literature. Neusner, Alon, Sanders, and Regev have demonstrated that purity matters were not restricted to priests and the Temple in ancient Israel and the Second Temple era. The common people were concerned with their own state of purity and holiness to preserve their access to the Divine. Regev argues that this individualistic purity led to a conflation of ritual and moral purity at Qumran. This conflation is argued through different approaches by Neusner, Newton, Harrington, Klawans, Holtz, Furstenberg, and Baumgarten. While each scholar has approached the subject in a unique way, the conclusions are the same; purification at Qumran was both physical and spiritual. Baumgarten goes further to argue that this purification was a transformative experience. Arnold, Frisch, and Schiffman also find evidence for this transformation in Yaḥad texts. In the sections to follow are examinations of the occurrences of cleansing from sin and transformation in the Hebrew scriptures, the Yaḥad texts, and other Second Temple literature, with the aim to identify individualistic purity, a conflation of ritual and moral purity, and the role of the divine spirit in purification and regeneration.

## 3.2. Water in the Hebrew Scriptures

There are fourteen occurrences of verbs related to cleansing which are used in relation to purification from sin and/or are paired together with a divine spirit.<sup>281</sup> As the chronological order of the books is difficult to determine, the sequence as found in the Hebrew Bible is used to order the presentation here. It is significant that the notion of cleansing from sin is only present in the Prophets, Psalms, and Proverbs. As scholars such as Harrington and Klawans show (cf. §3.1.2), this is a development of thought in ancient Israel. The images and metaphors of external ritual purification are used by the writers of these later texts to refer to an interior moral cleansing.

### 3.2.1 Isaiah

In what Marvin Sweeney refers to as a trial genre, Isa 1:2–31 lays out God’s case against Israel with vv. 10–17 detailing what is expected from the people of Israel.<sup>282</sup> As such, it is the people of Israel who must cleanse themselves, not God who does the cleansing in Isa 1:16: “Wash (רָחַצוּ) yourselves; make yourselves clean (הִזַּכְּרוּ); remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes; cease to do evil...” However, more than just cleansing from past sins is expected, their behaviour must also be transformed as 1:17 makes clear: “learn to do good; seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, plead for the widow.” God is not looking for sacrifices (vv. 11–15), but rather for a people who do justice, love kindness, and walk humbly with their God (cf. Mic 6:8). This self-cleansing is contrasted with the cleansing and purging enacted by God in Isa 4:4, “once the Lord has washed (רָחַץ) away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed [יְדִיחַ - to rinse] the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst by a spirit

---

<sup>281</sup> Prov 20:9 (טהר, טהר); Isa 1:16 (רחץ, זכה), 4:4 (רחץ); Jer 2:22 (כבס), 4:14 (כבס), 33:8 (טהר); Ezek 36:25 (טהר); 37:23 (טהר); Ps 51:4 (כבס, טהר), 9 (כבס, טהר).

<sup>282</sup> Marvin A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*, The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 16 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 66–67.

of judgment and by a spirit of burning.” Here we see washing and cleansing in the context of a spirit of judgment and burning. This is not a simple and oft repeated ritual of cleansing, but a dramatic purging by fire. The remnant of Jerusalem will be transformed into a holy people of God on a new Mount Zion.

### 3.2.2 Jeremiah

There are three occurrences in Jeremiah where cleansing verbs are used in the context of sin, but each context is unique. The first occurs in Jer 2:22, “Though you wash (וַתִּכְבֹּֿטִי) yourself with lye and use much soap, the stain of your guilt is still before me, says the Lord GOD.” This is stated in the context of detailing how the people of Israel have broken their covenant and failed their God (cf. Isa 1).<sup>283</sup> Contrary to the command in Isaiah, Jeremiah here insists that the people do not have the ability to wash their sin and guilt away.<sup>284</sup> However in 4:14a Jeremiah pleads with the people to cleanse themselves in order to avert the coming disaster, “O Jerusalem, wash (וַתִּכְבֹּֿטִי) your heart clean of wickedness so that you may be saved.” This echoes the command in 4:4a where it is the circumcision of the heart that is required, “Circumcise yourselves to the LORD, remove the foreskin of your hearts.” In each case it is the transformation of the heart, the inner person which is required. Finally in the so-called “Book of Comfort,”<sup>285</sup> it is God who promises to cleanse his people from sin, “I will cleanse (וַתִּכְבֹּֿטִי) them from all the guilt of their sin against me, and I will forgive all the guilt of their sin and rebellion against me” (Jer 33:8). The concept of cleansing from sin moves from an accusation against the people of Israel who are so corrupted they cannot

---

<sup>283</sup> Peter C. Craigie, Page H. Kelley, and Joel F. Drinkard, *Jeremiah 1-25*, WBC 26 (Dallas: Word, 1991), 36; Hetty Lalleman, *Jeremiah and Lamentations: An Introduction and Commentary*, TOTC 21 (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2013), 81.

<sup>284</sup> If Isa 1:15–17 is in the background here as Holladay argues, then Jeremiah is underlining humanity’s inability to wash away their sin. William Lee Holladay and Paul D. Hanson, *Jeremiah I: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 99.

<sup>285</sup> Lalleman, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*, 240.

possibly cleanse themselves, to a plea to do so in order to avert God’s judgment, and finally to a cleansing enacted by God in the context of a promise of renewal, healing, cleansing, and forgiveness.

### 3.2.3 Ezekiel

Outside of the book of Leviticus, Ezekiel has the most occurrences of cleansing verbs with six out of fifteen paired with notions of cleansing from sin and one paired with a divine spirit. Three occurrences are clustered together in Ezek 24:13, “Yet, when I cleansed (טָהַרְתִּיךָ) you in your filthy lewdness, you did not become clean (טָהַרְתָּ) from your filth; you shall not again be cleansed (תִּטְהַרְרִי) until I have satisfied my fury upon you.” Whereas in Isa 4:4, God cleanses by a spirit of burning, here God only resorts to this fiery purging after cleansing did not work. Additionally, contrary to Jer 2:22 where it is the people’s cleansing which is not effective, it is God who cleanses here, and yet the iniquity of the people is so great, that cleansing cannot be achieved until the fury of God’s judgment has been completed. Walther Zimmerli locates the ineffectiveness of cleansing at the feet of the people due to their “lack of readiness to be cleansed.”<sup>286</sup> There is an inference here that God can only cleanse and transform where there is a willingness on the part of the individual. Therefore, the people must be made to repent through the fire of God’s fury. The next occurrences in Ezek 36:25–27 stand in stark contrast to this fury and judgement. Here, the Lord promises to complete the cleansing and transformation so that his people will be able to keep his covenant.

<sup>25</sup> I will sprinkle clean water (מַיִם טְהוֹרִים) upon you, and you shall be clean (טָהַרְתָּ) from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse (אֶטְהַרְרֶךָ) you.

<sup>26</sup> A new heart (לֵב חָדָשׁ) I will give you, and a new spirit (רוּחַ חָדָשׁ) I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a

---

<sup>286</sup> Walther Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 1–24*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1979), 501.

heart of flesh. <sup>27</sup> I will put my spirit (רוּחִי) within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances.

It seems as if God has realized that his people are not capable of truly repenting and following his will on their own. They require a new heart and a new spirit in order to keep their part of the covenant.<sup>287</sup> This is also promised in Jer 24:7; 32:39; Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 37:14; Bar 2:31; and is pleaded for in Ps 51:10. Eschatological cleansing, renewal, and transformation of God’s people through his Spirit as found in Ezek 36:25–27 is found in many subsequent Jewish writings and explored below.<sup>288</sup>

### 3.2.4 Psalms

There are a few references to cleansing from sin in the Psalms. The psalmist uses the verb נקה (Niph: 1.to be cleaned out, purged; 2. be clean, free from guilt, innocent) to seek cleansing in Ps 19:12. He pleads, “Clear (נְקִי) me from hidden faults.” Although this is an unusual verb, it is evident that cleansing is in view as demonstrated by the LXX translation of καθάρσιον and the following verse: “Then I shall be blameless, and innocent of great transgression” (Ps 19:13). This verb is used again when ritual and moral purity is paired in Ps 24:4, “Those who have clean (נְקִי) hands and pure (בָּר) hearts, who do not lift up their souls to what is false, and do not swear deceitfully.” Hands and hearts are paired again in Ps 17:14, “All in vain I have kept my heart clean (זָכִיתִי) and washed (אָרַחְתִּי) my hands in innocence.”

In Psalm 51, the psalmist, deep in despair over his own sin and realizing the limits of his humanity, begs God to cleanse him and to give him a new heart and the

---

<sup>287</sup> Eichrodt, *Ezekiel*, 500–501; Zimmerli, *Ezekiel Chs. 25–48*, 249; Allen, *Ezekiel 20–48*, 179; Launderville, *Spirit and Reason*, 375; Levison, “Promise of the Spirit”, 253; Tuell, *Ezekiel*, 247–248. Cf §2.4

<sup>288</sup> e.g., 1QS III, 3–11; IV, 20–21; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 18–30; Jub. 1:20–25. Rabens also gives further examples not explored in this thesis, namely: *Midr. Ps.* 14.6; 73.4; *Num. Rab.* 9.49; *Deut. Rab.* 6.14; *Cant. Rab.* 1.1 §9; *So\_*. 9.15; *Ber.* 32; *Pesiq. Rab.* 1.6. Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 164.

divine spirit that he may willingly follow God’s ways.<sup>289</sup> Although the psalm is attributed to David after his adultery with Bathsheba and the murder of her husband Uriah, some scholars argue that it was written much later and deliberately placed within this context.<sup>290</sup> There are certainly some striking parallels with prophetic books which may support an argument for a late development in line with Ezekiel and notions of cleansing, spirit, and new creation.<sup>291</sup> The psalmist distils the ideas of the sinfulness of humanity, purification, sacrifice, transformation, and obedience into this short psalm. It succinctly lays out the problem: humanity’s inability to do and be good (“For I know my transgressions, and my sin is ever before me.... Indeed, I was born guilty, a sinner when my mother conceived me” Ps 51:3, 5). Then the psalmist provides the solution: complete cleansing and transformation by a divine spirit.

Ps 51:1–2; 7; 10–12<sup>292</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Have mercy on me, O God,  
according to your steadfast love;  
according to your abundant mercy  
blot out (מָחָה) my transgressions.

<sup>289</sup> Contra David A. Lambert, *How Repentance Became Biblical: Judaism, Christianity, and the Interpretation of Scripture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 39, who does not read repentance in Ps 51 (or indeed in most if not all of the HB), but a plea for the life of his son.

<sup>290</sup> Susan E. Gillingham, *Psalms Through the Centuries Volume 2: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1–72*, Wiley Blackwell Bible Commentaries (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018), 304. There are a number of parallels in Jeremiah which leads Gillingham to state that Jeremiah is the primary influence for Ps 51. Cf. Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC 20 (Dallas: Word, 1990), 9–10. A note of caution, the chart of parallels which Tate provides from Dalglisch contains many copy errors. However, Dalglisch’s chart itself contains some dubious parallels. See the original chart, E. R. Dalglisch, *Psalm Fifty-one In the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 224–225.

<sup>291</sup> Jer 2:22; 4:14; 23:39; 24:7; 31:33–34; 32:39; 33:8; Isa 1:16, 18; 43:25; 44:22; 57:15; 59:2, 12–13; 61:10–11; 63:10–11; 66:2b, 4b; Ezek 11:19; 18:31; 36:25–27; 37:23; Hos 6:6.

<sup>292</sup> All verse references will refer to the English versification. Cf. note 211 for an explanation of Hebrew versus English verse numbers. For a metaphorical treatment of Ps 51 cf. Susan Haber, “*They Shall Purify Themselves*”: *Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*, EJM 24 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 97–98. Echoes of Ps 51 occur in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The idiom, clean heart (לֵב טָהוֹר) is found in the *Barkhi Nafshi*, (4Q435 2i, 1; 4Q436 1a+bi,10) and 4Q Beatitudes (4Q525 2ii+3, 1). New spirit (רוּחַ הַדָּשָׁה) is found in 4Q Communal Confession (4Q393 1ii\_2, 5) as is blot out all my iniquities (כָּל-עֲוֹנֹתַי מָחָה), although in the first-person plural. Right spirit (רוּחַ יְמִינִי) is found in the 4Q Letter of Enoch (4Q212 1ii, 25) and broken spirit (רוּחַ נִשְׁבָּרָה) from v. 17 is found in the description of the characteristics of a member of the Yḥad, 1QS VIII, 3 and in 4Q Communal Confession (4Q393 f1ii\_2, 7). Key elements of the psalm are also found in 1QS XI; cf. §3.4.1

- <sup>2</sup> Wash me (כַּבַּטְנִי) thoroughly from my iniquity,  
and cleanse me (טָהַרְנִי) from my sin.
- <sup>7</sup> Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean (אָטָהֵר);  
wash (תְּכַבֵּטְנִי) me, and I shall be whiter than snow
- <sup>9</sup> Hide your face from my sins,  
and blot out (מָחָה) all my iniquities.
- <sup>10</sup> Create in me a clean heart (לֵב טָהוֹר), O God,  
and put a new and right spirit (רוּחַ נְכוֹן סְדִישׁ) within me.
- <sup>11</sup> Do not cast me away from your presence,  
and do not take your holy spirit (רוּחַ קֹדֶשׁ) from me.
- <sup>12</sup> Restore to me the joy of your salvation,  
and sustain in me a willing spirit (רוּחַ נְדִיבָה).

This “Psalm of Psalms” is intricately connected with the ideas of cleansing from sin and transformation by a divine spirit as found especially in Ezek 36. The psalmist begins with a plea for forgiveness from a God whose qualities are steadfast love and abundant mercy.<sup>293</sup> This beginning assures both the psalmist and the reader/reciter that the following plea will be answered. There are three important terms in the first two verses which are echoed in reverse order in 51:7, 9–10: blot out (מָחָה), wash (כַּבַּס), and cleanse (טָהַר). As noted in §3.0.1, מָחָה is the term used for the cleansing of the earth by the flood. כַּבַּס is an unusual verb to use for washing a body. It is usually used for washing objects, most often clothes.<sup>294</sup> Two other instances of כַּבַּס in reference to washing the body occur in the verses from Jeremiah addressed above, Jer 2:22 and 4:14. Allen Ross notes that, “Washing clothes usually meant beating the dirt out of them near the source of the water. The prayer is that God would thoroughly clean the sinner, as the

<sup>293</sup> In English common law, this verse calling on God’s mercy was used as a test for the right to claim the benefit of clergy and became known as the neck verse as it saved the claimant from hanging. If the accused could recite the verse in Latin, he was deemed a clergy person whom the royal courts could try, but not sentence to death. Thomas J. Gardner and Terry M. Anderson, *Criminal Law*, 13th ed. (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2018), 204–205.

<sup>294</sup> Forty-six out of fifty-one occurrences.

modifying word stresses.”<sup>295</sup> The referral to hyssop in 51:7 also connects the washing of sins to the purification rites as a sprig of hyssop is used to sprinkle the waters for purification upon one defiled by a corpse (Num 19:17–19) and for one infected by leprosy (Lev 14). The clean heart (לֵב טָהוֹר) and right spirit (רוּחַ נְכוֹן) are echoes of the promises made in Jeremiah and Ezekiel as noted above. Thus, the cleansing from sin is immediately followed by a transformation of the inner being so that the individual is able to obey God’s laws.

There is some debate as to the nature of the spirit in 51:10 (right spirit), 51:11 (holy spirit) and 51:12 (willing spirit). As the psalmist, addressing God, refers to “your holy spirit” (רוּחַ קְדוֹשׁ), the spirit in 51:11 can safely be assumed to be the divine spirit. However, the case is not so clear in 51:10 and 51:12. The NRSV translation confuses the issue in 51:10 by translating שִׁדְדָה as the adjective “new” rather than the verb “renew”, and therefore supplies a needed verb “put”: “and *put* a new and right spirit within me.” Consequently, the NIV translation is preferred here: “and renew a steadfast spirit within me.”<sup>296</sup> Tate argues for a divine spirit in 51:10 and posits that בְּקִרְבִי should be translated as “over” or “on” rather than “within” stating that the “most frequent idea associated with the spirit of God is that it comes upon or is poured on a person rather than being put into the inner being.”<sup>297</sup> The argument is circular and unconvincing. The use of בְּקִרְבִי, whether translated as “within” or “upon” does not determine whether the spirit is of human or divine nature as evidenced by Isa 63:11; Ezek 11:19; and 36:27 where the spirit is divine and Isa 19:3, 14; 26:9; Hos 5:4; Zech 12:1 where the spirit is human in nature. Neve and Ross argue that it is the human spirit based on the parallel

<sup>295</sup> Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms: 42–89*, Kregel Exegetical Library (Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2013), 182. Cf. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 14–15.

<sup>296</sup> The NASB, NKJV, ESV all translate as renew. The LXX renders שִׁדְדָה as ἐγκαίνισσον (Strong’s: 1457 ἐγκαίνισω; from 1456; to renew, i.e., inaugurate: — consecrate, dedicate).

<sup>297</sup> Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 22.

with the human heart.<sup>298</sup> This argument is more persuasive as a clean heart and steadfast or right spirit are mirrored in the plea for complete transformation. However, if the steadfast spirit (רוּחַ נְכוֹן) in 51:10 is paralleled with the willing spirit (רוּחַ נְדִיבָה) in 51:12, the nature of the spirit in these two verses is problematized. Neve and Tate argue for the guiding spirit of YHWH based on the secondary gloss for נְדִיבָה, namely noble or princely, inferring the guidance of a prince for his people.<sup>299</sup> This is supported by the LXX rendering of “guiding spirit” (πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ). Neve further argues for a divine spirit based on reading Ps 51 with Ezek 36:25–27 and Ezek 39:29. As already noted, Ps 51 is a close parallel to Ezek 36:25–27. Neve compares the two passages in the following ways: (1) the cleansing from sin (Ps 51:2, 7, 10; Ezek 36:25); (2) a gift of a new heart and new spirit (Ps 51:10; Ezek 36:26); and (3) the guidance of the divine spirit to follow the laws of God in Ezek 36:27 with the willing spirit in Ps 51:12. Neve then ties in Ezek 39:29 which makes clear that the spirit being poured upon Israel is equated with the presence of God.<sup>300</sup> Therefore, if spirit in 51:10 is a parallel with spirit in 51:12, then both are the divine spirit and reflect aspects of the holy spirit in 51:11 given to the psalmist. Alternatively, Ross argues for a translation of “willing spirit” based on “freewill offering” (נְדָבָה), therefore it is the spirit of the psalmist.<sup>301</sup> Klein argues that since the context is concerned with a renewal of the inner disposition, “a total adjustment of the volitional centre onto the divine will,” it is the psalmist’s spirit which is transformed into a willing spirit. This then corresponds to the broken spirit (רוּחַ גְּשֵׁבָרָה) in 51:17 which is the acceptable offering to God.<sup>302</sup> It is the final occurrence

<sup>298</sup> Lloyd Neve, “Realized Eschatology in Psalm 51,” *ExpTim* 80, no. 9 (1969): 264–266, here 265; Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms: 42–89*, 191–193.

<sup>299</sup> Neve, “Realized Eschatology,” 264; Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 25.

<sup>300</sup> Neve, “Realized Eschatology,” 265.

<sup>301</sup> Cf. in Exod 35:29; 36:3; Lev 7:16; 22:18; and Deut 12:6. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms: 42–89*, 194–195.

<sup>302</sup> Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’”, 171–191, here 173.

of spirit in 51:17 which is the key to unlocking the conundrum of the nature of spirit in this psalm. Here again the spirit is paralleled with the heart, and this time there is no mistaking the connection as both are broken. There is also no mistaking the nature of the spirit, as a sacrifice to God it can only be the human spirit. The heart cleansed of sin and human wilfulness in 51:10 is now a broken, or humbled heart. The spirit renewed and strengthened in 51:10 and sustained and willing in 51:12 is now a broken and humble offering acceptable to God.

The motifs of cleansing and transformation in this psalm resonate in later Jewish writings. In contrast to Rodney Werline’s comment that, “the fragment’s [4Q393] reliance on Psalm 51 is of special interest, because, oddly, penitential prayers from this period rarely draw on the language of this psalm,”<sup>303</sup> this study has found numerous examples of the influence of Psalm 51 in literature from this period. Indeed, there are a number of elements present in Psalm 51 which are echoed in Second Temple literature. The first four elements are the most frequently found and will be explored in the next sections.

Table 1: Key Elements in Psalm 51

1) God is merciful, loving, righteous and able to blot out transgressions	Ps 51:1
2) Humanity is desperately sinful	Ps 51:3–5
3) God cleanses and purifies	Ps 51:2, 7
4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom	Ps 51:6, 12
5) One can teach others after cleansing and transformation	Ps 51:13
6) One can praise God after deliverance	Ps 51:14–15

---

<sup>303</sup> Rodney A. Werline, “Reflections on Penitential Prayer: Definition and Form,” in *Seeking the Favor of God: Vol 2 The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney A. Werline, EJS 22 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2007), 209–225, here 217.

- |   |          |
|---|----------|
| 7) God is not pleased with a burnt offering | Ps 51:16 |
| 8) Humble/broken spirit/heart               | Ps 51:17 |

### 3.2.5 Proverbs

Possibly the earliest occurrence of pairing cleansing and sin is in Proverbs 20:9 where both זכה and טהר are present: “Who can say, ‘I have made my heart clean (זָכִיתִי); I am pure (טָהַרְתִּי) from my sin’?”<sup>304</sup> This proverb connects cleansing with both sin and the human heart. As with most proverbs in this section, the saying is unconnected from the surrounding proverbs. Horne tentatively suggests that Prov 20:5–12 can be grouped together as sayings about “penetrating the human heart”, however this grouping is fragile at best.<sup>305</sup> For our purposes, it is an important glimpse into cleansing from sin as the surrounding sayings shed no further light on this notion. What is clear is that humanity is not able to effect either the cleansing or the purification. The implication is that those functions are for God alone to perform.

Traditions from the Hebrew scriptures provide the background to the analysis of Qumran discoveries. Concepts of cleansing from sin and transformation observed here, and the activity of the divine spirit in these actions are taken up and developed in the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly in the Yahad compositions. In the next section we will examine the Community Rule, the Hodayot, and the Rituals of Purification looking for the motifs of cleansing from sin and transformation. Taking Psalm 51 as the exemplar of these motifs, we will note when the key elements in Psalm 51 identified in §3.2.4 are present.

---

<sup>304</sup> Fox dates the four oldest collections in Chapters 10–29 (Parts II–V) to the monarchy, probably in the eighth to seventh centuries BCE. Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 188 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 499.

<sup>305</sup> Milton P. Horne, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*, SHBC 12 (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2003), 247.

### 3.3. Water in the Yaḥad

As we have seen (§3.0.2), there are more than twice the number of occurrences of cleansing verbs in the context of cleansing from sin and/or paired with a divine spirit in the non-biblical Qumran discoveries than in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>306</sup> This is not surprising given the conflation of ritual and moral purification at Qumran as previously discussed (§§2.2.3; 3.1.2). This section explores occurrences in the Yaḥad composition in an effort to shed some light on the developing concept of purification from sin and transformation in the Yaḥad. Echoes of the Hebrew Bible are highlighted, especially those from Psalm 51 and Ezek 36:25–27, in order to view continuities and evolutions. This study breaks new ground in intertextual studies by broadening the search to looking for similarities in ideology whether exact words or phrases are present or not, in contrast to previous studies which use more restricted models of intertextuality.<sup>307</sup>

#### 3.3.1 The Community Rule (1QS)<sup>308</sup>

---

<sup>306</sup> (1) Paired with a divine spirit: זכה: 1QS III, 4–6 (x1) 5Q13 4 2, (1QS III, 4); VIII, 16–18 (x1). רהץ: 1QS III, 5–6 (x1). טהר: 1QS III, 4, 5, 7, 8; IV, 21; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 30; 4Q381 46a+b 5 (possibly paired with line 8); 69 6 (paired with line 4); 4Q393 3 5 (can possibly be paired with 4Q393 1ii–2 5–6); 4Q504 1–2 R vi 2–3; preceded by 4Q504 1–2 R v 15 which also pairs holy spirit and pour. (2) Cleansing from sin: זכה: 1QS III, 4; 1QS VIII, 16–18 (x1); IX, 9; 4Q257 III, 6 (1QS 3.4); 4Q258 VII, 8 (1QS IX, 9). זכך: CD X, 3; 4Q266 8iii, 3 (CD X, 3); 4Q270 6iv,15 (CD X, 3). טהר: 1QS III, 7, 8; IV, 21, V, 13–14 (x1); XI, 14–15 (x1); 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 30; IX, 34; X, 5; XI, 22–23 (x1); XII, 37–38 (x1); XIV, 11; XV, 33; XIX, 13, 33; 4Q255 2 1, 3 (1QS III, 7, 8); 4Q257 III, 10, 12 (1QS III, 7, 8); 4Q258 XIII, 2 (1QS XI, 14–15); 4Q264 1 2 (1QS XI, 15); 4Q370 1ii, 3; 4Q393 3 5; 4Q414 1ii–2i, 6; 2ii–4 1, 4, 8; 13 2, 7, 9; 22 1; 4Q424 2 2; 4Q504 1–2 R vi 2–3; preceded by 4Q504 1–2 R 4Q504 v 15; 11Q5 XIX, 14; XXIV, 12; 11Q6. f4–5:14 (11Q5 XIX, 14). ברר: 1QS IV, 20; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 23; VIII, 28. רהץ: 4Q414 2ii–4 5; 13 5, 7.

<sup>307</sup> Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, ATDan 2 (Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960); Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, vol. 5, JAJSup (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Sarah Tanzer, *Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot*, A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 255–275; Shani Tzoref, *The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule*, A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 203–234.

<sup>308</sup> Examination of occurrences is limited to 1QS iteration of the Community Rule as the Cave 4 passages are not substantially different.

The covenant renewal found in 1QS III, 4–9 is a central passage in this study (cf. §2.2.3). It is returned to here to highlight the parallels with Psalm 51 and the aspect of cleansing.

<sup>3</sup> He is not righteous when he walks in the stubbornness of his heart. And darkness he considers the ways of light; in the fount of the perfect ones <sup>4</sup> he cannot be accounted. He cannot be *purified* (יזכה) by atonement, nor be *cleansed* (יטהר) by *waters of purification* (במי נדה), nor sanctify (יתקדש) himself in streams <sup>5</sup> and rivers, nor *cleanse* (יטהר) himself in any *waters of ablution* (מי רחץ). Unclean, unclean is he, as long as he rejects the judgments of <sup>6</sup> God, so that he cannot be instructed within the Community of his [God's] counsel. For it is by the *spirit* of the true counsel of God that the ways of man – all of his iniquities – <sup>7</sup> are atoned. So that he can behold the light of life. It is by the *Holy Spirit* of the Community in his [God's] truth that he can be *cleansed* (יטהר) from all <sup>8</sup> his iniquities. It is by an upright and humble spirit that his sin can be atoned. It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes, that <sup>9</sup> his flesh can be *cleansed* (יטהר), by *sprinkling* (נזה) with *waters of purification* (במי נדה), and by sanctifying (ולתקדש) himself with *waters of purity* (במי דוכי). May he establish his steps for walking perfectly <sup>10</sup> in all God's ways, as he commanded at the appointed times of his fixed times, and not turn aside, to the right or to the left, and not <sup>11</sup> transgress a single one of all his commands. (1QS III, 3–11)

These nine lines are critical for understanding how the Yaḥad regarded moral and ritual purification and the role of the divine spirit in that process. One could not be cleansed of ritual impurities without also being purified of moral impurities. Klawans argues that both moral and ritual purification are part of the initiation into the Yaḥad when he states that “ritual purification is the culminating step of the process of atonement; thus, atonement is not complete without purification.... What we ought to say then is not that one requirement is the precondition for the other, but that they are mutually dependent conditions, both of which must be met.”<sup>309</sup> This section echoes the notions of cleansing and transformation by a divine spirit found in Psalm 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 and develops them further. As Klein notes, “literary dependency on Psalm 51

---

<sup>309</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 86.

and can lexically be demonstrated by the combination of תהר and רוה.<sup>310</sup> We can see a few of the key elements identified in Psalm 51. These are:

- |   |             |              |
|---|-------------|--------------|
| 2) Humanity is desperately sinful                 | Ps 51:3–5   | 1QS III, 1–6 |
| 3) God cleanses and purifies                      | Ps 51:2, 7  | 1QS III, 6–7 |
| 4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom | Ps 51:6, 12 | 1QS III, 8–9 |

There are additional parallels with an upright spirit (Ps 51:10 and 1QS III, 8) and humility (Ps. 51:17 and 1QS III, 8–9). It is important to note that for the Yaḥad, it is only the divine spirit *in* the Community which can effect purification and transformation. This divine gift is only available to the Yaḥad.

In the Treatise of the Two Spirits, this purification by the divine spirit is also promised at an eschatological event as the final complete transformation and effective defence against the spirit of deceit and impurity (cf. §§2.2.4; 2.3). 1QS IV merits attention when highlighting the terms used for cleansing and purifying and elements from Psalm 51. We see here these key elements: (2) humanity is desperately sinful; (3) God cleanses and purifies; (4) God transforms:

<sup>20</sup> Then God will *purify* (יברר) by his truth all the works of man and purge for himself the sons of man. He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from the veins of <sup>21</sup> his flesh. He will *purify him by the Holy Spirit* (לטהרו ברוח קודש) from all ungodly acts and *sprinkle* (נזה) upon him the *Spirit of Truth* (רוח אמת) like *waters of purification* (כמי נדה), (to purify him) from all the abominations of falsehood and from being polluted <sup>22</sup> by a spirit of impurity. (1QS IV, 20–22a)

This passage explicitly pairs ritual purification with moral purification and complete transformation. While in Ezek 36:26 it is the heart of stone which is removed, here the spirit of deceit is ripped from “the veins of his flesh.” Both are dramatic and painful

---

<sup>310</sup> Klein, “From the ‘Right Spirit’”, 189.

physiological images of transformation. What the psalmist pleads for in Psalm 51 is promised here to the Yaḥad. The Holy Spirit is not taken from the individual, but cleanses and permanently transforms the community member. This then fulfils another plea of the psalmist and the promise of the Divine:

You desire *truth in the inward being*; therefore teach me *wisdom* in my secret heart. (Ps 51:6)

I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. (Ezek 36:27)

Thereby He shall give the upright insight into the *knowledge* of the Most High and the *wisdom* of the angels, making *wise* those following the perfect way. (1QS IV, 22b)

In support of his argument that at Qumran repentance preceded ritual purification by immersion, David Flusser points to 1QS V, 13–14 (He must not enter the water in order to touch the purity of the men of holiness. For they cannot be cleansed unless they turn away from their wickedness, for (he remains) impure among all those who transgress his words.).<sup>311</sup> While Hempel concludes that this refers to ritual baths before meals,<sup>312</sup> Daise argues that it is both part of the initiation ritual and purification rituals before meals.<sup>313</sup> Either way, the essential point is that an impure man cannot take on the purity of the Men of Holiness by merely entering the same water (possibly at the same time). Outer washing is not sufficient to become pure.

1QS VIII, 16–18 is another iteration of the rule that no one “who strays from any one of the ordinances deliberately may touch the pure-food of the men of holiness ... until his works have become *purified* (יִזָּכַר) from all deceit.” 1QS IX, 8–9 warns that

<sup>311</sup> David Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin, *ScrHier* 4 (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965), 215–266, here 243–244.

<sup>312</sup> Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 41. Cf. Kugler, “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran,” 137.

<sup>313</sup> Daise, “Processual Modality in Qumran Ritual: Introduction into the Counsel of the Yachad in 1QS,” 309–310.

the property of the men of holiness must not be merged with outsiders “who have not *cleansed* (הזכו) their way by separating themselves from deceit and walking with the perfect of the Way.” While the hitpael form of זכה in VIII, 18 is ambiguous as to who is doing the cleansing, it is perhaps clearer that it is the individual who has failed to cleanse themselves in IX, 9. The final occurrence in 1QS returns to the Divine performing the action in the hymn found in columns X–XI. Psalm 51 and this hymn both set out God’s *bona fides* and ability not just to forgive, but also to completely erase the transgressions of the writer.

Have mercy on me, O God,  
 according to your steadfast love;  
 according to your abundant mercy  
*blot out my transgressions.* (Ps  
 51:1)

By his righteousness he shall *blot*  
*out my transgression.* (1QS XI, 3)

As the psalmist goes on to acknowledge the depths of his sinfulness, so does the writer of this hymn: “My iniquities, my transgressions, my sins, as well as the perverseness of my heart (belong) to the assembly of maggots and of those who walk in darkness. For my way (belongs) to Adam. The human cannot establish his righteousness” (1QS XI, 9b–10a). However, the hymnist is secure in the mercy of God and proclaims, “In his great goodness he atones for all my iniquities. In his righteousness he *cleanses* (יטהרני) me of the impurity of the human” (1QS XI, 14). Following this cleansing, God opens the heart for knowledge and establishes all his works in righteousness (1QS XI, 15b–16a). This hymn echoes the following key elements of Psalm 51.

- |   |           |                     |
|---|-----------|---------------------|
| 1) God is merciful, loving, righteous,<br>and able to blot out transgressions | Ps 51:1   | 1QS XI, 2–5, 12–14  |
| 2) Humanity is desperately sinful   | Ps 51:3–5 | 1QS XI, 9–10, 21–22 |

- |   |             |                 |
|---|-------------|-----------------|
| 3) God cleanses and purifies                      | Ps 51:2, 7  | 1QS XI, 14–15   |
| 4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom | Ps 51:6, 12 | 1QS XI, 15b–16a |

1QS makes vivid use of the metaphorical images of purification and the Temple cult, as seen especially in 1QS III, 9 and IV, 21 with the use of the term to sprinkle (הרז). However, while the Divine does not literally wash with water, the cleansing from sin is not simply metaphorical in the Yaḥad.<sup>314</sup> Cleansing and purification by the holy spirit is a very real experience and absolutely necessary in order to enter the community. It is evident that Psalm 51 is in the background of many of the passages just explored and shares some key elements. These elements are also recurring in the Hodayot, which is the subject of the following section.

### 3.3.2 The Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup>)

The Hodayot are very concerned with individual piety and purity as evidenced by the first-person acknowledgment of sinfulness (e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 23–24), pleas for cleansing (e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 30), and transformation (e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 25, 30–31). Susan Haber highlights the motif of cleansing and transformation in the Hodayot when she states that the

image of purification metaphorically describes God’s power to effect atonement, and at the same time it emphasizes the impurity and sin of the individual. Purity language serves to express the psalmist’s view of God as the source of purification/atonement for the impure/sinful human being.<sup>315</sup>

---

<sup>314</sup> For a discussion of metaphor in the context of purity and cleansing cf. Haber, “*They Shall Purify Themselves*”, 93–124.

<sup>315</sup> Haber, “*They Shall Purify Themselves*”, 99.

A brief survey of the occurrences of the purifying verbs in connection with a cleansing from sin confirms Haber’s statement while also revealing an intertextuality with Psalm 51. If Schuller is correct and the hymn fills all of 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, then all four key elements of Psalm 51 identified in §3.2.4 are present in this hymn: (1) God is compassionate and merciful to forgive sins (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 23, 29, 32); (2) the confession of sin (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 30–31); (3) cleansing by God, specifically the holy spirit here; and (4) a purified or transformed heart: “[Blessed are you, God Most High, that ]you have spread (נוף) your holy spirit upon your servant[ and you] have purified (וית[טהר]) m°[...]t° his heart” (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38). As previously argued (§2.2.3), the term נוף should be translated as sprinkle here. This makes clear the connection between a purification ritual and the purification of the heart. It is the Divine who effects the purification. This is contrasted with 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 23 where it is the individual who purifies himself from iniquity (“with all (my) heart and with all (my) soul I have purified (בררתי) (myself) from iniquity”). This is one of only three instances of the use of the verb ברר in the context of cleansing from sin.<sup>316</sup> One of the other occurrences is found in the same hymn at 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 28–30 where it is again the individual who performs the cleansing; however, this is quickly contrasted with an acknowledgement that no one can be righteous apart from God and a plea for cleansing by the holy spirit. It is also significant that the individual only washes their hands, whereas the cleansing of the holy spirit draws one nearer to God.

Because I know that you have recorded the spirit of the righteous, I myself have chosen to *cleans* (להבר) my hands according to your wil[l.] The soul of your servant abhors every malicious deed. I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and so I entreat you with the *spirit* (רוח) that you have placed in me that you make your kindness to your servant complete [for]ever, *cleansing* (לטהרני) me by your *holy spirit* (ברוח קודשך) and drawing me nearer by your good favor, according to your great kindness [wh]ich you have shown. (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 28–30)

---

<sup>316</sup> 1QS IV, 20; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 23; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 28.

The very long hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 21–VIII, 41<sup>317</sup>) contains a number of elements of Psalm 51. While the phrase “blot out transgression” is not present, the concept that forgiveness and cleansing is through God’s compassion and mercy is repeated several times. The deterministic theology of the Yaḥad is present in this hymn, therefore the descriptions of the great sinfulness of humanity is reserved for the ones which God created for the purpose of his wrath and who are wicked from the womb (1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 30–32). Nonetheless, the hymnist declares that it is not through the power of the flesh that one may perfect their way or direct their steps (1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 25–26), begs for mercy for his transgressions (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 24, 30), and proclaims that God alone is righteous (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIII, 27, 29).

1) God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions	Ps 51:1	1QH <sup>a</sup> VII, 21, 29; VIII, 22, 27, 29–30, 34–35
2) Humanity is desperately sinful	Ps 51:3–5	1QH <sup>a</sup> VII, 25–26; VIII, 24, 27, 29, 35
3) God cleanses and purifies	Ps 51:2, 7	1QH <sup>a</sup> VIII, 30
4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom	Ps 51:6, 12	1QH <sup>a</sup> VII, 25–28; VIII, 25, 30–33, 35–36

In addition, there are two other echoes of Psalm 51, namely:

Strengthening, sustaining spirit	Ps 51:10, 12	1QH <sup>a</sup> VIII, 20, 25
Plea to remain in God’s presence	Ps 51:11	1QH <sup>a</sup> VIII, 36

Klawans argues that while Psalm 51 is in the background, “there can also be no doubt that at Qumran, the concept of purification from sin was no longer a figure or a literary motif, but an integral part of sectarian ritual.”<sup>318</sup> There are also echoes of Ezek 36:25–

<sup>317</sup> Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *1QH<sup>a</sup>, 1QH<sup>b</sup>, 4QH<sup>a-f</sup>*, 99–100, 110–111.

<sup>318</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 85.

27 in this *hodayah*. In Ezekiel, God promises to cleanse his people and to put (אָתָּה) his spirit in them, while in the Hodayot, the divine spirit is put (נתתה) into the individual and the holy spirit cleanses the hymnist.

An intertextual occurrence with Psalm 51 is seen again in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, where the hymnist acknowledges their sinfulness, declaring they are “a foundation of shame and a well of impurity, a furnace of iniquity” (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 24). The compassion and great kindness of God is invoked in a plea for cleansing from sin: “And you, in your compassion and your great kindness, you have strengthened the human spirit in the face of affliction and [the poor] soul you have cleansed (טהרתה) from great iniquity” (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 33b–34). Additionally, praising God before all creation and teaching others after the cleansing (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 35–39) echoes Ps 51:13–15. The pattern of confession, cleansing, transformation, teaching others, and praising God in Psalm 51 is repeated here and in many Yaḥad compositions.

Carol Newsom observes that the language in the hymns in regard to the leader is stereotypical, traditional, and borrowed in part from Psalms.<sup>319</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> X, 5–21 the hymnist uses the motifs of the Psalms to contrast insiders and outsiders of the Yaḥad and to establish the leadership of the hymnist. Newsom notes that the Hodayot of the leader “are not simply compositions about a leader,” they are also “verbal attempts to articulate a community through the self-presentation of the persona of the leader.”<sup>320</sup> The hymnist uses the motif of purification of the heart by the Divine from Psalm 51 to establish his status as leader when he states, “[I thank you, O Lord, that you have made straight in] my [hea]rt all the deeds of iniquity, and you have purifi[ed me] ([וּתְּטֵה רִנִּי])” (1QH<sup>a</sup> X, 5). This hymn follows the pattern of Psalm 51 in that purification precedes

---

<sup>319</sup> Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 295.

<sup>320</sup> Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 299.

wisdom and teaching others. The remaining hymn contrasts the reception of his teaching between those who are loyal to him and view him as “an expert interpreter of wonderful mysteries” (1QH<sup>a</sup> X, 15), and the “erring interpreters” who view him as an adversary (1QH<sup>a</sup> X, 16).

In the *hodayah* of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, 20–37 the hymnist praises God for delivering and purifying him from sin: “And a perverted spirit you have purified (טהרתה) from great sin that it might take its place with the host of the holy ones and enter into community with the congregation of the children of heaven” (1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, 22–23). Here we see the key elements of the great sin of humanity, and God performing the purification. The perverted spirit of the hymnist is purified and transformed, just as the spirit of the psalmist is (Ps 51:10, 12, 17). Additionally, the hymnist receives knowledge and then praises God (1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, 22–24), which echoes the Psalm 51 sequence of purification, transformation, gaining knowledge, and praising God.

1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 36–38 has a couple of the key elements, namely: (1) God is merciful and loving; and (3) God cleanses and purifies. Additionally, there are also echoes of other significant elements from Psalm 51:

And I said, “In my sin I have been abandoned, far from your covenant.”	Do not cast me away from your presence (Ps 51:11)
But when I remembered the strength of your hand together with your abundant compassion (רחמיכה)	according to your abundant mercy (רחמיך) (Ps 51:1)
I stood strong and rose up, and my spirit held fast to (its) station in the face of affliction	and sustain in me a willing spirit (Ps 51:5)
For I am supported by your kindness (בחסדיכה)	your steadfast love (פחֶסֶדֶךָ) (Ps 51:1)
and according to your abundant compassion to me (רחמיכה)	according to your abundant mercy (רחמיך) (Ps 51:1)

you pardon iniquity and thus *clean[se]* (ולטה[ר])  
a person from guilt

*cleans* (טְהַרְנִי) me from my sin  
(Ps 51:2, cf. 51:7)

through your righteousness (בצדקתכה)

justified (תְצַדֵּק) in your sentence  
(Ps 51:4)

Just a few lines before, the hymnist declares that the perfect way for mortal beings is only possible through the spirit which God has made for humanity (1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 32–33). As seen previously, transformation effected by God, is the only way to live a righteous life.

Purification from guilt and sin is also paired with God’s kindness (חסד) and compassion/mercy (רחמ) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV, 11–12 regarding the remnant of God’s people, “And you refine them in order to purify (להטהר) from guilt [and from s]in all their deeds by means of your truth. And in your kindness (ובחסדיך) you judge them with overflowing compassion (רחמי) and abundant forgiveness.” The Psalm 51 sequence of purification, transformation, gaining knowledge, and praising God is present in this *hodayah*. After purification and transformation God teaches them and they in turn teach others and recite God’s praises (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIV, 12–14). Again, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 32–33, it is through God’s overflowing compassion that transgressions are cleansed, “But all the children of your truth you bring before you in forgiveness to cleanse (לטהרם) them from their transgressions (מפשעיהם) through your great goodness, and through your overflowing compassion (רחמיכה).” Haber points out that the use of פשע,

may be especially significant in that it signifies ‘a willful, knowledgeable violation of a norm or standard.’ The sins for which God effects atonement are not mere inadvertencies or mistakes, but deliberate violations of the law. It is only by virtue of God’s goodness and compassion that the sinner receives purification from such flagrant sin.<sup>321</sup>

---

<sup>321</sup> Haber, “*They Shall Purify Themselves*”, 100.

While this short hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 29–36) also thanks God for instruction in his truth and knowledge of his mysteries (1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 29–30), the pattern of Psalm 51 is not present. Here the gift of knowledge and wisdom comes before cleansing from sin.

The noun פִּשַׁע is also used in 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 13 “For the sake of your glory you have purified (טָהַרְתָּהּ) a mortal from sin (מִפִּשַׁע),” is also paired with abundant forgiveness and compassion (וְרַחֲמֵיכָה) in the preceding line, and the desperate sinfulness of humanity in the following lines 14–15, “from all impure abominations and from faithless guilt ... corpse-infesting maggot ... spirit of perversion.” This passage also refers to the cleansing of sin before entering the Yāḥad, “so that he might be united with the children of your truth” (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 14). This hymn (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 6–XX, 6)<sup>322</sup> is broken into three sections: (1) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 6–17; (2) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 18–25; and (3) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 26–XX, 6. In the first section the hymnist thanks God for instruction and insight (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 7, 12–13) before cleansing from sin (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV 29–36). This thanksgiving for wisdom is repeated in the second section (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 19–20) which reveals “the inclinations of humans... [the] mour]nfulness of sin, and the anguish of guilt” (XIX, 23–24a). The hymnist looks forward to the destruction of iniquity so that every mouth will praise God forever and ever (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 25–30). This is the final and complete transformation of the eschaton (cf. 1QS IV, 20–22). The final section and closing blessing also begins with thanksgiving for insightful knowledge (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 30–31) and then praises God for his goodness, kindness, and compassion, and pleads for purification by his righteousness.<sup>323</sup> This closing blessing also shares the aspect of gladness (שִׂמְחָה) from Ps 51:8.

---

<sup>322</sup> For a discussion of the division of the psalm cf. Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *1QH<sup>a</sup>, 1QH<sup>b</sup>, 4QH<sup>a-f</sup>*, 242–244.

<sup>323</sup> Esther G. Chazon, “Liturgical function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, et al., STJD 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 135–152, here 141–143.

Blessed are you, God of compassion (הִרְחַמִּים) and grace, according to the ... abundan[ce] of your kindness (חֶסֶד־יְכִיָּה) with all your creatures. Gladden (שִׂמְחָה) the soul of your servant through your truth, and purify (וְטַהַרְנִי) me by your righteousness. (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 32–34a)

The hymnist declares that God has put the hymns of praise in his mouth, also, a prayer of supplication and a ready answer (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 36–37). There is a hint that the hymnist retains strength by or through God, “And I reta[in strength]” (1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 38), but as the line is badly damaged it is impossible to confirm. However, as the whole hymn attributes to God the gifting of knowledge to see sin, the cleansing from sin, the complete destruction of sin, and the very words of praise, supplication, and response, it is reasonable to conclude that the strength of the hymnist is also from God.

In this section on the Hodayot the occurrences of cleansing verbs in relation to sin were used to pinpoint motifs of moral purity and transformation. Once identified, the surrounding hymn was examined to see if other elements from Psalm 51 were present. It was observed that this was almost always the case. This is not to say that the writers were deliberately using allusions from Psalm 51, but rather, that the writers were so familiar with the language of the psalms and Psalm 51 in particular, that it permeates the hymns. The concept of cleansing from sin and transformation are seen to be taken up and developed in the writings of the Yaḥad. Notably, while the Hodayot have a much more negative view of humanity than the Community Rule, both scrolls use the imagery of ritual purification to make it abundantly clear that moral purification is only accomplished by the Divine.<sup>324</sup> The Hodayot were performative psalms, recited aloud in community. The performance of the psalms is a speech act just as the blessings, curses, and confession of the covenant renewal ceremony are. The reciting of confessions of sinfulness produces repentance; praise and thanksgiving for God’s

---

<sup>324</sup> Cf. §2.2.4.

compassion and great mercy results in the speaker experiencing this compassion; pleas and thanksgiving for cleansing from sin produces gratitude and a desire for transformation from sinfulness so that they can walk in the way of the Lord. The continual recitation of the motifs of cleansing from sin and transformation forms the identity of the individual member and the group as a whole.

### 3.3.3 The Damascus Document (CD)

The rare verb זָכַךְ is found in the Damascus Document and in two of its iterations found in Cave 4, viz. 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266 8iii, 3) and 4QD<sup>e</sup> (4Q270 6iv, 15), where we read: “No man shall be believed against his neighbor as a witness, who transgresses the ordinance deliberately until he is cleansed (זָכַךְ) by repentance (לְשׁוּבָה)” (CD X, 2–3).<sup>325</sup> This line is in the midst of regulations as to who can testify against a fellow member of the community. Setting aside the irony of a witness who has himself transgressed, the Damascus Document indicates that the witness can only testify if they have been cleansed or purified from their transgression. This is another example of how moral and ritual impurities were conflated in the compositions found at Qumran and cleansing of moral impurities was a requirement for (continued) membership. Given that the Damascus Document is generally accepted to be written by the Yaḥad (cf. §1.3), it is noteworthy that there is only this single reference to cleansing from sin. This may be due to the genre of the work as history of the group rather than instructions (1QS) or psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup>).

### 3.3.4 Rituals of Purification (4Q414 & 4Q512)

---

<sup>325</sup> James H. Charlesworth and Joseph M. Baumgarten, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, PTSDSSP 2 (Tübingen; Louisville: Mohr Siebeck; Westminster John Knox, 1995), 45. Translation by J. M. Baumgarten.

Joseph Baumgarten notes that reciting prayers during purification rites “is not a practice familiar from biblical or rabbinic sources,” therefore “the Cave 4 purification blessings, which provide fragments of an ancient Hebrew liturgy associated with ritual immersion, are particularly valuable.”<sup>326</sup> The Rituals of Purification (4Q414<sup>327</sup> and 4Q512<sup>328</sup>) are considered parallel texts and, as Esther Eshel comments, “two versions of the same composition,” but not exact copies.<sup>329</sup> Both scrolls are badly fragmented and damaged. Although Baillet, the editor of 4Q512, identified various types of impurity (sexual impurity, cultic functions, lepers, leprosy of houses, and contact with the dead),<sup>330</sup> Eshel and Baumgarten also note that there is an element of confession in these liturgies.<sup>331</sup> Eshel further compares this element of confession to the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS.<sup>332</sup> Here an attempt is made to isolate the occurrences which could be connected to the notion of cleansing from sin or moral impurity. Given the extremely fragmented condition of the text, some of the following examples are speculative at best. The first instance is found both in 4Q414 and 4Q512 with echoes of 1QS III, 5 (“nor *cleanse* (יטהר) himself in any *waters of ablution* (מי רחץ).) The following Hebrew and English translation are taken from the critical edition of 4Q414.<sup>333</sup> Eshel demonstrates the parallel present in 5Q512 with an underline in the Hebrew text. In this extract, the verbs related to cleansing are in bold face and the parallel with 5Q512 and 1QS is double underlined.

4Q414 2ii 1–8

5Q512 42–44ii underlined

1QS III, 5 double underlined

<sup>326</sup> Baumgarten, “Purification Liturgies”, 200.

<sup>327</sup> Hebrew text and English translation are from Esther Eshel, “4QRitual of Purification A,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, DJD 35 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 135–154.

<sup>328</sup> English translation is from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*.

<sup>329</sup> Eshel, “4QRitual of Purification A”, 136.

<sup>330</sup> M. Baillet, *Qumran Grotte 4 III: 4Q482-4Q520*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1982), 263.

<sup>331</sup> Eshel, “4QRitual of Purification A”, 136–137; Baumgarten, “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7”, 200–201.

<sup>332</sup> Eshel, “4QRitual of Purification A”, 136–137.

<sup>333</sup> Eshel, “4QRitual of Purification A”, 141–142.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. and you will <b>purify</b> us according to<br>[your] holy laws   | וּתְטַהֲרֵנוּ לְחֻקֵי קֹדֶשׁ] כה                |
| 2. for the first, the third, and the se[venth   | לראשון לשלישי ולש[ביעי                          |
| 3. in the truth of your covenant[   | באמת בריתכ]ה                                    |
| 4. to be <b>purified</b> from the impurity of[  | להטהר מטמאת]                                    |
| 5. and afterwards he will enter the water[<br>and <b>wash</b> his body and bless.]                                    | ואחר יבוא במים] ורחץ את בשרו וברך]              |
| 6. He will recite and say: Blessed are y[ou ,<br>God of Israel,   | וענה ואמר ברוך א[תה אל ישראל                    |
| 7. by what comes of Your lips [the<br>purification of all (people) has [been<br>required. To be separated(?) from all | כי ממוצא פיכה נ[פרשה טהרת כול להבדל (?)<br>מכל] |
| 8. impure people according to their guilt,<br>they could not be <b>purified in water of<br/>purification</b>          | אנשי נִדָּה כֹּאֲשֶׁמְתָם בל יטהרו במי רחץ      |

What is apparent from this passage is that immersion was the mode of purification (“he will enter the water”), that there is a conflation of moral and ritual purity, and that this purification is only available to those to whom this instruction is addressed, most likely the Yahad. The elements of Psalm 51 present here are: (2) humanity is desperately sinful; (3) God cleanses and purifies; and (6) God is praised after cleansing (Ps 51:14–15).

Based upon the use of the phrases “law of atonement” and “righteous purity” in 4Q414 13 we may deduce that there is a conflation of moral and ritual purification present. What is notable in this passage, especially at line 7, is that it is God who cleanses his people.

2. Your wil[l] is that (we) *cleanse* (הטהר) ourselves befo[re You
3. and He established for himself a law of atonement[
4. And to be in *rig[h]teous] purity* (בטהרת צ[דק])
5. and he shall *b[ath]e* (וּרְחַץ) in the water and *sprinkle* (והזה) up[on
6. ] and then he will return ..[

7. *cleansing* (מטהר) his people in the *waters of bathing* (במימי רוחץ)
8. [ ] second time upon his station. He will re[cite and say: Blessed are You, God of Israel]
9. [tha]t You *purif[ied]* (טָהַרְתָּ) in Your Glory[

In this passage we see again the Psalm 51 element of (3) God cleanses and purifies. There is an additional echo here, namely, (6) after the cleansing, the individual praises God.

The final occurrence of a cleansing verb in the context of moral impurity that merits attention in the Rituals of Purification is from 4Q512 29–32 8b–9 which reads: “Blessed are You, [O God of Israel, who] [delivered me from al]l my transgressions, and *cleansed* (וּתְהַרְנִי) me from the shame of impurity, and atoned that I might enter [...]”.<sup>334</sup> Here again, it is the Divine who cleanses and atones, not the individual. This echoes two of the key elements of Psalm 51: (2) Humanity is desperately sinful; and (3) God cleanses and purifies.

This study demonstrates that there is a striking increase in the concept of cleansing from sin and transformation by a divine spirit in the Qumran discoveries, especially within the scrolls studied in this section. Additionally, the influence of Psalm 51 has been shown as a result of paying close attention to the many echoes of the key elements of the Psalm within these compositions. This does not necessarily mean there is a direct intertextuality in all cases; rather the language and motifs of cleansing from sin and transformation are very familiar to the writers and they draw on this in crafting their own writings. The next section investigates where the motifs of cleansing from sin and transformation show up in other literature of the Second Temple era. While the

---

<sup>334</sup> My translation.

frequency is dramatically reduced, it is noteworthy where these motifs are present because they demonstrate an evolution in early Jewish thought which is not restricted to the Yahad.

### 3.4. Water in Other Second Temple Literature

We now turn to the notion of cleansing from sin in other literature of the Second Temple era. This treatment is limited to those texts which specifically refer to cleansing from sin. While some texts are found in the Qumran discoveries and some of these may have been copied by or used by the Yahad,<sup>335</sup> others such as Josephus and Philo clearly have no connection to the community at Qumran.

As the scope of this investigation includes literature written in, or preserved in, Greek it is necessary to identify key terms. The Greek vocabulary used for washing and purifying is far more complex than the Hebrew.<sup>336</sup> The relevant verbs—those which occur with a connection to cleansing from sin—are: καθαρίζω (to cleanse), καθαίρω (to cleanse, to purify), λούω (to wash the whole body), νίπτω (to wash some part of a person), ἐκνίζω (to wash, or purify), ἀπολούω (to wash off or away, to wash by bathing), βαπτίζω (to wash, dip in water, immersion), and φαιδρύομαι (to make bright, to cleanse).

#### 3.4.1 Non-Canonical Psalms (4Q381 and 11Q5)

Two very tentative possibilities from 4Q381 are offered which possibly pair cleansing from sin with the divine spirit. תַּתְּהַר in 4Q381 46a+b lines 5b–6a might be

---

<sup>335</sup> For a discussion on criteria for determining if a scroll is sectarian see Armin Lange, “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel,” in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*, ed. Antoon Schoors, BETL 136 (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 113–160, esp. 126–128. Cf. Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 10–11.

<sup>336</sup> For a discussion of the Greek terminology cf. Lawrence, *Washing in Water*, 45–46.

paired with ורוּחַך in line 8; however, it is fragmentary and it is in no way clear that the two lines are connected in terms of the divine spirit being the effective cause of the cleansing. Line 2 refers to the “abun]dance of your lovingkindness” and precedes the cleansing by God.

You [te]sted everyone; and chosen ones, like offerings, you *cleanse* (תטהר) before you, and hated one[s] you reject like impurity. And a stormy wind [ ]their [d]eed, but those who fear you are before you always. Horns are horns of iron with which to gore many, and they gore[ ]a line; you make their hoofs bronze, and sinners like dung are trampled upon the face of the earth. And ..[ ]they are driven [from] before..[ ] in them; but your *spirit* (ורוחך) ... .lh (4Q381 46a+b 5b–8)<sup>337</sup>

The second occurrence is in the context of the land being defiled by people acting abominably and it being purified by the inhabitation of faithful people (4Q381 69 6). God makes for himself a people who will “turn away from the deeds of the inhabitants” (l. 5). When they obey the instructions in the covenant and “take possession, dwell upon the land; then it will be *purified* (תטהר)” (l. 6). God gives prophets to instruct his people so that the land will be cleansed, “he gave them to you by *his spirit* (ברוחו), prophets to instruct and to teach you” (l. 4). Although 4Q381 is not considered sectarian,<sup>338</sup> this concept of cleansing the land by the presence of a faithful people is a critical part of the Yahad’s thought world. Indeed, it is absolutely central to the construction of the group identity. The Yahad believed that it was only through the divine spirit who cleanses, transforms, and instructs them in the right path that they then atone for the land and create a suitable dwelling place for God.<sup>339</sup>

---

<sup>337</sup> The English translation is from Eileen M. Schuller, “4QNon-Canonical Psalms B,” in *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts Part 1*, DJD 11 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 87–172, here 136.

<sup>338</sup> Eileen M. Schuller, “4Q380 and 4Q381: Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 90–99, here 97.

<sup>339</sup> Cf. §2.2.3.

While 11QPsalms<sup>a</sup> contains both canonical psalms and non-canonical psalms, this section is only concerned with the non-canonical psalms.<sup>340</sup> There are two occurrences of the verb טהר in the context of cleansing from sin in the non-canonical psalms of 11Q5. The first is found in the Plea for Deliverance (11Q5 XIX). James Sanders speculates that this psalm was originally twenty-four to twenty-five verses long; there are nineteen verses extant in column XIX. Sanders notes that the “psalm is biblical in vocabulary, form, and content, and some verses are biblical paraphrases.” The following extract from the Plea for Deliverance (11Q5 XIX, 4–16)<sup>341</sup> reveals many echoes of Psalm 51.

4–5. Deal with us O Lord, according to thy goodness,  
according to thy great mercy,  
and according to thy many righteous deeds.

5–6. The Lord has heeded the voice of those who love his name  
and has not deprived them of his lovingkindness.

7–8. Blessed be the Lord, who executes righteous deeds,  
crowning his saints with lovingkindness and mercy.

8–9. My soul cries out to praise thy name,  
to sing high praises for thy loving deeds,

9. To proclaim thy faithfulness—  
of praise of thee there is no end.

9–10. Near death was I for my sins,  
and my iniquities had sold me to the grave;

10–11. But thou didst save me, O Lord,  
according to thy great mercy,  
and according to thy many righteous deeds.

11–12. Indeed have I loved thy name,  
and I in thy protection have I found refuge.

12–13. When I remember thy might my heart is brave,  
and upon thy mercies do I lean.

---

<sup>340</sup> Although not considered to have originated at Qumran, 11Q5 is considered an important collection for the community at Qumran. Cf. Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 198–201.

<sup>341</sup> James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 78.

- 13–14. Forgive my sin, O LORD,  
and *purify* (וִטְהַרְנִי) me from my iniquity.
- 14–15. Vouchsafe me a spirit of faith and knowledge (רוּחַ אֱמוּנָה וְדַעַת),  
and let me not be dishonored in ruin.
15. Let not Satan rule over me,  
nor an unclean spirit;
- 15–16. Neither let pain nor the evil inclination  
take possession of my bones.

The four key elements of Psalm 51 are present:

1) God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions	Ps 51:1	11Q5 XIX, 4–9, 10–11
2) Humanity is desperately sinful	Ps 51:3–5	11Q5 XIX, 9–10
3) God cleanses and purifies	Ps 51:2, 7	11Q5 XIX, 13–14
4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom	Ps 51:6, 12	11Q5 XIX, 14–16 *Note: here it mentions bones, not heart.

Additionally, the hymnist praises God in lines 7–9 (Ps 51:14–15), although the sequence is different here; praise comes before cleansing. The request for a spirit of faith and knowledge echoes the right and willing spirit (Ps 51:10, 12) and the plea for wisdom (Ps 51:6). Sanders sees some comparisons with the notions of two spirits in the Treatise (1QS III, 13– IV, 26) in 11Q5 XIX, 14–16, but notes that the vocabulary is different. Here it is Satan rather than Belial; the evil inclination (as found in rabbinic literature) rather than the spirit of wickedness; and the spirit of faithfulness rather than the spirit of truth.<sup>342</sup> The two spirits in both cases are difficult to categorize, as Mladen

<sup>342</sup> Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 76. Note: Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires: ‘Yetzer Hara’ and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity*, 47, argues that the yetzer is not yet the reified being found in rabbinic literature but is a trait “just like ‘pain’ with which it is grouped.” Cf. Clinton L. Wahlen, *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels*, WUNT 185 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 43. While Newsom argues that as “pain” was a traditional symptom of demonic attack, it’s pairing with “evil inclination” suggests that this is not a human trait but a result of demonic activity. Carol A. Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism,” *JBL* 131, no. 1 (2012): 18. Tigchelaar argues that it is unclear whether yetzer is to be understood “as an outward or as an inward force, but in any case it seems

Popović notes in regards to the spirits in 11Q5 XIX: “it is not entirely clear whether we are dealing with external or internal forces, but at the same time they seem also to have gained a substance of their own, independent of the human self.”<sup>343</sup> Armin Lange sees two evil spirits in the *Plea for Deliverance*, a Satan and an unclean spirit. However, he views the spirit of faith and knowledge as a mental attitude of the person praying, stating that since “the two demons exercise their influence by means of negative attitudes and qualities, what is needed is not a heavenly being to fight against the demons but a different orientation of the praying person.”<sup>344</sup> This orientation is only attained through the transforming activity of God. It is not something a person can motivate themselves into. Newsom also sees the unclean spirit as an external demon rather than an internal human inclination and argues that in contrast, the spirit of faithfulness is a strengthening of the innate spirit.<sup>345</sup> As noted previously (§2.2.4), it is often difficult to determine which spirit: human or divine, internal, external, or internalized is in view in the compositions of the Yaḥad. What is clear is that the human spirit is not capable of defeating evil on its own. An intervention by the Divine is required.

The second occurrence of טהר in the context of cleansing from sin in 11Q5 is found in the Syriac Psalm III (155).<sup>346</sup> As Sanders notes, this is a psalm of entreaty, but

---

to have gained a substance of its own, independent of a human’s heart.” Eibert 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 Honor of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, ed. Pieter Willem van der Horst, et al., AJEC 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 351.

<sup>343</sup> Mladen Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:13–4:26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel S Baden, JSJSup (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 1029–1067, here 1065. Cf. Tigchelaar, “Evil Inclination”, 352.

<sup>344</sup> Armin Lange, “Considerations Concerning the ‘Spirit of Impurity’ in Zech 13:2,” in *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 254–268, here 262.

<sup>345</sup> Newsom, “Models of the Moral Self,” 18.

<sup>346</sup> English translation is from Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 71–72.

from the perspective of the answered prayer (11Q5 XXIV, 1, 2, 15).<sup>347</sup> The tense shifts between present and past, giving the impression of a present entreaty with an assurance of fulfilment. This psalm contains a few echoes from Psalm 51, these are: (1) confession of sin (11Q5 XXIV, 8, 12); (3) God forgives and purifies: “The sins of my youth cast far from me, and may my transgressions not be remembered against me. *Purify* (טהרני) me, O LORD, from (the) evil scourge, and let it not turn again upon me” (11Q5 XXIV, 11–12); (4) God grants wisdom and understanding (11Q5 XXIV, 9) and transforms the psalmist so that evil does not flourish within him (11Q5 XXIV, 13–14). Additionally, the psalmist begs not to be abandoned (5–6). Although Psalm 51 and this Syriac psalm share the notion of a broken heart, in Ps 51:17 “broken” is paired with “contrite” (לִבִּי־נִשְׁפָּר וְנִדְכָּה), combining to mean humble which is an acceptable sacrifice to God, whereas in 11Q5 XXIV, 17 God heals the broken heart (שבר לבי) of the psalmist.

### 3.4.2 Other Cave 4 Scrolls

There is a brief fragmented line in 4QAdmonition Based on the Flood (4Q370)<sup>348</sup> which, as Newsom notes shares a phrase with Jer 33:8; Ps 51:4; 1QS III 7–8; and 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 34.<sup>349</sup> This is: “and he will *purify* (ויטהרם) them from their iniquity” (4Q370 1 ii, 3). Although little of this scroll remains, it appears to be an admonition or perhaps sermon based on the flood story in Genesis 6–9.<sup>350</sup> Given the imagery of a

<sup>347</sup> Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 73.

<sup>348</sup> Carol A. Newsom, “4QAdmonition on the Flood,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*, DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 85–97, here 86, argues that it is unlikely that 4Q370 was composed at Qumran. While Jeremy D. Lyon, *Qumran Interpretation of the Genesis Flood* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015), 98, makes a case for sectarian use if not composition.

<sup>349</sup> Magen Broshi et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*, DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 96.

<sup>350</sup> Newsom, “4QAdmonition on the Flood”, 85–86.

flood cleansing the earth in the Genesis story, it is not surprising to see the imagery of cleansing from sin used in the admonition.

4QCommunal Confession (4Q393) has many direct parallels with Psalm 51, particularly 4Q393 1ii–2, 2–7:

and what is evil[ in your eyes ]I have[ done,] so that you are just in your senten[ce], you are pu[re when ]you[ jud]ge [Ps 51:4]. Behold, in our sins w[e] were founded, [we] were [br]ought forth[ ] in imp[urity of and in st]iffness of neck [Ps 51:5]. Our God, hide your face from o[ur] faul[ts and] *wipe out* (מחה) [al]l our sins [Ps 51:9]. A *new spirit* (ורוח חדשה) create in us [Ps 51:10], and establish within us a faithful nature [Ps 51:12]. To transgressors, teach your ways and return sinners to you [Ps 51:13]. Do n[ot] thrust the broken of spirit from you [Ps 51:11, 17]”<sup>351</sup>

Given this context, it is clear that fragment 3, line 5 is referring to purification from sin, “On whom will you make your face shine without their being *purified* (יטהרו) and sanctified?” (4Q393 3 5). As a point of interest, Falk suggests that the annual covenant renewal ceremony found in 1QS may be one possible setting among many for this communal confession. While the use of the Tetragrammaton makes this unlikely to be a composition of the Yahad, Falk notes that “there are possible hints of the sectarian two-spirit dualism and determinism.”<sup>352</sup>

4QInstruction-like Composition B (4Q424) is highly fragmentary. In the DJD critical edition Sarah Tanzer reconstructs טְהַרְהוּ in one line to read, “*pu*]rify him from guilt that leads to the judgment of G[od], and from ab[ominations]” (4Q424 2 2).<sup>353</sup>

While Tanzer admits that her reconstruction here is “little more than conjecture to

---

<sup>351</sup> English translations are taken from Daniel K. Falk, “4QCommunal Confession,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts Part 2*, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 45–61.

<sup>352</sup> Falk, “Poetical and Liturgical Texts (DJD 29)”, 48. Cf. translation comments for lines 5–6 on page 52.

<sup>353</sup> Sarah Tanzer, “4QInstruction-like Composition B,” in *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI: Cryptic Texts*, DJD 36 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 333–346, here 341.

indicate what was probably the wider context,”<sup>354</sup> nonetheless it is included here to demonstrate that, if correct, then the notion of purification from sin is even more frequent.

In Words of the Luminaries (4Q504) the idea of cleansing from sin closely follows a statement regarding the pouring out of the holy spirit so that God’s people would turn to him from their sin:

[Fo]r you have *poured* (יצקתה) your *holy spirit* (רוח קודשכה) upon us, [to be]stow your blessings to us, so that we would look for you in our anguish (4Q504 1–2 R v, 15–16).

You have thrown awa]y f[r]om us all ou[r] failings and have [*pu*]rified (וּתְּרַבְּנוּ) us from our sin, for yourself (4Q504 1–2 R vi, 2–3).

The plea of the psalmist in Ps 51:11 is answered as it is the sin and not the sinner who is thrown away (“cast me not away”). Additionally, the holy spirit is poured upon someone rather than taken away.

---

<sup>354</sup> Tanzer, “4QInstruction-like Composition B”, 341. This is a viable reconstruction since only one letter is supplied and otherwise only an ambiguous resh vs. dalet are at play. García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct דהו[...] without giving a translation. García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 890–891. Cf. Michael Owen Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, Rev. ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 498 also provides no translation.

### 3.4.3 The Book of Jubilees<sup>355</sup>

The Book of Jubilees is “re-written bible”, in this case, Genesis 1– Exodus 12.<sup>356</sup> While written in the second century BCE,<sup>357</sup> the prologue attributes authorship to Moses to whom, “the Lord showed him what (had happened) beforehand as well as what was to come. He related to him the divisions of all the times — both of the law and of the testimony” (Jub. 1:4) while communing with God on Mount Sinai. Chapter 1 begins with God telling Moses that his people Israel will reject the covenant and commit great evil. The Lord in turn will send them into exile, however, he will gather them back and “will transform them into a righteous plant with all my mind and with all my soul” (Jub. 1:16). In the prayer which follows, Moses begs the Lord to keep his people from going in the way of error. This Prayer of Moses shares some key elements from Psalm 51. The writer of Jubilees incorporates concepts of purification, moral impurity, a holy spirit, and transformation. As with so many aspects of Jubilees, these ideas are later developments that are not present in Genesis and Exodus, an evolution that moves in stages, as seen in Psalm 51, the late kingdom prophets, and especially in the Yaḥad documents.

While purification from sin is not directly stated, it is explicit in its context of Moses’ prayer. The writer frames the sin of Israel in terms of entrapment by Belial. Moses begs the Lord for protection against this entrapment, the creation of pure minds,

---

<sup>355</sup> For critical editions of the Book of Jubilees see VanderKam, *Jubilees: Critical Text*; VanderKam, *Jubilees: Translation*; O.S. Wintermute, “Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 35–142.

<sup>356</sup> Cf. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1–19 for a discussion on the term “re-written bible” and 43–50 for a discussion on Jubilees in particular.

<sup>357</sup> VanderKam, *Jubilees: Translation*, v–vi; James L. Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*, JSJSup 156 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 4; Wintermute, “Jubilees”, 43–44. For a discussion of dating and proposal for varied dating of a composite text see Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*, JSJSup 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 35–41, 319–322.

and a holy spirit for his people. But God responds that they are contrary and will not listen until they acknowledge their sins. While Moses attributes the sinfulness of Israel to Belial, the Lord places the responsibility with the Israelites. There is no blaming anyone else. The fault is theirs and they must acknowledge it. Once they have done this, then God will purify them and create a holy spirit for them. The Lord transforms them “in order that they may not turn away from me from that time forever” (Jub. 1:23).

While portions of this prayer are based on Moses’ prayer in Deut 9:26–29,<sup>358</sup> the following demonstrates the influence of Psalm 51 on Jubilees:

1:20 May *your mercy*, Lord, be lifted over your people. *Create for them a just spirit*. May the spirit of Belial not rule them so as to bring charges against them before you and to trap them away from every proper path so that they may be destroyed from your presence.

God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions: Ps 51:1.  
Create a just/right spirit: Ps 51:12.

1:21 They are your people and your heritage whom you have rescued from Egyptian control by your great power. *Create for them a pure mind and a holy spirit*. May they not be *trapped in their sins from now to eternity*».

Creation of a pure/clean heart/mind and gift of a/your holy spirit: Ps 51:10–11.  
Humanity is desperately sinful: Ps 51:3–5.

1:22 Then the Lord said to Moses: «I know their contrary nature, their way of thinking, and their stubbornness. They will not listen until they *acknowledge their sins and the sins of their ancestors*.

Humanity is desperately sinful: Ps 51:3–5.

1:23 After this they will return to me in a fully upright manner and with all (their) minds and all (their) souls. I will cut away the foreskins of their minds and the foreskins of their descendants' minds. I will *create a holy spirit for them* and will *purify* them in order that they may not turn away from me from that time forever.

God cleanses and purifies: Ps 51:2, 7.  
God transforms the heart/mind and teaches it wisdom: Ps 51:6, 12.

1:24 Their *souls will adhere to me and to all my commandments*. *They will perform my commandments*. I will become their father and they will become my children».<sup>359</sup>

God transforms the heart/mind and teaches it wisdom: Ps 51:6, 12.

<sup>358</sup> Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 248–249.

<sup>359</sup> English translation is from VanderKam, *Jubilees: Translation*. For commentary on this passage cf. Kugel, *A Walk Through Jubilees*, 25; Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, 247–256.

While Psalm 51 is a personal prayer, Moses prays for all of Israel in this passage. The Lord responds with a promise of forgiveness, purification, and transformation. The promise in Jub. 1:20, 23–24 shares intertextuality with Ezek 36:25–26: the divine spirit in Ezekiel is the just spirit here; the Divine cleanses and purifies his people; the people are able to perform or observe the Lord’s commandments; and the promise of close relations (my people and your God) in Ezekiel are father and children here.

#### 3.4.4 Testament of Levi

The Testament of Levi (TPL) only preserves the notion of cleansing from sin in MS *e* found at the Monastery of Koutloumous on Mount Athos (Cod. 39, catal. no 3108). This Greek manuscript of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs contains three extensive additions to the text of TPL. Based on the parallels found at Qumran, Robert Webb argues convincingly that the first two of the three additions in this manuscript are not a Christian interpolation and are therefore relevant to our current discussion.<sup>360</sup> Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield have reconstructed The Prayer of Levi from the Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) found in 4Q213<sup>a</sup> and the Greek MS *e*.<sup>361</sup> The complete translation of vv. 1–14, and 19 is included to provide context and to demonstrate parallels with Psalm 51.<sup>362</sup>

MS <i>e</i> vv.	English translation of MS <i>e</i> (ALD underlined)	4Q213a lines	Ps 51 vv.
1	Then I laundered my garments and having <i>purified</i> (καθαρίσας) them with pure water,	I, 6	

<sup>360</sup> Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 116–120. Cf. Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, “The Prayer of Levi,” *JBL* 112, no. 2 (1993): 247–266; Marinus de Jonge, “Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi,” in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther G. Chazon, Michael E. Stone, and Avital Pinnick, STDJ 31 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 71–89, esp. 78.;

<sup>361</sup> Stone and Greenfield, “The Prayer of Levi.”

<sup>362</sup> English translation and mapping of MS *e* and 4Q213a are from Stone and Greenfield, “The Prayer of Levi,” 259–260. Mapping of Ps 51 is by the current author.

MS <i>e</i> vv.	English translation of MS <i>e</i> (ALD underlined)	4Q213a lines	Ps 51 vv.
2	I also [ <u>washed</u> ] <sup>363</sup> (ἐλουσάμην) my whole self in living water, and I made <u>all</u> my paths upright.	7	2,7
3	Then I lifted up my eyes and my countenance to heaven, and I opened my mouth and spoke.	8	
4	And I stretched out <u>the fingers of my hands</u> <u>and my hands</u> [ ] for truth over against (toward) the holy ones, And I prayed <u>and said</u>	9	
5	<u>O Lord, you know</u> all hearts, And <u>you alone understand</u> all the thoughts of minds.	10	6
6	And now my children are with me, And grant me all the <u>paths of truth</u> .	11	
7	<u>Make far</u> from me, O Lord, the unrighteous spirit, and <u>evil</u> thought <u>and fornication</u> , and <u>turn</u> pride <u>away</u> from me.	12	3
8	Let there be shown to me, O Lord, the holy spirit, and counsel, and <u>wisdom and knowledge</u> <u>and grant me strength</u> .	13	10–12
9	in order to do that which is pleasing to you <u>and find favor before you</u> , <u>and to praise your words with me, O Lord</u> .	14	
10	<u>. . . And that which is pleasant and good before you</u> .	15	15
11	And <u>let not any satan have power over me</u> , to make me stray from your path.	16	
12	And have mercy <u>upon me and bring me forward</u> , to be <u>your servant</u> and to minister well to you.	17	1
13	so that wall of your peace is around me, and let the shelter of your power shelter me from every evil.	18	
14	Wherefore, giving over even lawlessness, wipe it out from under the heaven, and end lawlessness from the face of the earth.	19	
19	<i>Purify</i> (καθάρισον) my heart, Lord, from all impurity, and let me, myself, be raised to you.	II, 10	2, 7, 10
	And do not remove <u>the son of your servant</u> from your countenance all the days of the world And I became silent still continuing to pray.		11

The following key elements of Psalm 51 are present here:

<sup>363</sup> The Aramaic was reconstructed based on the Greek MS *e*. All that is visible of the Aramaic אַתְּרַחֵת is the bottom of the left downstroke and tail of the tav. (<https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-295425>)

1) God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions:

Although the writer is not stating an assurance of God's mercy, there is a plea for mercy (MS *e* 11).

2) Humanity is desperately sinful:

Although there is not the same acknowledgment of the depths of personal sin we see in Ps 51:3–5, the writer does name the unrighteous spirit, evil thought, fornication, and pride (MS *e* 7).

3) God cleanses and purifies:

The prayer begins with a reference to the purification ritual involving both laundering of clothes and immersion in living water, paired with making “my paths upright”. This shows a conflation of ritual and moral purification. While it is the individual who is cleansing their “whole self” in v. 2, it is God who purifies the heart from all impurity in v. 14.

4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom:

Verse 8 pleads for the holy spirit, counsel, wisdom, knowledge, and strength in order to do what is pleasing to God. While in v. 2, it is the individual who washes themselves to make their paths straight, it is God's holy spirit which makes this possible in v. 8.

Additionally, the writer pleads not to be removed from God's countenance (MS *e* 19) which echoes Ps 51:11. There are also significant parallels with the Plea for Deliverance (§3.4.1). Indeed, Lange argues that the Prayer of Levi is literarily dependent on the Plea for Deliverance.<sup>364</sup> The request for the holy spirit, counsel, wisdom, and knowledge (MS *e* 8) parallels the “spirit of faith and knowledge” (11Q5

---

<sup>364</sup> Lange, “Considerations”, 262. Cf. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “‘Protect Them from the Evil One’ (John 17:15): Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, EJS 32 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 139–160, here 151–153.

XIX, 14); and “let not any satan have power over me (אַל תּשַׁלֵּט בִּי כָל שַׁטָּן)” (MS e 10) is almost identical to “let not Satan rule over me (אַל תּשַׁלֵּט בִּי שַׁטָּן)” (11Q5 XIX, 15). David Flusser notes that these phrases are both “midrashic paraphrases of Ps. 119:133b: ‘Let all iniquity not rule over me’. The ‘iniquity’ of the Psalm was substituted in these texts by ‘the Satan’.”<sup>365</sup> In contrast to Psalm 51, the Plea for Deliverance and the Prayer of Levi mention an evil spirit in opposition to a holy spirit and a “spirit of faith and knowledge.” Flusser states that “this development is a further proof that the belief in demonic powers which was parallel to the belief in positive spiritual powers inside and outside of man was a late phenomenon in ancient Judaism.”<sup>366</sup> Although there are apotropaic phrases in the Plea for Deliverance and the Prayer of Levi, Benjamin Wold argues that this plea for deliverance from (any) satan or an evil spirit are apotropaic petitions within a larger work of liturgical prayer.<sup>367</sup> Indeed both prayers fit better within a category of personal petition or individual lament to which Psalm 51 belongs.

As noted by Robert Webb, in the Prayer of Levi, the metaphorical cleansing of sin by the Divine and the immersion for ritual purification come together.<sup>368</sup> Whereas the blending of physical and metaphorical is implied in 1QS III, it is explicit here. Henryk Drawnel argues that Levi’s immersion in living water is for moral purification as the only conditions which requires ritual purification in living water in the Pentateuch are leprosy and a sexual discharge and there is no mention of these in the

---

<sup>365</sup> David Flusser, “Qumrân and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” *IEJ* 16, no. 3 (1966): 194–205, here 197.

<sup>366</sup> Flusser, “Qumrân and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers,” 205.

<sup>367</sup> Benjamin G. Wold, *Apotropaic Prayer and the Matthean Lord’s Prayer*, ed. Jan Doehorn, Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, and Benjamin G. Wold, *Das Böse, der Teufel und Dämonen – Evil, the Devil, and Demons* 412 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 103–104. Pace Eshel who categorizes the Plea for Deliverance and the Prayer of Levi as a genre of apotropaic prayers. Esther Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Esther Chazon, G., Ruth Clements, and Avital Pinnick, *STDJ* 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88, esp. 74–76. Cf. Flusser, “Qumrân and Jewish ‘Apotropaic’ Prayers.”

<sup>368</sup> Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 119.

ALD.<sup>369</sup> This reference to immersion in living water parallels the Yaḥad purification rites. While the Yaḥad compositions do not describe their purifications specifically as immersions in living water, the archaeological evidence points in that direction.

Magness states that by “the end of the 1st century B.C.E., still water stored in a miqveh came to be accepted as the single most important medium of purification.”<sup>370</sup> This water could come from a spring or from rainfall (both considered living water). The ritual pools at Qumran used rainwater sourced from the Judean hills and fed through an aqueduct and highly sophisticated water system.<sup>371</sup>

### 3.4.5 Joseph and Aseneth

The story of Joseph and Aseneth is an ancient Jewish novel, with probable Christian interpolations.<sup>372</sup> It is included in this study as there is a connection between Aseneth’s confession and repentance found in Chapters 10–13 and her washing (νίπτω) her face in Chapter 14. In Chapter 15, She is transformed into a pure virgin to be given to Joseph as a bride. The heavenly messenger tells her, “From today you will be made new, and [refashioned, and] given new life; and you will eat the bread of life and drink the cup of immortality, [and be anointed with the anointing of incorruption]” (Jos.

---

<sup>369</sup> Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text From Qumran: A New Interpretation Of The Levi Document*, JSJSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 208. Note: Defilement by a corpse is another ritual impurity which requires living water (Num. 19:17).

<sup>370</sup> Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, SDSSRL. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 135. Cf. Hayah Katz, “Biblical Purification: Was it Immersion?,” *TheTorah.com* (2014), <http://thetorah.com/biblical-purification-was-it-immersion/>.

<sup>371</sup> Katharina Galor, “Plastered Pools: A New Perspective,” in *Khirbet Qumrân et ‘Ain Feshka II*, ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg, NTOA / SUNT (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 291–320.

<sup>372</sup> Christoph Burchard, *Joseph and Aseneth*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth, 2 vols., vol. 2, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 177–247, esp. 187. Cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times,” in *JWSTP*, ed. Michael E. Stone, LJPSTT 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 33–87. For a more nuanced view cf. Ross Shepard Kraemer, *When Aseneth Met Joseph: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225–293.

Asen. 15:4).<sup>373</sup> This is a noteworthy if tenuous connection between cleansing from sin and transformation. It reveals that washing is interconnected with notions of cleansing from sin, conversion, and subsequent transformation in the Second Temple era.

### 3.4.6 Josephus

While Josephus mentions the “purer waters for purification”<sup>374</sup> of the Essenes (*J.W.* 2:138), he does not connect ritual purification with moral purification when discussing this group.<sup>375</sup> This may be a point in favour for those who do not identify the Essenes with the Yahad, but on the other hand, Josephus was writing for his Roman audience, who would have little interest in such detail.<sup>376</sup>

However, there is a connection, albeit in making a distinction and distance between purification of the body and purification of the soul, when he discusses John the Baptist.<sup>377</sup>

... so to come to baptism (βαπτισμῶ); for that the washing (βάπτισιν) [with water] would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away [or the remission] of some sins [only], but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness. (*Ant.* 18:117)

While Josephus makes a distinction that the baptism of John was not a moral purification, he nevertheless notes that the soul would be purified beforehand, thus still connecting moral and ritual purification. Ironically, this is a better description of the Yahad’s approach to moral and ritual purification than his description of the Essenes.

---

<sup>373</sup> “Aseneth,” ed. Crag A. Evans, trans. Crag A. Evans, *The Pseudepigrapha (English)* (OakTree Software, Inc., 2009).

<sup>374</sup> Flavius Josephus, Steve Mason, and Honora Howell Chapman, *Judean War 2*, Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary 1B (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 111.

<sup>375</sup> Josephus, *J.W.* 2.129, 137–138; *Life* 1.1–4.19; *Ant.* 18.18–22.

<sup>376</sup> Additionally, Josephus refers to the Essenes dining with visitors (*J.W.* 2.132), while only those who have progressed through at least two years of the initiation process are permitted to partake in the pure food of the Yahad. Cf. 1QS VI, 1–17.

<sup>377</sup> Cf. §5.2.1 for a more detailed discussion of Josephus’ record of John the Baptist.

### 3.4.7 Philo

As noted by Klawans, Philo very clearly makes a connection between moral and ritual purity.<sup>378</sup> Indeed moral purity has priority over ritual purity as seen in this passage from Special Laws:

It is necessary, therefore, for those who are about to go into the temple to partake of the sacrifice, to be *cleansed* (φαιδρύνεσθαι) as to their bodies and as to their souls *before* their bodies. For the soul is the mistress and the queen, and is superior in every thing, as having received a more divine nature. And the things which *cleanse* (φαιδρύνοντα) the mind are wisdom and the doctrines of wisdom, which lead to the contemplation of the world and the things in it; and the sacred chorus of the rest of the virtues, and honourable and very praiseworthy actions in accordance with the virtues. (*Spec. Laws* 1.269)<sup>379</sup>

Note that for this Hellenistic philosopher it is not the Divine who cleanses the soul of impurity, but rather the individual by living a virtuous life. Philo repeats this concept of moral and ritual purity when he states that a man must first *wash* (λούω) his body before entering the Temple and *purify* (καθαίρω) his soul and repent before approaching God.<sup>380</sup> Klawans argues that, “Moral defilement in Philo’s thought is by no means metaphorical, it is simply nonphysical.... If anything, for Philo it is ritual impurity that is the metaphor.”<sup>381</sup>

Philo does indicate that cleansing and purification by God is required before humanity is able to perform self-purification when he states,

they found that the *purification* (κάθαρσιν) of the soul was itself *purified* (καθαίρεσθαι), attributing the power of *making bright* (φαιδρύνειν) to God, and never fancying that they themselves were competent, *without the assistance of the*

---

<sup>378</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 64–65.

<sup>379</sup> English translations of Philo are from Philo of Alexandria, *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, trans. Charles Duke Yonge, Updated ed. (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993).

<sup>380</sup> *Unchangeable* 8, cf. *Spec. Laws* 1.191; 256–261; *Alleg. Interp.* 3:141; *Dreams* 1.196–198; *Cheribum* 95.

<sup>381</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 65.

*divine wisdom*, to *wash* (ἀπολούσασθαι) and *cleans*e (ἐκνίψασθαι) a life which is full of stains. (*Dreams* 2.25)

This is a notable contrast to his statement in *Spec. Laws* 1.269, although in both, it is wisdom which cleanses. Here, he is explicit that this wisdom is divine.

### 3.4.8 Sibylline Oracles

Sibylline Oracles 4 contains a couple of passages which are dedicated to moral and religious teachings. Although Collins states that there “is no trace of Christian redaction in Sibylline Oracles 4,”<sup>382</sup> it “also attaches far greater importance to baptism than either books 3 or 5.”<sup>383</sup> The relevant passage reads:

Ah, wretched mortals, change these things, and do not lead the great God to all sorts of anger, but abandon daggers and groanings, murders and outrages, and *wash* (λούσασθε) your whole bodies in perennial rivers. Stretch out your hands to heaven and ask forgiveness for your previous deeds and make propitiation for bitter impiety with words of praise; God will grant repentance and will not destroy. He will stop his wrath again if you all practice honorable piety in your hearts. (Sib.Or. 4:165–168)<sup>384</sup>

The focus of the cleansing here is to avoid an eschatological destruction. As Collins notes, the closest parallel is to John the Baptist and his baptism of repentance in preparation for the coming judgement. Collins contrasts the baptism in Sib.Or. 4 with the Essenes, whom he associates with the community at Qumran, stating that their practice was daily ritual purifications rather than a baptism of repentance.<sup>385</sup> While baptism of repentance does not reflect the description of the Essenes by Josephus, there is a strong connection between repentance and ritual purification in the Yaḥad (§§2.2.3; 3.3).

---

<sup>382</sup> John J. Collins, “Sibylline Oracles,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 317–472, here 381.

<sup>383</sup> Collins, “Sibylline Oracles”, 382.

<sup>384</sup> Collins, “Sibylline Oracles”, 388.

<sup>385</sup> Collins, “Sibylline Oracles”, 388, n. e2.

### 3.4.9 Psalms of Solomon

The Psalms of Solomon are a collection of eighteen psalms written by a devout group of Jews from the first century BCE. They are a response to corrupt local rulers and a subsequent Roman invasion and occupation. Not surprisingly, they are both apocalyptic and messianic.<sup>386</sup> There are three references to cleansing from sin in the Psalms of Solomon, these are: Pss.Sol. 9:6; 10:1–2; 18:5–9. Pss.Sol. 9:6 shares one of the key elements found in Psalm 51, namely (1) God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions, “To whom will you be kind, O God, except to those who appeal to the Lord? He will *cleanse* (καθαριεῖς) from sin the person who both confesses and publically acknowledges it” (Pss.Sol. 9:6).<sup>387</sup> The psalmist affirms that the Lord shows his kindness to those who repent (Pss.Sol. 9:7), appeals to God for his compassion and begs that his mercy will not be taken from them (Pss.Sol. 9:8). There are also a few echoes of Psalm 51 in Pss.Sol 18:5–9. These are: (1) God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions as it refers to God’s mercy twice (Pss.Sol 18:5, 9) and his goodness once (Pss.Sol 18:6); (3) God cleanses and purifies, “May God cleanse (καθαρίσαι) Israel against the day of mercy and blessing” (Pss.Sol 18:5); and (4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom, “in the spirit of wisdom and righteousness and strength that he may direct (every) man in the works of righteousness by the fear of God, that he may establish them all before the Lord, a good generation (living) in the fear of God in the days of mercy” (Pss.Sol 18:7–9).

---

<sup>386</sup> Robert B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 639–649. Cf. David Flusser, “Psalms, Hymns and Prayers,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, ed. Michael E. Stone, JWSTP 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 573–574; Marinus de Jonge, *The Psalms of Solomon*, ed. Marinus De Jonge, *Outside the Old Testament 4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 159–161.

<sup>387</sup> English translations by Robert B. Wright, *Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, *Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 1* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 131.

The third occurrence is dramatically different from any other passage examined. While looking forward to an eschatological hope, the psalmist needs to explain why the righteous suffer in the present. Wright states that in Pss.Sol. 10, the “psalmist believes that suffering is purgative and salutary” and that “the righteous are singled out for especially exacting discipline.”<sup>388</sup> This is a helpful context to understand the jarring connection between cleansing and whipping in the following:

Happy is the person whom the Lord remembers with punishment, and who has been restrained from going the wrong way with a whip, to be *cleansed* (καθαρισθῆναι) from sin so that it will not increase. Those who prepare their backs for the whips will be *cleansed* (καθαρισθήσεται), for the Lord is kind to those who endure discipline. (Pss.Sol. 10:1–2)

This violent act of cleansing is set in a psalm praising the Lord for his mercy and compassion: “the Lord is *kind* to those who endure discipline” (Pss.Sol. 10:2); “the *mercy* of the Lord is upon those who truly love him” (Pss.Sol. 10:3); “The Lord will remember his servants with *compassion*” (Pss.Sol. 10:4); “God will be *merciful*” (Pss.Sol. 10:6); “God always is *kind and merciful*” (Pss.Sol. 10:7). The psalmist is assuring his audience that this purifying discipline is not the act of a violent and vindictive God, but a compassionate and caring God who only wants Israel to experience joy (Pss.Sol. 10:6, 8). One is reminded of the proverb: “Those who spare the rod hate their children, but those who love them are diligent to discipline them” (Prov 13:24).

#### 3.4.10 Ben Sira/Sirach

There are two occurrences of cleansing from sin in Ben Sira. The first occurrence concerns making oaths, particularly with “the Name”, “the person who

---

<sup>388</sup> Wright, “Psalms of Solomon”, 644.

always swears and utters the Name will never be *cleansed* (καθαρισθῆ) from sin” (Sir 23:10).<sup>389</sup> This statement is a direct allusion to the fifth commandment, “You shall not make wrongful use of the name of the LORD your God, for the LORD will not acquit anyone who misuses his name” (Exod 20:7). What is noteworthy here is that Ben Sira connects acquittal with cleansing, thereby demonstrating the development of the motifs of cleansing from sin as seen in Psalm 51, Ezekiel, and Jeremiah.

The second occurrence is in a poem about physicians and the importance of piety in healing (Sir 38:1–15).<sup>390</sup> The first half of the poem encourages his readers to honour the physician who receives his skill from God and his medicines from God’s creation. The second half connects illness with iniquity and urges his readers to turn from iniquity and cleanse their hearts from all sin before seeking help from the physician (38:10). This poem is extant in Hebrew (MS B VIIIr T-S. 16.312) and presents a textual variant from the Greek, Latin, and Syriac versions in v. 10. The transcription of the first half of this verse is complicated by material damage and marginalia.<sup>391</sup> The edition by Pancratius Beentjes scrupulously transcribes the extant text of MS B VIIIr l. 16 with no reconstruction and reads thus:

[...] סיר מי רהכר [....] עול ומהכר פנים. מכל פשעים טהר לב<sup>392</sup>

While both Martin Abegg and Lindsey Askin reconstruct the first half of this line, the results differ greatly. The text in the marginalia (indicated by the smaller font in Beentjes transcription above) is used to reconstruct the first half of the line by Abegg

<sup>389</sup> NRSV

<sup>390</sup> For an excellent discussion on this poem cf. Lindsey A. Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, JSJSup 184 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 186–231.

<sup>391</sup> Cf. the facsimile from the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, <https://www.bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15>.

<sup>392</sup> Pancratius Cornelis Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, VTSup 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 66.

and Askin. Abegg provides a slightly different reconstruction option in >brackets<. In contrast, Askin does not provide her preferred reconstruction in the transcribed text but gives it in her commentary. This causes some confusion as her translation follows her preferred reconstruction and not the transcribed text.

Source	Sir 38:10
LXX	ἀπόστησον πλημμέλειαν καὶ εὐθνον χειρὰς καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἁμαρτίας καθάρισον καρδίαν
NRSV	Give up your faults and direct your hands rightly, and <i>cleanse</i> your heart from all sin.
MS B: Abegg transcription	: [סו]ר מעול ומהכר מ' והכר > פנים [[ ]] ומכל פשעים טהר לב:
Abegg translation	[Tur]n from iniquity and seek <remove yourself from iniquity and seek> his face [[ ]] and <i>cleanse</i> your heart from all transgressions.
MS B: Askin transcription	טור מ]עול ומהכר פנים ומכל פשעים טהר לב <sup>394</sup>
Askin translation	Depart from iniquity and <i>cleanse the hands</i> (italics original)   And of all transgressions, <i>purify</i> the heart. <sup>395</sup>

Whichever way the first part of the line is transcribed and therefore translated, there is no doubt that Ben Sira connects turning from iniquity and cleansing from sin with healing from illness. Burkard Zapff states that this reflects traditional views on illness which looks for the cause of the disease in a disturbed relationship with God.<sup>396</sup> Ben Sira therefore advises an approach to healing which puts God in the centre. The patient

<sup>393</sup> Martin G. Abegg, “Ben Sira Manuscript B VIII Recto, Transcription and Translation,” accessed June 30, 2020. <https://www.bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15>.

<sup>394</sup> Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 189. Askin reconstructs ותבר כפים to ומהכר פנים which is how she arrives at her English translation. Cf. 203–205 for a detailed and convincing justification of her reading.

<sup>395</sup> Askin, *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*, 190.

<sup>396</sup> Burkard M. Zapff, “Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach,” *Bib* 92, no. 3 (2011): 347–367, here 362. “Dieses Verhalten folgt also durchaus traditionellem Denken, das die Ursache der Krankheit in einem gestörten Gottesverhältnis sucht.” Cf. Friedrich V. Reiterer, “The Influence of the Book of Exodus on Ben Sira,” in *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.*, ed. Jeremy Corley, Vincent T. M. Skemp, and Alexander A. Di Lella, CBQMS 38 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005), 100–117, here 115.

prays to God for healing (38:9), turns from sin and cleanses his heart from all iniquity (38:10), offers sacrifices (38:11), and seeks help from a physician (38:12) who will succeed because he too has prayed to God (38:13).

The concept of cleansing from sin is present across a wide selection of Second Temple literature and it has been demonstrated that this is often with Psalm 51 non-explicitly exerting influence. However, it is notable that the Plea for Deliverance in the Psalm Scroll (11Q5), the Prayer of Moses in the Book of Jubilees, and the Prayer of Levi in the Testament of Levi have the closest parallels to Psalm 51 and the Yaḥad compositions previously examined (§3.3). The Psalm Scroll and Book of Jubilees are both thought to be important documents for the Yaḥad,<sup>397</sup> and the Prayer of Levi contains the concept of the two spirits and the solar calendar, both of which are characteristic of the Yaḥad.<sup>398</sup> This further demonstrates the dominance of these motifs of cleansing from sin and transformation in the compositions written by or important to the Yaḥad.

### 3.5. Concluding Remarks

The collocation of cleansing with sin and the divine spirit reveals interesting theological patterns. There is a trajectory from the Hebrew scriptures where the occurrences are rare, to an increase of occurrence in Second Temple literature, especially in the documents either written by or valued by the Yaḥad where the occurrences are dramatically increased. While these notions of cleansing from sin and transformation by a divine spirit are developed in the documents of sectarian nature, they are not created *ex nihilo*. Scripture is formative in Jewish and Christian literature.

---

<sup>397</sup> 11Q5 cf §3.4.1 note 340; Jubilees cf. §2.2, esp. note 57; Prayer of Levi cf. §3.4.4.

<sup>398</sup> Stone and Greenfield, “The Prayer of Levi,” 252–253, 263.

Ezekiel 36 and Psalm 51 in particular exert significant influence on discussions of purity, cleansing, and transformation. As we have seen, Psalm 51 is the exemplar for expressing the connected concepts of ritual and moral purity, and therefore, the use of ritual language for the cleansing of sin. The psalmist is not only looking for forgiveness, but transformation. He wants to be purged of sinfulness. He recognizes that he is not capable of living a righteous life without the intervention of the Divine. In Ezek 36:25–27 we see the same concepts, but from God’s perspective. YHWH promises to replace Israel’s hearts of stone with new hearts and to give them new spirits so that they will follow his statutes. As in Psalm 51, ritual cleansing language is used here to convey moral cleansing.

This chapter has demonstrated that there are many echoes of Psalm 51 in the Community Rule, the Hodayot, the Psalm Scroll, the Prayer of Moses, and the Prayer of Levi. All of these share the following four key elements: (1) God is merciful, loving, righteous, and able to blot out transgressions; (2) humanity is desperately sinful; (3) God cleanses and purifies; and (4) God transforms the heart and teaches it wisdom. As shown in Chapter 2 (esp. §§2.2.3; 2.2.4), the concepts of cleansing from sin and transformation by the holy spirit in the community are central to the construction of the identity of the individual and the group. The many occurrences of these motifs in the compositions written or valued by the Yāḥad and the parallels with Psalm 51 examined in this chapter demonstrate how central moral purification and transformation were to this Jewish community.

## Part II: Water and Spirit in the New Testament

### Part II: Introduction

Part two of this thesis takes up the study of Spirit and water in New Testament literature. The discovery of the scrolls on the shores of the Dead Sea revolutionized New Testament studies. Yet it quickly became clear that looking for direct connections or even parallels was not only unproductive but led to tangled and complex theories unable to stand under the weight of their arguments. However, as Paul Anderson notes, “analyses of parallels reflecting lines that never directly cross became an important interpretive approach.”<sup>399</sup> Jörg Frey summarizes the task as, “no longer simply collecting parallels, nor determining literary dependence, but rather contextualizing some writings by means of other texts, putting them in perspective, and reconstructing discourses not only between Jews and Jesus-followers, but rather within a wider Jewish framework from which the early Christian tradition emerged.”<sup>400</sup> The Qumran discoveries provide invaluable insight into Judaism of the first century, and its use and understanding of the Hebrew scriptures. As Frey states, this gives further context for the writings of the New Testament.

Chapter 4 mirrors the work of Chapter 2 and explores how the divine Spirit is conceived in the texts of the New Testament canon. As is seen in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries, the spirit is polyvalent in Jewish thought. This complex understanding of the spirit is further developed in the New Testament. While there are many similarities between Jewish and Christian conceptions of the divine Spirit, the

---

<sup>399</sup> Paul N. Anderson, “John and Qumran: Discovery and Interpretation over Sixty Years,” in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, ed. Mary L Coloe and Tom Thatcher, EJT 32 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 15–50, here 26.

<sup>400</sup> Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit”, 240.

main difference is the reification of the Spirit which Frey maintains is “predominantly triggered by the correlation of the Spirit with the exalted Christ.”<sup>401</sup>

Chapter 5, like Chapter 3, explores how cleansing is portrayed, especially moral cleansing or cleansing from sin, paying close attention to when this cleansing is associated with the divine Spirit. Baptism is the exemplar of moral cleansing in the New Testament and therefore the majority of the study is focused on this activity. Additionally, the analysis of cleansing verbs reveals some unexpected results concerning associating the Spirit with moral cleansing. The passages where the cleansing verbs occur are examined closely in order to understand the analysis.

---

<sup>401</sup> Jörg Frey, “How Did the Spirit Become a Person?,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 343–372, here 371.

## Chapter Four: The Divine Spirit in the New Testament

### 4.0 Review of Significant Studies

#### 4.0.1 Studies on the Origins of New Testament Pneumatology

The late nineteenth century saw the birth of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule which sought the historical context for religious ideas. Over a span of some sixty-plus years, scholars debated the origins of Christianity and New Testament pneumatology within this German milieu. Some looked to the Greco-Roman world while others saw a continuity from the Hebrew scriptures, and others turned to Palestinian Judaism spanning the Second Temple era.

Hermann Gunkel, at the forefront of this school resets the direction of the New Testament pneumatology (1888, translated 1979).<sup>402</sup> The purpose of his book was to “ascertain the symptoms by which an ‘effect’ of the Spirit was recognized.”<sup>403</sup> Gunkel pushes back against the idea that the Christian notions of the Spirit derive directly from the Old Testament which had died out by the first century and instead argues that the early Christian understanding of the Spirit was rooted in the soil of early Palestinian Judaism. While not denying the influence of the Hebrew Bible, he proposes that Judaism is the real matrix of the gospel and states that, “the apostles emerged from Jewish ideas, and with Jewish ideas they had to come to terms with one another.”<sup>404</sup> This insight seems quite prescient considering Gunkel did not have access to the Qumran discoveries. However, perhaps because of lack of this evidence, he also stated

---

<sup>402</sup> Hermann Gunkel, *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul: A Biblical-Theological Study*, trans. Roy A Harrisville and Philip A. Quanbeck II (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979).

<sup>403</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 2.

<sup>404</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 13.

that Early Judaism “produced no or... very few pneumatic phenomena.”<sup>405</sup> Gunkel also disputes Otto Pfliegerer’s thesis that Paul’s pneumatology is influenced by Hellenised Judaism and the Wisdom of Solomon in particular.<sup>406</sup> While acknowledging very similar terminology between Paul and the Wisdom of Solomon, Gunkel argues that the statements have entirely different meanings when he states that “for Paul, the Spirit is the power of God which transforms him in his innermost being; for the Wisdom of Solomon, wisdom is the teacher who instructs regarding God’s paths ... A man learns wisdom, but the Spirit seizes him.”<sup>407</sup> In this Gunkel also challenged the German idealist sense of the Spirit as the substance of human potential. Contrary to F. C. Baur who argues that “the spirit is the element in which God and man are related to each other as spirit to spirit, and where they are one with each other in the unity of the spirit,”<sup>408</sup> Gunkel argues that the “relationship between divine and human activity is that of mutually exclusive opposition. The activity of the Spirit is thus not an intensifying of what is native to all. It is rather the absolutely supernatural and hence divine.”<sup>409</sup> As indicated by the title of his book, Gunkel is interested in the influence of the Holy Spirit; how it impacts the individual. Gunkel contends that, “it is the supernatural power of God which works miracles in and through the person. Everything we have learned of the activities of the Spirit witnesses to the appropriateness of this definition.”<sup>410</sup> This is a remarkable insight into the experience of the Spirit in Apostolic times given that his own experience of the Spirit held none of the supernatural or miraculous as he himself states that, “the gifts of the Spirit in the apostolic age have

---

<sup>405</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 21.

<sup>406</sup> Otto Pfliegerer, *Das Urchristenthum, seine Schriften und Lehren* (Berlin: Reimer, 1887), 257.

<sup>407</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 100.

<sup>408</sup> Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine. A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity. Vol. 2* 2nd ed. (London: Williams and Norgate, 1875), 163.

<sup>409</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 34.

<sup>410</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 35.

vanished, though in isolated Christian circles something similar may perhaps be observed to this day. But we can also do without these miraculous gifts.”<sup>411</sup> Gunkel’s skill at exegeting the *Sitz im leben* of New Testament pneumatology sets the stage for following scholars.

Paul Volz, with remarkable insight given that he also did not have the evidence of the Scrolls, argues that Christianity was not born out of a dying, but a rich and robust Judaism from Haggai to the rabbis and notes in 1910 that, “The habit of comparing a form of Judaism that is coming to an end with a youthful form of Christianity has led regularly to a misunderstanding of the former. This is historically unsuitable and, moreover, it is far more probable that the new religion arose out of a period of religious stirring and deep feeling rather than out of a torpid and dying one.”<sup>412</sup>

Hans Leisegang asks the question “Are the origins of the Holy Spirit Greek or Semitic?”<sup>413</sup> and concludes that they are rooted in Greek philosophy. He argues that Christianity’s notion of *pneuma* is developed from the ecstatic experience of the early church which was heavily influenced by Hellenistic mysticism and ethics.<sup>414</sup> Leisegang further contends that the church’s understanding of the Spirit had nothing to do with the life and ministry of Jesus.<sup>415</sup> Leisegang’s thesis has been systematically refuted by

---

<sup>411</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 96.

<sup>412</sup> Paul Volz, *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im anschließenden Judentum* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1910), 144. Translation from Levison, *Inspired*, 218.

<sup>413</sup> Hans Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist: Das Wesen und Werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen: Vol 1, Part 1: Die vorchristlichen Anschauungen und Lehren vom Pneuma und der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1919), 4.

<sup>414</sup> Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist*, 240. For an overview and summary of Leisegang cf. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, “The Origins of Early Christian Pneumatology: On the Rediscovery and Reshaping of the History of Religions Quest,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 1–38, esp. 10–15.

<sup>415</sup> “Der Geist begriff und die Wirkungen des Geistes mit dem Leben und Predigen Jesu ursprünglich nichts zu tun hatten.” Hans Leisegang, *Pneuma Hagion. Der Ursprung des Geistbegriffs der synoptischen Evangelien aus der griechischen Mystik* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1922), 142.

succeeding scholars including Marie E. Isaacs who argues that, “any pagan Hellenistic ideas of spirit had been already sifted by Hellenistic Judaism before they reached Christianity. Furthermore, only Greek notions which they believed to accord with the O.T. had been retained.”<sup>416</sup>

Friedrich Büchsel contests Leisegang’s thesis and argues that the anointing of the Holy Spirit at the baptism of Jesus is the fulfilment of the Hebrew scriptures promise of new life and communion with God through the divine Spirit. The Spirit empowers Jesus’ ministry, miracles, and his unity with God, his Father.<sup>417</sup>

Heinrich von Baer argues that despite considerable nuance and diversity in the Spirit material of the New Testament, it presents a coherent unity entirely unconnected to pagan concepts of the spirit.<sup>418</sup> Turning to Luke-Acts, Baer sees that the overarching and unifying theme of the Spirit material is the Jewish notion of salvation history.<sup>419</sup> Baer explained the diversity under this overarching theme by positing three epochs of the Holy Spirit in salvation history:<sup>420</sup> (1) The epoch of Israel in which various individuals ending with John the Baptist are anointed with the Spirit of prophecy and foretell the coming of the messiah.<sup>421</sup> (2) The epoch of the incarnate Jesus where the divine Spirit is manifested through the virgin birth and anointed ministry of Jesus, the

---

<sup>416</sup> Marie E. Isaacs, *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament*, Heythrop Monographs 1 (London: Heythrop College, 1976), 141. For Isaac’s treatment of Leisegang cf. esp. 28–29, 54–61, 141–142. Cf. Heinrich von Baer, *Der Heilige Geist in den Lukasschriften*, BWA(N)T 3 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1926), 112–13, 131, 138, 161; C. K. Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition* (London: SPCK, 1966), 12–14, 36–45; David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 34; Craig S. Keener, *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), 7–8.

<sup>417</sup> Friedrich Büchsel, *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926), 174, 226.

<sup>418</sup> Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 4.

<sup>419</sup> Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 43.

<sup>420</sup> Cf. Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, trans. Geoffrey Buswell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 13–26, 103, 150, 170ff.

<sup>421</sup> Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 45–47.

Son of God at his baptism.<sup>422</sup> (3) The epoch of Pentecost which is the salvation epoch of the Spirit. In this third epoch, the Spirit works in the early church empowering the proclamation of the gospel.<sup>423</sup> Baer also states that the activity of the Pentecostal Spirit is moral renewal in Acts 2.<sup>424</sup> The prophetic, transforming, and renewing activities of the Spirit carry through from Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Joel to the New Testament.

While some scholars argue for a Hellenistic or even Gnostic origin for Paul's notion of Spirit, particularly the dualism of flesh and spirit,<sup>425</sup> others argue for Jewish origins, pointing to the Qumran discoveries.<sup>426</sup> Jörg Frey argues that Paul's understanding of flesh, "as a power hostile to God that rules and misleads human beings, cannot be derived from Hellenistic ontology of the earthly and the spiritual sphere."<sup>427</sup> Paul's views are semantically closer to works such as 1Q/4QInstruction or 1Q/4QMysteries and what Frey terms as the Essene texts. Frey contends that sinful flesh as a power to mislead is only found in the Palestinian Jewish sapiential

---

<sup>422</sup> Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 48–49.

<sup>423</sup> Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 92–93, 103.

<sup>424</sup> Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 188–190.

<sup>425</sup> Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist*; Wilhelm Bousset, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*, trans. John E. Steely (Nashville: Abingdon, 1970), 153–210; Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen ... Dritte, erweiterte und umgearbeitete Auflage*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner, 1927), 86; Rudolf Karl Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 9th. ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), 66–186; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "A Stoic Understanding of Pneuma in Paul," in *Philosophy at the Roots of Christianity*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen, et al., Working Papers 2 (Copenhagen: Faculty of Theology, University of Copenhagen, 2006). For an excellent early overview of the history of research cf. Robert Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Context Settings*, AGJU 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 49–94. For an updated review of scholarship cf. Frey and Levison, "The Origins", 4–31.

<sup>426</sup> Matthew J. Goff, "Being Fleshly or Spiritual: Anthropological Reflection and Exegesis of Genesis 1–3 in 4QInstruction and First Corinthians," in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Benjamin Bertho and Claire Clivaz, WUNT 284 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 41–59; Jörg Frey, "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, ed. Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez, and Eileen M. Schuller, STDJ 35 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 197–226; Jörg Frey, "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage," in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, ed. C. Hempel, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger, BETL (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002), 367–404; Frey, "Paul's View of the Spirit", 237–260.

<sup>427</sup> Frey, "The Notion of 'Flesh'", 197–226, here 225.

tradition.<sup>428</sup> Frey further states that the “opposition of flesh against the spirit is not formed through an ontological distance between the created and the spiritual world but by the disobedience of humanity against God and his word.”<sup>429</sup>

#### 4.0.2 Studies on the Continuity of the Spirit from the Hebrew Scriptures to the New Testament

The Spirit of the Lord is closely tied to prophecy in the Hebrew Scriptures. So much so that a long-held assumption among scholars that the decline of the prophets is equated with the withdrawal of the Spirit. Indeed, the rabbis state that “After the last of the prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, died, the Divine Spirit of prophetic revelation departed from the Jewish people.”<sup>430</sup> While some continue to defend the withdrawal,<sup>431</sup> a number of scholars challenge this view and argue that God continued to speak to his people through his divine Spirit after the last Hebrew scripture prophets died.<sup>432</sup> Foremost of these scholars is John R. Levison who has argued for the Jewish roots of New Testament pneumatology in his many books on the divine Spirit and has comprehensively refuted the view that the Spirit withdrew post exile.<sup>433</sup> Levison contests the majority of texts used to support this view, namely: Ps 74:9; 1 Macc 4:46,

---

<sup>428</sup> Frey, “The Notion of ‘Flesh’”, 225.

<sup>429</sup> Frey, “The Notion of ‘Flesh’”, 226.

<sup>430</sup> B Yoma 9b:16; Sanh 11a:7; Sotah 48b:6

<sup>431</sup> Cf. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (New York: Meridian, 1957), 403–404; Frank Moore Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), 223, 343; Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*, LEC 7 (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 199–201; Benjamin D. Sommer, “Did Prophecy Cease? Evaluating a Reevaluation,” *JBL* 115, no. 1 (1996): 31–47.

<sup>432</sup> Frederick E. Greenspahn, “Why Prophecy Ceased,” *JBL* 108, no. 1 (1989); Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, 103–152; John R. Levison, “Did the Spirit Withdraw from Israel? An Evaluation of the Earliest Jewish Data,” *NTS* 43 (1997): 35–57.

<sup>433</sup> Levison, “Did the Spirit Withdraw,” 35–57; John R. Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Levison, “Promise of the Spirit”; Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*; John R. Levison, “Assessing the Origins of Modern Pneumatology: The Life and Legacy of Hermann Gunkel,” in *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, ed. Benjamin Bertho and Claire Clivaz, WUNT 284 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011); John R. Levison, *Inspired: The Holy Spirit and the Mind of Faith* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013); John R. Levison, *The Holy Spirit Before Christianity* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019).

9:27, and 14:41; Josephus's *Ag. Ap.* 1.37–41; 2 Apoc. Bar. 85.3; and Pr Azar 15, arguing that “the failure of a prophet to appear on a day of distress — has been interpreted to mean that prophecy from that day has ceased.”<sup>434</sup> Levison then turns to the remaining text, Tosefta Sota 13.2–4, where he makes a compelling argument that a reading of this passage which supports the notion of the Spirit's withdrawal is only possible when it is removed from its context which recites numerous examples of what is lost by the death of a righteous person. The loss is not permanent but can be restored when another righteous person is present. Contrary to supporting the withdrawal of the Holy Spirit, t. Sota 13.2–4 in fact affirms that “Hillel and Samuel the Small receive the Holy Spirit because they are worthy, but their generation, due to its unworthiness, does not receive the Holy Spirit.”<sup>435</sup> Levison cautions that,

This observation teaches a clear lesson: when an early Jewish viewpoint, such as the alleged case of the withdrawal of the prophetic Spirit and its eschatological return, provides what appears to be an exceptionally suitable foil for New Testament points of view, New Testament scholars ought to exercise particular suspicion about the possibility of the manipulation of data. This suspicion ought to propel them to a fresh examination of the Jewish data collected to construct such an edifice, if not to demolish it - as I have attempted to do - at least to expose the fissures in its foundation.<sup>436</sup>

This re-examination of assumptions on the withdrawal of the Spirit challenges the view that the disciples did not receive the Spirit until the Day of Pentecost. The remarkable increase in the activity of the Spirit after the Day of Pentecost has led many scholars to greatly diminish or even deny the influence of the Spirit on the disciples or any other than Jesus before his death and resurrection. This notion is demonstrated clearly in Jörg Frey's contrast of the experience of the Spirit pre- and post-Pentecost when he states that “The influence of the Spirit on the life of the community [post-

---

<sup>434</sup> Levison, “Did the Spirit Withdraw,” esp. 37–45, here, 45.

<sup>435</sup> Levison, “Did the Spirit Withdraw,” here 56.

<sup>436</sup> Levison, “Did the Spirit Withdraw,” here 57.

Pentecost] and its individual members is seen as continuous, as opposed to sporadic or temporary [pre-Pentecost].”<sup>437</sup> While acknowledging that Jesus commissions his disciples to exorcise, Frey states that “they are not equally armed with the Spirit” as Jesus himself is.<sup>438</sup> In contrast, Max Turner argues in his doctoral thesis that the disciples experienced the Spirit and therefore the kingdom of God during Jesus’ ministry.<sup>439</sup> Furthermore, he contends that the “idea that one must personally ‘receive’ the ‘gift of the Holy Spirit’ in order at all to experience the spirit in any strength comes closer to the Gnostic idea of redemption through the importation of πνεῦμα as heavenly substance than it does to the Jewish concept of Spirit as God’s self-revealing presence and influence.”<sup>440</sup> Turner determines that the Spirit of prophecy in Acts is the same Spirit of prophecy in Luke’s Gospel and the Jewish prophets. Moreover, in Judaism and the New Testament the Spirit is “the ‘very’ life of the restored community, and the power of its holiness.”<sup>441</sup>

#### 4.0.3 Studies Related to Activities of the Spirit in the New Testament

Much of the pneumatology debates of the past fifty years has been centred on the primary function of the Holy Spirit. Is the Spirit mainly concerned with prophecy and empowerment for witness or with moral transformation and new creation? Some authors have delineated Luke-Acts where they see a single focus on the empowerment for witness, from the Pauline Epistles where the focus is on moral transformation,<sup>442</sup>

---

<sup>437</sup> Frey, “How Did the Spirit Become a Person?”, 358.

<sup>438</sup> Frey, “How Did the Spirit Become a Person?”, 352.

<sup>439</sup> Max Turner, “James Dunn’s Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Appreciation and Response,” *JPT* 19, no. 1 (2010): 25–31, here 30. Turner reflects back on his own unpublished 1980 thesis in this review of Dunn’s work. Cf. Max Turner, *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel’s Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*, JPTSUP (Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 340.

<sup>440</sup> Turner, *Power from on High*, 334.

<sup>441</sup> Max Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts: Then and Now*, Rev. ed. (Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2005), xii.

<sup>442</sup> Robert P. Menzies, *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*, JSNTSUP 54 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 207–277; Robert P. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts*, 3rd ed. (London: T&T Clark, 2004).

while others have a more nuanced view, particularly of the Spirit in Luke-Acts.<sup>443</sup> The debates result in narrowly defining the activity and purpose of the Spirit and thereby miss the rich diversity and interconnectedness of the Spirit's activity. Levison does not participate in these debates but circumvents this discussion by exploring *all* the diverse ways the Spirit interacts with humanity. He views the Spirit in a holistic manner, noting that the creative breath of God and the Spirit of God in the form of a subsequent endowment are in fact one and the same. Levison argues that "the initial endowment of God's spirit at birth" is not inferior or different than charismatic endowments.<sup>444</sup>

James D. G. Dunn also argues that "the action of the Spirit cannot be so neatly separated into distinct categories - that life-giving and empowering are two aspects of the same action of the Spirit."<sup>445</sup> The life given by the Spirit is full of vitality, it "liberates, energizes, empowers, and expresses itself in a wide variety of forms all indicative of the fact that the spirit is life!"<sup>446</sup> While the Spirit is experienced in different ways, it is the same Spirit. Dunn further cautions that a clinical analysis of how Paul and other New Testament writers understood the Holy Spirit "can easily obscure the character of the language being used — that it was the language of metaphor and imagery," and the diversity of that language was not conducive to neat, prescribed definitions. Indeed, it would also be a mistake to see any inconsistent or contradictory notions of the Spirit in New Testament writers, "rather, we should see in

---

<sup>443</sup> Cf. Baer, *Heilige Geist*; G. W. H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," in *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Blackwell, 1957), 159–200; Turner, *Power from on High*; Turner, "Appreciation and Response."; Matthias Wenk, *Community-Forming Power: The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts*, JPTSUP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

<sup>444</sup> Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 9–12, here 12. Cf. Levison, *Inspired*, 19–70. Cf. §2.4 For a discussion on God giving humanity a spirit at birth/creation in 4QInstruction.

<sup>445</sup> James D. G. Dunn, "'The Lord, the Giver of Life': The Gift of the Spirit as Both Life-giving and Empowering," in *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology: Essays in Honor of Max Turner*, ed. Max Turner, et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 1–17, here 2.

<sup>446</sup> Dunn, "'The Lord, the Giver of Life'", 17.

the diverse (and analytically confusing) imagery an indication of the kind and range of experiences attributed to the Spirit, and of how the first Christians struggled to find an appropriate conceptuality to describe them.”<sup>447</sup>

Volker Rabens focuses his attention on *how* the divine Spirit effects ethical transformation for Paul and challenges the view that the Spirit transforms a believer ontologically through an ‘infusion-transformation’ approach. This approach argues that Paul considered the divine Spirit to be a mighty, physical substance which infuses the believer through the sacrament of baptism and eucharist. The infusion of the Spirit replaces or substantially changes the believer’s sinful nature.<sup>448</sup> Rabens contests that there is no “automatism of ethical living.”<sup>449</sup> He turns to psychology and leans heavily on the work of Robert A. Hinde to support his thesis of the transforming effect of relationships. This is summarized succinctly in one statement: “definitions of self, our view of reality, our attitudes and personality are continuously influenced by our interactions and relationships with others.”<sup>450</sup> Rabens further argues that the Spirit does not override the individual’s autonomy. Rather the individual must allow the Spirit to bring them into intimate relationships with God and community. The Spirit empowers these relationships to transform the individual and therefore the group and vice versa.<sup>451</sup> The believer is transformed and empowered for ethical living by the divine Spirit

---

<sup>447</sup> James D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 426.

<sup>448</sup> So Leisegang, *Der Heilige Geist*; Ernst Käsemann, *Leib und Leib Christi: Eine Untersuchung zur paulinischen Begrifflichkeit*, BHT 9 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933); Peter Stuhlmacher, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus*, FRLANT 87 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965); W. Wrede, “Paulus,” in *Das Paulusbild in der neueren Deutschen Forschung*, ed. Karl Heinrich Rengstorff and Ulrich Luck, WdF 24 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969), 1–97; Friedrich Wilhelm Horn, *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie*, FRLANT 154 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); Engberg-Pedersen, “A Stoic Understanding of Pneuma in Paul”, 101–123.

<sup>449</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 173. For a distilled argument cf. Volker Rabens, “Ethics and the Spirit in Paul (2): Religious-Ethical Empowerment through the Relational Work of the Spirit,” *ExpTim* 125, no. 6 (2014): 272–281.

<sup>450</sup> Robert A. Hinde, *Towards Understanding Relationships*, EMSP 18 (London: Academic Press, 1979), 4–5, 14–15, here 326.

<sup>451</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 252.

through “deeper knowledge of, and an intimate relationship with, God, Jesus Christ and with the community of faith.”<sup>452</sup> It is an ongoing, continual transformation *in community*. Rabens argues that this relational model of transformation is seen in the Qumran community. The Spirit facilitates an intimate relationship with God through revelation and wisdom which in turn leads to a transformed ethical life. This vertical relationship is matched by a horizontal relationship with those in the community where they receive encouragement and correction (CD XX, 17–20; 1QS II, 24–31; IX, 3). Rabens sees an additional aspect of the ethical transformation of the Spirit, namely purification (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 29–30), and argues that this draws the member closer to God with the result of creating intimacy vertically with God and horizontally within the community.<sup>453</sup> The relational effect of the Spirit in renewal and transformation is also seen in Ezek 36:25–28, Isa 44:3–6, Jub 1:23–25, and T. Jud. 24:2–3. Rabens argues that these texts are evidence of an understanding of the divine Spirit effecting ethical transformation through relationship and “that Paul was part of a milieu in which the ethical work of the Spirit was often implicitly or explicitly linked to deeper knowledge of and an intimate relationship with God and with the community of faith.”<sup>454</sup>

#### 4.0.4 Summary of Relevant Pneumatology Literature

The above review of scholarship has established the Jewish origins of New Testament pneumatology, and the continuity of the divine Spirit from the Hebrew Bible through Second Temple literature to the New Testament. While the majority of recent scholarship is concerned with determining the primary function of the Spirit, Levison and Dunn approach the Spirit holistically and see unity in the diverse activities of the

---

<sup>452</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 123.

<sup>453</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 156–163.

<sup>454</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 167–170, here 170.

Spirit. Volker Rabens agrees with former scholars that the Pauline depiction of the role of the Spirit is one of regeneration and transformation, however he is more interested in *how* the Spirit transforms. He argues that the Spirit effects ethical transformation through intimate relationship with God and the community.

The point of departure for this study of New Testament pneumatology from many former scholars is a sustained attention on the individual activities of the Holy Spirit focusing on moral cleansing and subsequent transformation. Additionally, these are directly compared to the activities identified in the Qumran discoveries in Chapter 2. This dual examination provides fresh and meaningful insight into notions of the divine Spirit at the turn of the Common Era and the meaning of baptism in the Spirit.

#### 4.1 Introduction

The range of meanings of πνεύμα in the Septuagint and New Testament draws on the range of meaning in Classical Greek is similar to that of רוח in the Hebrew scriptures.<sup>455</sup> C. Haas and M. de Jonge identify five meanings for *pneuma* in the New Testament, namely: (1) air, wind, the breath of life, life spirit; (2) the source of “insight, feeling, and will” of a human; (3) the human soul after death; (4) “other incorporeal beings” i.e., angels and demons; and (5) God’s Holy Spirit.<sup>456</sup> While “wind” is a

---

<sup>455</sup> Contra W. R. Shoemaker, “The Use of Ruach in the Old Testament, and of Pneuma in the New Testament: A Lexicographical Study,” *JBL* 23, no. 1 (1904): 13–67. Shoemaker argues that there are only two meanings, viz. wind and breath for πνεύμα in Classical Greek, whereas there is a range of meaning according to the Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek. Most notable for the purposes of this study are: (1) divine inspiration (PLAT. Ax. 370c DIOSC. AP 6.220.4 PLUT. Def. orac. 438b); and (2) spiritual element, holy spirit: π. θεῖον divine spirit (MEN. fr. 372.3 (of τύχη)). The knowledge of the range of meanings of classical Greek words has been expanded by the discoveries of the past century. It can no longer be argued that spiritual meanings of πνεύμα were unique to the LXX and Christian writings. Furthermore, Aitkens successfully argues that the Septuagint was written in the Greek of Ptolemaic Egypt and not in some unique Jewish dialect. James K. Aitken, “The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish–Greek Identity,” in *Understanding the Times: New Testament Studies in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of D.A. Carson on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* ed. Andreas J. Köstenberger and Robert W. Yarbrough (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2011), 120–134.

<sup>456</sup> C. Haas and M. de Jonge, *A Translator’s Handbook on the Letters of John*, Helps for Translators 13 (New York: United Bible Societies, 1972), 99–100. Cf. Frey, “Notion of the Spirit”, 83–102, esp. 83–84.

common meaning for *pneuma* in the Septuagint, there is only one unambiguous instance in the New Testament, although even here there is a parallel drawn to spirit, “The wind blows where it chooses, and you hear the sound of it, but you do not know where it comes from or where it goes. So it is with everyone who is born of the Spirit” (John 3:8). The other instances of wind come from either ἄνεμος or πνοή.<sup>457</sup> Additionally, usage in terms of the meaning “breath” is only slightly more frequent with just five clear examples each of which relates breath to life or life force, (Matt 27:50; 2 Thess 2:8; James 2:26; Rev 11:11; 13:15).<sup>458</sup> The New Testament understanding of *pneuma* as the divine Spirit or Holy Spirit is greatly increased over the LXX. It is this usage which is the primary concern of this chapter.

The remarkable increase of discourse on the divine Spirit in the New Testament has led to widespread assumptions about a break with preceding tradition, namely the Hebrew Bible where the Spirit is only active in rare events for a chosen few. This canonical approach has resulted in a dismissal of the early Jewish materials and the Jewish origins of the Holy Spirit. John Levison reviewed briefly above (§4.0.2), offers an important corrective, stating that “Jews, heirs to Israel’s grand and honest heritage, laid claim to the holy spirit long before Christianity came into being.... Israelite and early Jewish literature, therefore, cannot be read any longer as a negative foil for the vitality of Christianity.”<sup>459</sup>

As seen in Chapter 2, the divine spirit is central to the creation of the Yaḥad and the formation of individual members. Indeed, the Qumran discoveries are evidence of a rich theological milieu and developing conceptualizations of the divine spirit which

---

<sup>457</sup> One other possible example is Heb 1:7 where the writer is quoting Ps 104. However, the writer may mean angels (Heb 1:14).

<sup>458</sup> Pace Shoemaker who reads *pneuma* as breath in John 19:30. “The Use of Ruach and Pneuma”, 48.

<sup>459</sup> Levison, *Inspired*, 218. Cf. Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 3–20.

reflect the fertile spiritual soil of Palestine. As argued previously, the Yahad experienced the divine spirit as a continual indwelling presence of God. This is not a passive presence. The spirit is an active agent of cleansing, transformation, and illumination.

It is indisputable that the Spirit is very active before the Day of Pentecost in New Testament literature. Luke records that John the Baptist, Elizabeth, and Zechariah were filled with the Holy Spirit and that the Holy Spirit rested on Simeon. Matthew and Luke record that Jesus himself was begotten of the Holy Spirit through Mary. John the Baptist is an example of the sustained and powerful influence of the Holy Spirit in New Testament literature. Anointed from the womb, his ministry is sustained in the Spirit. Additionally, the Holy Spirit is active in the disciples as evidenced by their mission as they proclaim the kingdom of God, heal the sick and cast out demons (Matt 10:8; Mark 6:13; Luke 9:1). G. W. H. Lampe diminishes the potency of the Spirit in the disciples when he states that “the sending out of the Twelve is a foretaste of their commissioning after the Resurrection, and as at Pentecost they receive the power of the Spirit so now they are given power for exorcism and healing.”<sup>460</sup> Yet the synoptics are clear that the disciples exorcized demons and healed the sick as Jesus commanded them to do. As Jesus himself performed these actions only after anointing by the Holy Spirit at his baptism, it is highly improbable that his disciples were able to do so without the agency of the Spirit. Nevertheless, New Testament literature relates a dramatic increase in the Spirit’s activity in the early church from the Day of Pentecost onward. Additionally, this activity is increasingly portrayed as a personal experience. In other words, as the stories of the church are written down, there is a process of personalization of the Holy Spirit. Frey argues that this personalization is a result of the activity of the Spirit in the

---

<sup>460</sup> Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 189.

earthly ministry of Jesus, “especially in his work as a messianic exorcist, healer, and teacher,”<sup>461</sup> and that the “view that the spirit that had empowered Jesus was now given to the believers can be considered one of the earliest and most crucial ideas among early Jesus followers.”<sup>462</sup>

This chapter is focused on exploring the manifestations and activities of the Holy Spirit in comparison to the Hebrew scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls. While there is commonality with the four distinct types of activities of the divine spirit identified in the Qumran discoveries, namely (1) prophesying/revealing wisdom; (2) sustaining/creating a willing spirit; (3) purifying, cleansing, and atoning; and (4) transforming, they are not direct parallels to the activities as found in the New Testament. Conceptions of the divine Spirit in the New Testament are expanded to include a personal experience of the miraculous activities of the Spirit. Although the dramatic manifestations of the Spirit seem to take centre stage, I argue that cleansing and transformation are at the heart of New Testament pneumatology, just as they are in the Yahad compositions.

Before turning to the specific activities of the Spirit, it is worthwhile to pause and examine the different portrayals of the Spirit within the New Testament. While most activities of the Spirit are seen across books and authors, there is no monolithic understanding of the divine Spirit.

#### **4.2 Differing Portrayals of the Holy Spirit**

Just as the conceptions of the divine spirit are polyvalent in the Qumran discoveries, so too are they in the New Testament. It is important that these views of the

---

<sup>461</sup> Frey, “How Did the Spirit Become a Person?”, 351.

<sup>462</sup> Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit”, 243.

Spirit are not conflated. To that end, this section will summarize the notions of the Spirit in different compositions. However, Frey’s caution holds, namely that, “we must recognize that the earliest Jesus movement was inspired by experiences, rather than by distinct concepts or even ‘theology.’ This is even true for Paul who is in some way the first one to develop a ‘theology’ of the Spirit but is still strongly rooted in the experiences of the spirit felt by himself and his addressees.”<sup>463</sup>

#### 4.2.1 Matthew & Mark

Notions of the divine Spirit are not as developed in Matthew and Mark as they are in Luke-Acts, John, and the Pauline Epistles. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Spirit does not play a significant role. Mark’s Gospel starts with John the Baptist’s proclamation that he baptises in water, but another stronger one (ἰσχυρότερός) than he will baptise with the Holy Spirit (Mark 1:7–8; cf. Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16). The Son of David is described as being made mighty or powerful by a holy spirit in the Psalms of Solomon: “God will make him powerful (δυνατὸν) by a holy spirit; and wise in intelligent counsel, with strength and righteousness (Pss.Sol 17:37).<sup>464</sup> Isa 11:2 is likely influencing this passage: “The spirit of the LORD shall rest on him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might (גְּבוּרָה, ἰσχύος (LXX)), the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD. While the Baptist does not expand on this statement, Mark immediately tells of the baptism of Jesus where the Spirit descends like a dove on him and a voice from heaven declares “You are my Son, the Beloved; with you I am well pleased” (Mark 1:10–11). The Spirit

---

<sup>463</sup> Frey, “Notion of the Spirit”, 83–102, here 93.

<sup>464</sup> English translations by Wright, *Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, 197. Cf. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew, 1–7*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 315; Joel Marcus, *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27 (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 151–152.

descending on Jesus is seen as an anointing, recalling the activity of the divine Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures as it falls upon or is poured out on God’s chosen kings, prophets, and priests. Isaiah describes a future king and anointed descendant of David as the spirit of the Lord resting on him. It is a spirit of wisdom and understanding; of counsel and might; and of knowledge and the fear of the LORD (Isa 11:2). This description of an anointed king is in the background for the Gospel writers and their readers. The anointing of Jesus by the Holy Spirit sets up expectations of an earthly kingdom and freedom from Rome. These expectations are overturned as Jesus continually describes the Kingdom of God in ways which are contradictory to power and authority and are ultimately destroyed at the death of Jesus. Directly following the baptism of Jesus, the Spirit drives Jesus into the wilderness for a time of testing and trial in preparation for his ministry.

The Spirit is mentioned as often as Jesus is in the first twelve verses of Mark’s Gospel and is central to the genesis of Jesus’ ministry. Given that Mark does not include an account of the Day of Pentecost, what is the reader to make of the promise of a baptism with/in the Spirit (Mark 1:8b)? Often, baptism with the Holy Spirit has been read through Luke’s account of the Day of Pentecost where the Spirit is the object of the baptism, a gift received rather than an agent in the baptism. The manuscript witnesses are divided as to whether water (ὕδατι) and spirit (πνεύματι) are both dative of means.<sup>465</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins argues that the “stronger attestation and the fact that scribes were more likely to create parallel expressions than destroy them indicate that the combination of ὕδατι (“with water”) and ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. (“in/with Holy Spirit”)

---

<sup>465</sup> ἐν ὕδατι: A (D) K L P W Γ f<sup>1</sup>.13 28. 565. 579. 700. 892c. 1241. 1424. 2542. ℓ 844 ℞ it | μεν Θ.

ὕδατι: ℞ B Δ 33. 892\*. ℓ 2211 vg; Or.

ἐν πνεύματι: ℞ A D K P W Γ Δ Θ f<sup>1</sup>.13 28. 33. 565. 579. 700. 892c. 1241. 1424. 2542. ℓ 844. ℓ 2211 ℞ it vg<sup>mss</sup>; Or.

Πνεύματι: B L 892\* b t vg.

is the earliest attested reading.”<sup>466</sup> However, an understanding of baptism in the Spirit should not be restricted solely to that of the means of baptism either. The divine Spirit is polyvalent and resists narrow definitions. John Yates cautions that viewing the Spirit as the means of baptism does “not exclude Mark 1:8b from referring to the action of the risen Christ through his disciples or upon his disciples. What it does exclude is the view that ‘He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit’ must be interpreted strictly in the sense acquired from the context at Acts 1:5 by the passive form of the phrase.”<sup>467</sup> Colin Brown suggests that John’s prophecy in Mark 1:8b is fulfilled in the earthly ministry of Jesus. In fact, “his entire ministry was an expression of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.” He also cautions that, “this, of course, does not preclude his ministry of the baptism of the Holy Spirit after Pentecost. Rather, it lays the foundation for it, and sets the scene for the entire Gospel.”<sup>468</sup>

Mark sets up a juxtaposition of the Holy Spirit and unclean spirits. There are more mentions of unclean spirits in the Gospel of Mark than any other book in the New Testament.<sup>469</sup> The first public act in Jesus’ ministry is to exorcize an unclean spirit from a man in Capernaum and many more exorcisms and healings follow, all empowered by the Holy Spirit. This is made clear when the scribes accuse Jesus of casting out the demons by the power of Beelzebul. Jesus responds with the statement that whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven. The scribes were attributing the work of the Holy Spirit to Beelzebul, thus committing blaspheme.<sup>470</sup> That it is by the

---

<sup>466</sup> Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2007), 133.

<sup>467</sup> John E. Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom* (London: SPCK, 1963), 38.

<sup>468</sup> Colin Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Exeter: Paternoster, 1984), 301.

<sup>469</sup> Fourteen mentions of unclean spirits in Mark, twelve in Luke, four in Matthew, eight in Acts, three in Revelation, and one each in Ephesians and 1 Timothy.

<sup>470</sup> Cf. Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*, 58–59; Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind*, 304–305; Joan. E. Taylor and Federico Adinolfi, “John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist: A Narrative Critical Approach,” *JSHJ* 10, no. 3 (2012): 247–284, here 271.

Holy Spirit that Jesus casts out unclean spirits is even more clearly expressed in the account in Matt 12:22–31 where Jesus also states, “If I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your own exorcists cast them out? Therefore, they will be your judges. But if it is by the Spirit of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come to you” (Matt 12:27–28). As Joan Taylor and Federico Adinolfi point out, it would be very strange for an author to set up an expectation of their hero without it being realized in the story.<sup>471</sup> Instead, the promise of a baptism in/with the Holy Spirit in Mark 1:8b is fulfilled throughout Mark’s Gospel as Jesus heals, casts out unclean demons, and brings people back to life.

The Gospel of Matthew pushes the Spirit’s activity in the ministry of Jesus back to his conception (Matt 1:18, 20).<sup>472</sup> While this may recall the miraculous conceptions of Sarah and Rachel, it is a very different activity. The Spirit does not use a human father; Jesus’ conception is divine. Matthew follows Mark in naming the agency of the Holy Spirit in the baptism of Jesus (Matt 3:16), and his temptation in the wilderness (Matt 4:1). Furthermore, Matthew makes a direct connection with the anointing of the servants of the Lord in Hebrew scriptures with the anointing of Jesus as he quotes Isa 42:1, “Here is my servant, whom I have chosen, my beloved, with whom my soul is well pleased. I will put my Spirit upon him, and he will proclaim justice to the gentiles”

---

<sup>471</sup> Taylor and Adinolfi, “John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist,” 270. Contra John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, SP 2 (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 64. “Since Jesus does not baptise in the Holy Spirit in Mark these words direct the reader beyond the narrative.”

<sup>472</sup> Loren Stuckenbruck makes a very interesting argument as to why Matthew (and Luke) include the Holy Spirit in the birth narrative. He posits that the authors of these Gospels are keen to bely any rumours of the illegitimacy of the conception of Jesus against a background of the Watchers (children of fallen angels and human women). Furthermore, conception by the Holy Spirit refutes any accusations that Jesus performed his miracles through Beelzebul. There was no unclean spirit involved. Jesus was clean and holy. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, “Conflicting Stories: The Spirit Origin of Jesus’ Birth,” in *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts*, WUNT 335 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017), 142–160, esp. 150–160.

(Matt 12:18). This claim adds greater weight to the invocation of the authority of King David and the Spirit for the messiahship of Jesus (Matt 22:43–45).

#### 4.2.2 Luke-Acts

A significant proportion of scholarship on New Testament pneumatology is centred on Luke-Acts. This focused attention is of course fully expected given the account of the Day of Pentecost in Acts; however, it is also related to the frequent mention of the Spirit in these two books.<sup>473</sup> While some scholars argue that the Spirit in Luke-Acts is mostly or wholly concerned with prophecy which empowers for witness,<sup>474</sup> others see a nuanced and complex portrayal of the Spirit by Luke.<sup>475</sup> What is clear is that the Spirit is God's Spirit in the writings of Luke. It is by the creative force of the Holy Spirit sent by God that Mary conceives and gives birth to Jesus (Luke 1:35). Jesus promises that the Father will give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him (Luke 11:13) and claims fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy that the "Spirit of the Lord" is upon him (Luke 4:18). The Holy Spirit is promised from the Father (Luke 24:49; Acts 1:4). It is noteworthy that Luke most frequently uses the term "Holy Spirit" (53 out of 75 occurrences in the NT). While the Spirit is not a personified being, it is most definitely the Holy Spirit of God. Jacob Jervell observes that, "For Luke the Spirit belongs to Israel and is part of the history of the people of God. The Spirit has not appeared for the first time with Jesus or the church: it has always been there, but is an essential part of

---

<sup>473</sup> The divine Spirit is mentioned more often in Acts than any other book in the NT (57 occurrences) with 1 Corinthians and Romans coming in a distant second (27 occurrences) and third (26 occurrences) respectively.

<sup>474</sup> Cf. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness*.

<sup>475</sup> Cf. Baer, *Heilige Geist*; Lampe, "Holy Spirit"; Turner, *Power from on High*; Turner, "Appreciation and Response."

Israel in the end-time, the church. And so the restoration of Israel is seen as the work of the Spirit (Acts 1:1–2:42).”<sup>476</sup>

The pivotal point for Luke is the Day of Pentecost, also known as the Feast of Weeks or *Shavu'ot*. This festival in the third month of the Jewish calendar is central to the story of Israel. Luke’s account of the Day of Pentecost has important elements of *Shavu'ot* woven into it. These elements are: (1) the third month; (2) covenant; (3) revelation; (4) fire; and (5) water.

Jubilees rewrites Gen 1– Ex 12 into a time frame of the weeks and years of jubilees<sup>477</sup> and places many of the central events of the founding history of Israel in the third month of the year. Namely, the Noahic (Jub. 6:1–20), Abrahamic (Jub. 14:1–10) and Mosaic covenants (Jub. 1:1), the birth and circumcision of Isaac, thereby instituting circumcision as part of the covenant (Jub. 16:13), Abraham’s blessing of Jacob (Jub. 22:10–25), and God appearing to Jacob (Jub. 44:4–5).<sup>478</sup> Indeed, this festival is so important to Jubilees that it states that *Shavu'ot* was celebrated in heaven *before* its first earthly celebration by Noah (Jub. 6:18). While Genesis records that the earth was dry on the twenty-seventh day of the second month (Gen 8:14) and it is assumed that Noah, his family and all the animals left the same day, VanderKam and Crawford note textual evidence which supports Noah leaving the ark on the first day of the third month. Namely, a passage in the Syriac Chronicle: “On the first of the third month they left the ark,” and the addition of “εν μια του μηνος τριτου” at the end of 8:19 in a number of

---

<sup>476</sup> Jacob Jervell, *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*, New Testament Theology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 43–44.

<sup>477</sup> The time frame of Jubilees is based on multiples of seven: a week of years is seven years, and a jubilee year is seven weeks of years, totalling forty-nine years.

<sup>478</sup> The third month is also the time of the renewed covenant in the reign of Asa after he destroyed all the idols and foreign temples in Judah (2 Chr 15:10–12).

Greek copies.<sup>479</sup> Jubilees records that Noah builds an altar and offers sacrifices to God while still on the mountain. This added detail in Jubilees connects the Noahic covenant with the Mosaic covenant given on the Mount of Sinai. God makes a covenant with Noah and all creation not to destroy the earth through a flood again. Jubilees states that, “For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the festival of weeks during this month — once a year — to renew the covenant each and every year” (Jub. 6:17). William Gilders notes that, “when Noah made sacrifice in the middle of the third month to purify the earth because of its sins and to offer thanks for his deliverance, he was simply realizing on earth what had already existed in heaven. The heavenly broke into the earthly.”<sup>480</sup> After Noah’s death, his descendants failed to keep the festival and annually renew the covenant until God made his covenant with Abram, although it can be understood as Abram renewing the covenant with God. While Genesis does not mention the time of year in which God made his covenant with Abram (Gen 15), Jubilees is explicit that it occurred in the middle of the third month. Abram receives a dream or theophany on the first of the third month (Jub. 14:1) and God makes his covenant with him in the middle of this third month (Jub. 14:10). Moses ascends Mount Sinai in the third month (Gen 19:1, Jub. 1:1) has a theophany and receives “the two stone tablets, the law and the commandments.” Thus, Jubilees establishes the third month for covenant and revelation.

Fire is a part of making the covenant between God and Noah (Gen 8:20, Jub. 6:1–3) and again with Abram; “When the sun had gone down and it was dark, *a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch* passed between these pieces. On that day the

---

<sup>479</sup> James C. VanderKam and Sidnie White Crawford, *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), 303–304.

<sup>480</sup> William K. Gilders, “The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini, et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 178–192, here 183.

LORD made a covenant with Abram, saying, ‘To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates’” (Gen 15:17–18). The fire devoured the offerings of Abram (Jub. 14:19). For Moses the experience of fire goes beyond the sacrifice. The Lord descends on Mount Sinai in fire (Ex 19:18) and Moses sees the glory of the Lord like a blazing fire (Jub. 1:3). Exod 20:2 in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan reads “The first word, as it came forth from the mouth of the Holy One, whose Name be blessed, was like storms, and lightnings, and *flames of fire*, with a burning light on His right hand and on His left.”<sup>481</sup> The image of fire coming from the mouth of God is seen in Jer 23:29, “Is not my word like fire, says the LORD, and like a hammer that breaks a rock in pieces?” This is of particular interest in the context of the Day of Pentecost as Rabbi Yishmael comments on this verse saying, “Behold, is My word not like fire, declares the Lord, and like a hammer that shatters a rock?” (Jeremiah 23:29). Just as this hammer breaks a stone into several fragments, so too, each and every utterance that emerged from the mouth of the Holy One, Blessed be He, divided into seventy languages” (b. Shabbat 88b:3).<sup>482</sup> Moshe Weinfeld notes the similarities between Rabbi Yishmael, “the word (like fire) was divided into seventy tongues” and Acts 2:3, “there appeared to them tongues divided like flames of fire.” Weinfeld further argues that behind the story of the apostles speaking in foreign languages “lies the Jewish tradition that the Torah was given in seventy languages, i.e., in the languages of all the nations in the world.”<sup>483</sup> The image of tongues of fire resting on the apostles draws on the rich tradition of Jewish interpretation of their scriptures. Luke is also

---

<sup>481</sup> Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel, *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch: with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum from the Chaldee*, trans. John Wesley Etheridge (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862).

<sup>482</sup> Translation from the William Davidson Talmud, <https://www.sefaria.org/Shabbat.88b?lang=bi>

<sup>483</sup> Moshe Weinfeld, “Pentecost as Festival of the Giving of the Law,” *Immanuel* 8 (1978): 7–18, here 15. Cf. VanderKam, “Festival of Weeks”, 185–205, esp. 198–201. VanderKam also pushes back against the objection that the Midrashic passages were too late to influence the writing of Acts 2 by pointing to Philo who evidently knows of this interpretation. Cf. 199, 205.

drawing a direct connection between the prophecy of John the Baptist, “He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit and fire” (Luke 3:16) and the Day of Pentecost.<sup>484</sup> Dunn argues that, “what John held out before his hearers was a baptism which was neither solely destructive nor solely gracious, but which contained both elements in itself. . . . the repentant would experience a purgative, refining, but ultimately merciful judgement.”<sup>485</sup> Whether Luke is making an allusion to the purifying characteristics of fire in comparison to ritual purification in baptism or not, both elements are present together again on the Day of Pentecost.<sup>486</sup>

Although the reference to water and spirit (רוּחַ) in the story of the flood does not occur in the third month, it is integral to the story. God makes a wind/spirit (רוּחַ) to blow over the earth and the waters subsided (Gen 8:1). This recalls the account of creation as a wind/spirit (רוּחַ) from God hovers over the watery chaos (Gen 1:2). There is no watery chaos or flood on the Day of Pentecost, however, about three thousand were immersed in a baptism of repentance. Additionally, the “sound like a mighty rushing wind” *may* be an allusion to the wind of God in the creation and flood stories.

As seen in §2.3, the annual covenant renewal ceremony of the Yaḥad was celebrated during *Shavu'ot*. The covenant renewal ceremony reaffirms and welcomes in “those who devote themselves to the statutes of God into the covenant of mercy, to be joined to the council of God, to walk perfectly before him according to all revealed laws” (1QS I, 7–9). Those who enter the community enter into the covenant of God and take a binding oath to return to the Torah of Moses (1QS V, 8). There is a ritual

---

<sup>484</sup> Leisegang, *Pneuma Hagion*, 74, 132.

<sup>485</sup> James D. G. Dunn, “Spirit-and-Fire Baptism,” *NovT* 14, no. 2 (1972): 81–92, here 86.

<sup>486</sup> Morna D. Hooker, “John’s Baptism: A Prophetic Sign,” in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen Barton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 22–40, here 32.

immersion which cleanses from ritual and moral impurity (1QS III, 4–9). The priests bless the members and ask God to enlighten their hearts and give them insight for living, and eternal knowledge (1QS II, 3). The members are examined each year according to their insight and their works in the Torah (1QS V, 21; cf. VI, 18). The divine spirit played a central role in that ceremony, cleansing and transforming the members of the Yaḥad so that they might obey the law of God and walk in his straight paths. Unlike the followers of Jesus, the Yaḥad had no interest in spreading their message to all people, the divine spirit is restricted to cleansing, transforming, and illuminating the scriptures within their community. The elements of *Shavu'ot* seen in the annual covenant renewal ceremony are: (1) the third month; (2) covenant; (3) revelation; and (5) water. Dorothy Peters astutely observes that in Jubilees, during the third month,

the boundaries of communication between natural and supernatural could be safely navigated. Those who participated in sacrifice and renewal of the covenant established by Noah in the third month could expect that God was particularly attentive to their prayers and actions during this period and that what they said and did at that time would have long-range and even cosmic implications. Furthermore, if there was to be a fresh revelation, God's people could anticipate hearing from him during the covenant renewal celebration in the third month.<sup>487</sup>

This can be seen in the Yaḥad and Acts. The dramatic events recorded in Acts certainly fit this description. God is particularly attentive and there is a fresh revelation with long ranging and even cosmic implications. In contrast to the Hebrew scriptures, this revelation is now available to all; Jew and gentile alike, not just a select chosen few.

---

<sup>487</sup> Dorothy M. Peters, *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity* EJL 26 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008), 92–93.

### 4.2.3 Johannine Literature

Until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Johannine literature was thought to have its roots in Greek philosophy. Paul Anderson summarizes the reasons: (1) John's dualistic character fit with Greek paradigm rather than monistic Judaism; (2) The agency of Jesus was an element of the Gnostic Revealer-Myth; (3) Religious practices were seen as non-Jewish rather than adapted Jewish-Christian; (4) John's Logos Christology was connected to Philo's Logos motif; (5) Messianic Christological concepts were viewed monolithically rather than polyvalent. The discovery of the Scrolls has demonstrated that John's dualistic thought is perfectly at home in Palestinian Judaism as seen in the Community Rule and the War Scroll.<sup>488</sup> Indeed, Charlesworth states that the Dead Sea Scrolls, "disclose the Palestinian origin and Jewish character of the Johannine tradition. The Gospel of John is perhaps the most Jewish of the canonical gospels."<sup>489</sup>

In contrast to the synoptic gospels where there is evidence of the activity of the Spirit before the resurrection of Jesus, the writer of the Fourth Gospel states that, "now he said this about the Spirit, which believers in him were to receive; for as yet there was no Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified" (John 7:39). John's statement is a theological statement in support of his thesis that the Spirit, the Paraclete, can only come after Jesus, the first Paraclete, ascends to his Father (John 16:7). While the Spirit anoints Jesus at his baptism (John 1:32) and is given without measure to Jesus, whom God has sent and who speaks the words of God (John 3:34), the disciples do not have access to the Spirit's transforming agency until Jesus breathes the Spirit into them after

---

<sup>488</sup> Anderson, "John and Qumran", 16.

<sup>489</sup> James H. Charlesworth, "Foreword," in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. James H. Charlesworth and Raymond E. Brown (New York: Crossroad, 1990), xiii-xvi, here xv.

his resurrection (John 20:22). The Spirit takes up the work of Jesus to bring about the eschatological reality of the kingdom of heaven. Marianne Thompson argues that “In short, Jesus’ death and resurrection are the occasion for the Spirit’s eschatological work of the recreation, renewal, cleansing, and restoration of God’s people as described in the prophetic visions of Ezekiel and Isaiah as well as in later Jewish works.”<sup>490</sup> The Spirit constructs the new personal and community identity of the followers of Jesus. This Spirit of truth is as Adele Reinhartz states, “the exclusive property of the community of believers.”<sup>491</sup> The Yahad also considered the holy spirit as exclusive to their community (cf. §2.3).

Christology and pneumatology are highly developed in the Fourth Gospel. The divinization of Jesus moves from baptism in Mark to conception in Matthew and Luke, and ultimately to the very beginning of all things in John. This high Christology leads to a high pneumatology. Jesus is the first Paraclete (John 14:16; 1 John 2:1) and he promises to send the Spirit as another Paraclete (John 14:16; 15:26; 16:7). This Paraclete is identified as the Spirit of truth who will guide the believers into all truth and glorify Jesus (John 16:7–14).<sup>492</sup> The depiction of the Spirit in the Paraclete and Spirit of truth passages leans towards the reification of the Holy Spirit. Robert Kysar argues that the “Paraclete is the living presence of Christ, and it is the Spirit’s work that keeps the revelation of God in Christ readily available to all.”<sup>493</sup>

---

<sup>490</sup> Marianne Meye Thompson, “The Breath of Life: John 20:22-23 Once More,” in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen Barton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 69–78, here 78. Cf. Thomas R. Hatina, “John 20,22 in Its Eschatological Context: Promise or Fulfillment?,” *Biblica* 74, no. 2 (1993): 196–219.

<sup>491</sup> Adele Reinhartz, *Befriending The Beloved Disciple: A Jewish Reading of the Gospel of John* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 102. Cf. John 14:17

<sup>492</sup> For a detailed analysis of the Paraclete cf. Excursus 16 “The Paraclete and the Sayings about the Paraclete” in Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John Vol 3: Chapters 13–21*, trans. David Smith and G. A. Kon, HThKNT (London: Burns & Oates, 1982), 138–154.

<sup>493</sup> Robert Kysar, *John, The Maverick Gospel*, 3rd ed. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007), 131.

The Gospel of John (along with key passages in the Pauline Epistles) lays the scriptural foundation for conceiving the Divine as the Trinity, three reified beings in one divinity: God the Father, Christ the exalted son, and the Spirit. However, Frey cautions that the Johannine view is still far away from the later Trinitarian doctrine that was developed in the third and fourth century based on Greek ontological terms which were still inconceivable for the authors of the New Testament.<sup>494</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Pauline Epistles

Paul is the first Christian writer to develop a sustained theology of the Spirit. His pneumatology develops over time, culminating in Romans. Indeed, as Levison states, “antiquity has bequeathed to us no writer more enamored of the spirit than the Apostle Paul whose letters are awash in the spirit.”<sup>495</sup>

The agency of the Spirit in Pauline literature is focused on moral transformation. The believer becomes a new creation through the ongoing work of the Holy Spirit in the individual and the community. Paul parallels the ministry of Christ with the work of the Spirit in believers in Gal 4:4–6 and Rom 8:9–11. Frey notes that, “Paul articulates these parallels in relatively narrow textual units.... This means that the correspondences are not accidental but deliberate and programmatic.”<sup>496</sup> The indwelling and empowering Spirit is a defining characteristic of the Jesus movement. The Holy Spirit is critical in the construction of personal and community identity. As Lampe argues, “to receive the gift of the Spirit is to come to be, in the Pauline phrase, ‘in Christ’. To be a Christian is

---

<sup>494</sup> Frey, “How Did the Spirit Become a Person?”, 370.

<sup>495</sup> Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 253.

<sup>496</sup> Frey, “How Did the Spirit Become a Person?”, 359.

to be indwelt by the Spirit: these are two ways of expressing one and the same reality.”<sup>497</sup>

One noteworthy parallel between Paul and Qumran is the concept of the divine Spirit dwelling in a new temple. For the Yahad, that temple is the community (1QS IX, 3–6; CD IV, 17–18; V, 6–11; VI, 11–13; 1QpHab cols. VIII and XII). The Yahad defined itself as the dwelling place of the divine spirit. Their identity is formed by the holy spirit’s presence among them (cf. §2.2.3). Similarly, the temple of the Holy Spirit in Paul’s writing is the church community (1 Cor 6:19; 3:16). In both instances he is addressing the community with the plural “you” (ὁμῖν). Frey states that “Paul is concerned with the purity of the communities, especially with regard to serious sins, and including sexual behaviour,” however, “The aspect of sanctity is also stressed with regard to the individual community members.”<sup>498</sup> While both the Qumran and Corinth communities are called to be holy receptacles for the indwelling divine Spirit, they are vastly different entities. The former is a hypervigilant, all Jewish, male-dominated (if perhaps, not all male), strictly governed, and exclusive community living in a secluded compound in the Judean desert. The latter is a part of a widely diverse community of Jews and gentiles, led by women and men, living as a minority amongst a majority of people with whom they have no shared beliefs, and in a prosperous city.

Paul starts to formulate his theology of the Father, Son, and Spirit in Gal 4:6, but the culmination of his pneumatology is found in Rom 8. Although he speaks of the Spirit of God (πνεῦμα θεοῦ) elsewhere, it is only in Rom 8:9 that he draws an equivalency with the Spirit of Christ.<sup>499</sup> Although far from a doctrine of the Trinity,

---

<sup>497</sup> G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*, 2nd ed. (London: SPCK, 1967), xxii.

<sup>498</sup> Frey, “Paul’s View of the Spirit”, 246–247.

<sup>499</sup> Rom 8:14; 15:19; 1 Cor 2:11–12, 14; 3:16; 6:11; 7:40; 12:3; 2 Cor 3:3; Phil 3:3; 1Thess 4:8.

Chapter 8 establishes that for Paul, the Holy Spirit was both the Spirit of God, whom he calls Abba, Father (Rom 8:15) and the Spirit of Christ, whom he calls the Son (Rom 8:32).

Although at first glance the dualism of Spirit and flesh in Romans 8:5–8 and Galatians 5:17 seems to echo the dualism of the Treatise of the Two Spirits' notion of two spirits, one of truth and one of deceit, which influence the individual and compete for dominance (cf. §2.4), it does not stand up to close inspection.<sup>500</sup> For Paul, it is not a matter of predestination to be influenced by one spirit over another, but rather the stark contrast of those who live according to the Spirit (i.e., have been transformed by the Spirit) and those who live according to the flesh. Dunn argues that Paul does not create two classes of people who are formed differently and fated to remain in their class.<sup>501</sup> Robert Jewett nuances this view when he states that, “In this instance Paul is describing two classes of people, believers and nonbelievers, whose very being is determined by the realm to which they belong.”<sup>502</sup> However, it is not a pre-determined formation from birth which determines an individual's way of being, but rather whether they have been transformed from one class of people, those who live according to the flesh, to another class, namely those who live according to the Spirit. Closer to Paul's notion of flesh and spirit are the hymns of the Hodayot. The term flesh is used to represent the human being and is contrasted with the spirit created by God for humanity. The flesh is merely dust who cannot understand the mysteries of God and is sinful in his foundation (1QH<sup>a</sup>

---

<sup>500</sup> Some scholars also draw comparisons to 4QInstruction where they see a similar dualistic notion of flesh and spirit. Frey, “The Notion of ‘Flesh’”, 217–219; Goff, “Being Fleshly or Spiritual”, 41–59. However this has been successfully challenged by Benjamin G. Wold, “‘Flesh’ and ‘Spirit’ in Qumran Sapiential Literature as the Background to the Use in Pauline Epistles,” *ZNW* 106, no. 2 (2015): 262–279. Cf. Wold, *4QInstruction*, 95–145. While flesh is used in a negative sense in 4QInstruction, there is no dichotomy of flesh and spirit. Wold argues that in 4QInstruction all humanity is given spirit, but a segment of humanity rejected or lost it through disobedience. This then brings 4QInstruction closer to Paul's use of flesh and spirit.

<sup>501</sup> James D. G. Dunn, *Romans 1–8*, WBC 38A (Dallas: Word, 1988), 425.

<sup>502</sup> Robert Jewett, *Romans: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 486.

V, 30–32; XII, 30–31). A person is not able to perfect his way or direct his steps through the power of the flesh (1QH<sup>a</sup> VII, 25–26). Wisdom only comes through the spirit which has been placed in the hymnist (1QH<sup>a</sup> V, 35–36; VIII, 20–21; XX, 14–16); as does strength, righteousness, and cleansing from impurities (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 25–32; XII, 32–34). The hymnist is transformed by the spirit placed in him by God. Frey observes that, “the opposition between ‘flesh’ and ‘spirit’ expressed in this passage [1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 30–34] is chiefly formed by the contrast between human inability and God’s saving power.”<sup>503</sup> David Flusser likewise argues that the dualism of Spirit and flesh in both the Hodayot and the New Testament, “is the result of the presence or absence of God’s spirit within the otherwise carnal man.... it is the holy spirit that turns the carnal man into one of the elect.”<sup>504</sup>

#### 4.2.5 Summary of Differing Portrayals of the Holy Spirit

The evidence presented above demonstrates that there is no single homogeneous view or understanding of the divine Spirit in the writings of the New Testament. While all four gospels connect the Spirit with the baptism of Jesus and connect Jesus with baptising by the means of the Spirit, only Matthew and Luke relate the creative activity of the Spirit in the conception of Jesus. The Fourth Gospel introduces the concept of the Paraclete and identifies Jesus as the first Paraclete and the Spirit as the second who will only come after the ascension of Jesus. The author of Luke-Acts views the primary activity of the Spirit to be prophecy in some form and empowering the disciples for ministry. Conversely, the Pauline Epistles emphasize the transforming activity of the Spirit. While the descriptions of the divine Spirit in the New Testament are diverse and

---

<sup>503</sup> Frey, “The Notion of ‘Flesh’”, 205.

<sup>504</sup> David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism*, trans. Azzan Yadin (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Jerusalem, Israel: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2007), 287.

complex, they should not be seen as contradictory. James D. G. Dunn encourages his reader to “see in the diverse (and analytically confusing) imagery an indication of the kind and range of experiences attributed to the Spirit, and of how the first Christians struggled to find an appropriate conceptuality to describe them.”<sup>505</sup> The divine Spirit is ineffable as the writers of the discoveries at Qumran found when they struggled to find language to express their experience of the spirit (cf. §2.0).

The remainder of this chapter examines the diverse activities of the divine Spirit in the New Testament. By using the same methodology used in Chapter 2 of identifying the activities of the Spirit, we are able to compare and contrast the Yaḥad’s experience and understanding of the divine Spirit with that of Jesus and his followers.

### **4.3 Activities of the Divine Spirit**

The concept of a divine Spirit is significantly developed in the early Christian writings. The Spirit’s activity is increased in both frequency and manner from what is evident in the Qumran discoveries. Chapter 2 investigates four activities found in the Scrolls: (1) prophesying/revealing wisdom; (2) sustaining/creating a willing spirit; (3) purifying, cleansing, and atoning; and (4) transforming. In contrast, more than a dozen activities can be identified in the New Testament.<sup>506</sup> The most frequently recurring are: (1) prophesying, revealing wisdom and knowledge; (2) transforming; (3) bestowing spiritual gifts; (4) baptising/cleansing/sanctifying; (5) creating; and (6) empowering. What follows are six subsections treating these activities (§§4.3.1–4.3.6). Some subsections are complex and therefore have subsections of their own, namely the

---

<sup>505</sup> Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*, 426.

<sup>506</sup> A word from God whether predicting, or revealing wisdom or knowledge, transforming, divine Spirit as gift, healing, glossolalia, baptising/cleansing/sanctifying, creating, empowering, advocating/ helping, unifying, indwelling, resurrecting, and blessing.

category of prophecy which deals with all forms of “a word from the Lord,” and baptising and cleansing which encompasses purifying and sanctifying.

#### 4.3.1 A Word from the Lord: Prophesying/Revealing Wisdom and Knowledge

As seen in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries (§2.2.1), the divine Spirit is closely linked with prophecy; the same is true in the New Testament. Indeed, over 40% of the occurrences of the divine Spirit are connected to prophecy in some form. The Judaeo-Christian understanding of prophecy as “inspired speech” does not limit prophecy to prediction of a future event. Prophecy is multivalent and can refer to prediction, inspired speech, revealed wisdom, knowledge, or even gifted understanding. The following section explores the numerous nuances of the activity of prophesying, and revealing wisdom and knowledge, namely: (§4.3.1.1) Filled with the Spirit is explored as it is always in connection to revealed knowledge and/or prophecy; (§4.3.1.2) Prophecy in terms of predicting; (§4.3.1.3) New Testament references to the Spirit and prophecy in the Hebrew scriptures; (§4.3.1.4) How and where the Spirit directs and guides; (§4.3.1.5) Inspired speech; (§4.3.1.6) The Spirit gives or reveals knowledge, wisdom and understanding; and (§4.3.1.7) The Spirit of truth as a unique expression of revealed wisdom.

##### 4.3.1.1 Filled with the Holy Spirit

With the exception of Eph 5:18, the phrase filled with/full of the (Holy) Spirit is unique to Luke.<sup>507</sup> In each case the infilling results in revealed knowledge and/or prophecy, whether speaking a word from God (Luke 1:41, 67; Acts 2:4; 4:8, 31; 7:55; 13:9) or as a mark of being a chosen prophet of God (Luke 1:15; 4:1, 14; Acts 9:17;

---

<sup>507</sup> Levison discusses this concept in the wider context of Hebrew scriptures and Second Temple Literature in Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*.

11:24). Although the phrase is not explicitly a liquid metaphor, it conveys the sense of fluidity. This impression is reinforced in Acts when Peter quotes from the prophet Joel (“pour out my Spirit”) and claims the fulfilment of the prophecy in the people’s sight after the Holy Spirit fills the apostles. They speak in foreign languages proclaiming God’s deeds of power (Acts 2:4–21). While this is often referred to as *glossolalia* it is more accurately called *xenolalia*. The former refers to speaking a language that has no correspondence to a known language, and the latter to a known language but unknown to the speaker.<sup>508</sup>

The first instance of being filled with the Holy Spirit is found in Luke’s birth narrative of John the Baptist. Simon Kistemaker posits that Luke heard the birth narratives from Mary, the mother of Jesus when he accompanied Paul to Jerusalem (Acts 21:17–18) stating that the Greek in 1:5–2:52 is in a Semitic style of Greek, as if “related by someone whose native tongue was Aramaic.”<sup>509</sup> Whereas Richard Dillon, following Martin Dibelius and others, assumes the birth narrative was relayed by the disciples of John in “LXX-flavoured Greek.”<sup>510</sup> However the story came to Luke, the anointing of John the Baptist as a prophet is clearly important to him. The very first mention of the divine Spirit in the Gospel of Luke is when an angel tells Zechariah that his son, John, will be filled with the Holy Spirit and be a prophet returning Israel to their God and preparing the way of the Lord (Luke 1:13–17). Thus, Luke sets the storyline of his two-volume work. The Holy Spirit empowers prophecy and witness to the ministry of Jesus.

---

<sup>508</sup> *Glossolalia* in private prayer: 1 Cor 14:2, 14; in prophecy which requires interpretation: 1 Cor 12:10, 30; 14:5, 13, 26–28.

<sup>509</sup> Simon Kistemaker, “The Structure of Luke’s Gospel,” *JETS* 25, no. 1 (1982): 33–39, here 34.

<sup>510</sup> Richard J. Dillon, “A Narrative Analysis of the Baptist’s Nativity in Luke 1,” *CBQ* 79, no. 2 (2017): 240–260, here 241–243.

#### 4.3.1.2 Prophesying/Predicting

The Holy Spirit is frequently connected to prophecy in terms of foretelling. In Luke-Acts, the prophet is often filled with the Holy Spirit before speaking as seen above (Luke 1:41, 67; Acts 2:4; 4:8, 31; 7:55; 13:9). A prophet from Jerusalem, Agabus, predicts “by the spirit” (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος) a severe famine which Luke records happened during the reign of Claudius (Acts 11:28), and the binding of Peter by the Jews in Jerusalem (Acts 21:11). The Holy Spirit comes upon the disciples at Ephesus, and they speak in tongues and prophesy (Acts 19:6).<sup>511</sup> Unfortunately, Luke does not record what their prophecies were. The Spirit and prophecy are so synonymous, that the NIV translates διὰ πνεύματος as “by prophecy” in 2 Thess 2:2, and the NABRE qualifies their translation of “spirit” with a footnote which reads thus, “‘Spirit’: a Spirit-inspired utterance or ecstatic revelation.” Gordon Fee argues that διὰ πνεύματος here “refers to a ‘prophetic utterance,’ ... an authoritative interpretation of what he [Paul] had previously taught or written.”<sup>512</sup> Peter writes that prophecy does not come through human will, but through the Holy Spirit (2 Pet 1:21). The author of Revelation states that he was “in the spirit” (ἐν πνεύματι) when he saw his prophetic visions (1:10, 4:2, 17:3, 21:10). This is an ecstatic state where the divine Spirit takes control of the senses extending even to one’s place and time.<sup>513</sup> Sometimes the Holy Spirit does not use a human agent but is perceived to speak directly through prophecy or scripture (1 Tim 4:1; Heb 3:7; 9:8; 10:15; 1 Pet 1:11; Rev 14:13; 19:10; 22:17). The

---

<sup>511</sup> Jerome Murphy-O’Connor makes a compelling argument that these were not disciples of John, but disciples of Jesus, cf. §5.2.6.

<sup>512</sup> Gordon D. Fee, *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 275–276. Cf. Ernest Best, *A Commentary on The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, 2nd ed., BNTC (London: Black, 1977), 279; F. F. Bruce, *1 & 2 Thessalonians*, WBC 45 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982), 163; Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 239; Maarten J. J. Menken, *2 Thessalonians* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1994), 97.

<sup>513</sup> Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), 152. For a detailed discussion of the phrase “in the Spirit” cf. p. 150–159.

author of Revelation concludes each prophecy to the seven churches with the phrase, “Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches” (Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22) thereby giving greater authority to these messages. He makes it clear that the prophecies come directly from the Spirit. There is an additional inference in this phrase, namely that the Spirit will give understanding of the message for those willing to listen.

#### 4.3.1.3 NT References to the Spirit and Prophecy in the Hebrew Scriptures

The New Testament writers often refer to the prophets. Both Jesus and Paul cite from Isaiah in connection with the Holy Spirit. In Luke, Jesus chooses a scripture to announce his ministry which connects the divine Spirit with prophecy and his own anointing at baptism. He reads from Isaiah 61:1–2 which foretells the anointing of the divine Spirit on a messiah figure and then he declares that the prophecy has been fulfilled (Luke 4:18).<sup>514</sup> Matthias Henze notes that Luke prepares his readers for this messianic claim by stating previously that Jesus is filled with the Spirit (4:1, 14).<sup>515</sup>

Paul states that the Holy Spirit spoke through Isaiah (Acts 28:25). Peter quotes from the prophet Joel 2:28–29 and claims the fulfilment of the prophecy as the apostles are filled with the Holy Spirit and speak in foreign languages so that all present can hear the word of God in their own tongue (Acts 2:4–21). While all three synoptic gospels have a pericope of the question of David’s son, only Matthew (22:43) and Mark (12:36) mention that David was inspired by the Holy Spirit. This story, as told by Matthew and Mark, credits the Holy Spirit for inspired knowledge given to David. This is also seen in Acts 1:16 where Peter declares that through the Holy Spirit David prophesied about

---

<sup>514</sup> The reading is actually a conflation and redaction of Isa 61:1a, b, d; 58:6d and 61:2a.

<sup>515</sup> Matthias Henze, *Mind The Gap: How the Jewish Writings between the Old and New Testament Help Us Understand Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017), 76.

Judas' death. In keeping with the Gospel of Matthew's tendency to frame much of the life and ministry of Jesus as a fulfilment of Hebrew scriptures, the writer declares that the healing of many by the sea of Galilee is the realization of the prophecy of Isaiah: "I will put my Spirit upon him, he will bring forth justice to the nations" (Isa 42:1). Matthew states that he will "proclaim (ἀπαγγελεῖ) justice, rather than "bring forth" (ἔξοισει); LXX: ἐξοίσει) (Matt. 12:18). "Proclaiming" justice is the role of a prophet which the Spirit of God has appointed/anointed him/her so to do. Stephen accuses the Sanhedrin of opposing the Holy Spirit just as their ancestors persecuted the prophets (Acts 7:51), thus connecting the Holy Spirit with prophecy.

#### 4.3.1.4 The Spirit Directs and Guides

The Spirit directing and guiding are key aspects of prophecy. In this activity the Spirit gives personal and specific information, often directing where a person should be travelling. The story of Jesus being sent into the wilderness after his baptism is recorded in all three of the synoptic gospels (Matt 4:1; Mark 1:12; Luke 4:1). Mark's language is aggressive, "And the Spirit immediately drove (ἐκβάλλει) him out into the wilderness." Whereas Matthew and Luke use a softer tone, where the Spirit leads (ἄγω) Jesus into the wilderness. In keeping with Luke's tendency to qualify the divine Spirit with "Holy" Luke states, "Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, returned from the Jordan and was led by the Spirit in the wilderness" (Luke 4:1). The reader is left in no doubt as to the identity of the Spirit doing the leading. It is not an angelic being, or even an evil spirit which leads Jesus into the wilderness to be tempted, but rather the Holy Spirit. Whether driven or led, Jesus has been given knowledge by the divine Spirit about where to go next. This type of direction is also seen in Acts where the Spirit instructs Philip to approach and speak with the eunuch (Acts 8:29), and the intensity of Mark's ἐκβάλλει is perhaps echoed as the Spirit snatches (ἤρπασεν) Philip away after the baptism (Acts

8:39). Luke's Paul says he is bound (δεδεμένος) to the Spirit and is compelled to go to Jerusalem even though the Holy Spirit has revealed to him that he will be persecuted and imprisoned there (Acts 20:22–23). However, in just a few verses Luke tells us that the disciples in Tyre, through the Spirit (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος), tell Paul not to go to Jerusalem (Acts 21:4). Conzelmann explains that the disciples have been shown the future imprisonment of Paul and therefore urge him not to continue to Jerusalem.<sup>516</sup> Other passages in which the Spirit directs in this fashion are Acts 10:19–22 and 11:12 where Peter is instructed to meet with the gentiles sent by Cornelius; Acts 13:2–4 wherein the Holy Spirit directs the apostles to send Barnabas and Saul on a mission trip; and in Acts 16:6–7, the Spirit tells Paul not to spend time in Asia. Note that in v. 7 while it is the “Spirit of Jesus” who prevents Paul from going into Bithynia, it is clear from the association with the “Holy Spirit” in v. 6 that they are the same entity.<sup>517</sup> This is a good example of how the boundaries between Jesus and the Holy Spirit are not delineated.<sup>518</sup>

#### 4.3.1.5 The Spirit Gives Inspired Speech

Inspired speech is a common and important aspect of prophecy for the early church. Jesus promises the disciples that the Holy Spirit will give them the words to say

---

<sup>516</sup> Hans Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel, and Donald H. Juel, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 178. Cf. Mikeal C. Parsons, *Acts*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 296; Stanley M. Horton, *Acts: A Logion Press Commentary*, (Springfield, MO: Logion Press, 2001). e-Book. Ch. VI, A:1; Darrell L. Bock, *Acts*, BECNT 5 (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 637; James D. G. Dunn, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 281.

<sup>517</sup> Cf. Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles, a Commentary*, trans. Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn, and R. McL. Wilson (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 484; Dunn, *Acts*, 217–218. Some mss have “Spirit of the Lord” (τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου), namely C\* gig bo<sup>mss</sup>, or “Holy Spirit” (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον), namely arm<sup>mss</sup>, Epiphanius. For further discussion on the Western text’s emphases on the Holy Spirit cf. Peter Head, “Acts and the Problem of its Texts,” in *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, ed. Bruce William Winter and Andrew D. Clarke (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1993), 415–444, esp. 434–436.

<sup>518</sup> The phenomenon of the inability to distinguish between Jesus and the Spirit has been called Spirit Christology or binitarianism. Kyle R. Hughes, *How the Spirit Became God: The Mosaic of Early Christian Pneumatology* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2020), 18–19, cf. n. 13.

(Luke 12:12) or to speak through them (Matt 10:20; Mark 13:11) when they are called to defend themselves before the leaders of the synagogues. John Yates notes that although the Spirit speaks through them, “There is no hint of their ‘possession’ of the Spirit. It is rather the other way round.”<sup>519</sup> The Gospel of John does not record this declaration in the context of trials but as part of the assurances in the farewell discourse: “But the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything” (John 14:26).<sup>520</sup> C. F. Evans suggests Jesus rejoicing in the Holy Spirit (Luke 10:21) is ecstasy rather than a Spirit inspired speech as this expression is unique and nowhere else does Jesus “make a particular utterance in the spirit.”<sup>521</sup> However, for Luke, the Holy Spirit inspires speech, prayer, and praise. While unique, there is no reason to doubt that Luke is connecting the Holy Spirit with Jesus’ prayer and revealed knowledge concerning the Father and the Son. Exclusive to the Fourth Gospel is John the Baptist’s statement that God gives the Spirit without measure to those who will speak the words of God (John 3:34).

Inspired speech and wisdom are seen frequently in the Acts of the Apostles. The promises made by Jesus, namely, (1) “When they bring you before the synagogues, the rulers, and the authorities, do not worry about how you are to defend yourselves or what you are to say; for the Holy Spirit will teach you at that very hour what you ought to say” (Luke 12:11–12); and (2) “I will give you words and a wisdom that none of your opponents will be able to withstand or contradict” (Luke 21:15) are fulfilled in Acts. After the apostles are filled with the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, they speak in foreign languages. They are given revealed knowledge so that they can share the good

---

<sup>519</sup> John E. Yates, “The Form of Mark 1:8b,” *NTS* 4, no. 4 (1958): 334–338, here 336.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. 1 Pet 1:12.

<sup>521</sup> Christopher Francis Evans, *Saint Luke*, TPINTC (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 459.

news in languages previously unknown to them. Luke records that people from twelve regions were able to understand their message of God's deeds of power. However, there were some who supposed that the apostles were drunk. Perhaps they did not understand any of the twelve languages, or perhaps they witnessed the cacophony and chaos and reached for a plausible explanation. Either way, Peter addresses the crowd and defends against the accusation of drunkenness. The Holy Spirit gives him the words to speak as Jesus promised and Luke records that about three thousand persons welcomed his message and were baptised. The Western text in particular connects the Spirit with speaking a word from God, namely: (1) the Spirit gives Stephen wisdom to speak (Acts 6:10) (while the dative article (τῷ) is perhaps ambiguous in the majority text and could mean either Stephen's spirit, or the divine Spirit, the Western text adds τῷ ἁγίῳ making clear that Stephen's speech is inspired by the Holy Spirit); (2) the addition of ἐν πνεύματι (standing in the Spirit, Peter said...) <sup>522</sup> or ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ (Peter, standing in the Holy Spirit, said...) <sup>523</sup> (Acts 15:7); and (3) the addition of πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου (filled with the Holy Spirit) <sup>524</sup> to the description of Judas and Silas, as they speak to encourage and strengthen the gentile believers (Acts 15:32). <sup>525</sup> The Jerusalem church council is so confident in the inspiration of the Holy Spirit that they boldly state, "it has seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" when giving instruction to the gentile churches in Syria and Cilicia (Acts 15:28).

Paul tells the Romans that he is speaking the truth in Christ and the Holy Spirit (Rom 9:1, cf. 1 Cor 2:4). One particularly challenging Pauline passage concerns cursing

---

<sup>522</sup> D\* 1.

<sup>523</sup> 614 sy<sup>hmg</sup>.

<sup>524</sup> D.

<sup>525</sup> The term "Western text" is a misnomer as there are also manuscripts found in the East which attest the variant readings found in texts such as the Codex Bezae. Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts*, 3. As a point of interest, see a defence of the Bezan text predating the Alexandrian text: Read-Heimerdinger, *The Bezan Text of Acts*, esp. 355.

Jesus while speaking in the Spirit, “Therefore I want you to understand that no one speaking by the Spirit of God ever says, ‘Let Jesus be cursed!’ and no one can say ‘Jesus is Lord’ except by the Holy Spirit” (1 Cor 12:3).<sup>526</sup> As it is impossible to imagine a Christian cursing Jesus, Paul must be referring to persons outside the church. While Charles Talbert suggests that Paul is addressing Jews in v. 3 based on the practice of cursing Jesus in the synagogue (Justin’s *Dial.* 16.4; 47.4; 96.2; 137.2) it does not follow that it is the case here. By leaving out the first phrase, “therefore I want you to understand that” (διὸ γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι), in his treatment of this verse, Talbert misleads his reader to assume that 1 Cor 12:2 and 12:3 are two distinct sentences with no connection between them, although it is manifestly the case that 12:3 is a continuation of the subject in 12:2!<sup>527</sup> Paul is making a contrast between the gentile Christians’ pagan past and their present state. Joseph Fitzmyer suggests that this is a reference to the practice of curse tablets and is used as a rhetorical device to offset the affirmation of Jesus’ lordship in order to give instruction on discerning spirits.<sup>528</sup> Whereas D. A. Carson finds the background of discerning true and false spiritual gifts unconvincing and argues that Paul’s motivation is “establishing who truly has the Holy Spirit” thereby drawing “a sharp contrast between what those who have the Holy Spirit (i.e., Christians) say about Jesus, and what those who do not have the Holy Spirit say about Jesus.”<sup>529</sup> The second half of the verse is much easier to exegete as illustrated by Richard Hays when he succinctly states, “Anyone who utters that confession (not just mouthing the words but making a self-involving confession of the lordship of Jesus) is

---

<sup>526</sup> For a discussion summarizing the various explanations of 12:3 cf. Anthony C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 916–927.

<sup>527</sup> Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Corinthians: A Literary and Theological Commentary*, Rev. ed. (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2002), 103.

<sup>528</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AYB 32 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 456.

<sup>529</sup> D. A. Carson, *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12–14*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2019), 38.

*ipso facto* living in the sphere of the Holy Spirit's power."<sup>530</sup> In this context, the inspired speech is more than a gift of words or a prophecy, it is a speech act, a declaration of faith and understanding which is gifted by the Holy Spirit.

#### 4.3.1.6 The Spirit Gives Knowledge, Wisdom, and Understanding

Another aspect of prophecy is the giving of knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. The Spirit gives understanding to those hearing an inspired speech or reading the scriptures. However, it differs from inspired speech in that the knowledge given is not for public speech meant to persuade or in defence of the disciples. It is knowledge of specific previously unknown information. A good example of this is the story of Simeon and the presentation of Jesus which is only recorded in the Gospel of Luke (2:25–27). The divine Spirit is mentioned three times and specifically named as Holy Spirit twice. Simeon is a righteous man, and the Holy Spirit is upon him. The Holy Spirit gives him knowledge regarding the coming of the Messiah and he is guided by the Spirit to the Temple so that he can see Jesus at his presentation. He takes the baby in his arms, and thanks God for the fulfilment of the promise that he will not die until he sees the Messiah. Simeon's story is one of many which demonstrates that the divine Spirit was not absent in Israel from the time of the prophets. It is noteworthy that Luke misses the opportunity to emphasize the relationship between the Holy Spirit and prophecy in the story of Anna, the prophetess (Luke 2:36–38).

As Luke briefly summarizes his gospel in his second volume, he states that Jesus commanded (ἐντειλάμενος) his apostles through the Holy Spirit (διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου) (Acts 1:2). While Luke is at pains to emphasize that the ministry of Jesus was

---

<sup>530</sup> Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians*, IBC (Louisville: John Knox, 1997), 208.

empowered by the Holy Spirit,<sup>531</sup> he may (also) be referring to the Spirit assisting the apostles to understand. This is seen in 1 Thessalonians where Paul’s message is delivered in power and the Holy Spirit, which they receive with joy inspired by the Holy Spirit (cf. 1 Thess 1:5–6).<sup>532</sup> This assistance to understand is also present in the Community Rule where the holy spirit reveals the law of Moses (1QS VIII, 15–16a). In the Hodayot, the holy spirit bestows knowledge through the mystery of God’s wisdom (1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 14–16), and the hymnist writes “I know by the spirit that you have placed in me” (ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי) (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXI, 34).<sup>533</sup> On the Day of Pentecost, Peter declares that Christ has poured out the Holy Spirit so that they might see and hear (Acts 2:33). In this case the Holy Spirit both inspires Peter’s sermon and assists the audience to understand. Paul tells the Corinthians that his knowledge has been revealed by the Spirit and that we only understand that knowledge, and the gifts of God through the Holy Spirit (1 Cor 2:10–14). Later in the same letter he declares that he has the Spirit of God and therefore his judgement is correct (1 Cor 7:40), and the Spirit gives utterance of wisdom and knowledge (1 Cor 12:8).

Ephesians (6:17) uses the military metaphor “sword of the Spirit” for the word of God which has its background in: (1) Isa 11:4; 49:2 where the mouth of the Divine is a rod or sword; (2) Hosea 6:5 wherein God kills by the words of his mouth; and (3) Wisdom 18:15–19 which describes the word of God as a sharp sword.<sup>534</sup> The sword of the Spirit/word of God is part of the armour which defends against the spiritual forces of darkness. As Jesus, full of the Holy Spirit, uses the word of God to resist the tempter in the wilderness (Luke 4:1–13), so the Ephesians are encouraged to use the word of

---

<sup>531</sup> Menzies notes that “Luke identifies the work of the Spirit so closely with the mission of Jesus that it is ‘the Spirit of Jesus’ who directs the early missionaries (Acts 16.7).” Menzies, *Empowered for Witness*, 22.

<sup>532</sup> This activity of the Holy Spirit is also seen in Eph 1:17; 3:5; Heb 6:4.

<sup>533</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> V, 35–36; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VI, 23–24; 4Q444 1–4 I +5, 1–4.

<sup>534</sup> Cf. Thomas B. Slater, *Ephesians*, SHBC 27a (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2012), 174.

God illuminated by the Holy Spirit to defend against evil. They are further instructed to pray in the Spirit (Eph 6:18).<sup>535</sup>

There is a strong link between prayer and the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts. Indeed, Luke records that the Holy Spirit descends on Jesus as he is praying during his baptism. Lampe argues that prayer is “one of the chief features of the Church’s life in the Spirit” and that “there is a very close connection ... between prayer on the part of man and the communication from the side of God ... of the power, inspiration, or guidance of the Holy Spirit.”<sup>536</sup> Therefore praying in the Spirit means to pray with the inspired knowledge and direction given by the Holy Spirit.

#### 4.3.1.7 The Spirit of Truth

The term “Spirit of truth” is unique to John in the Hebrew scriptures and New Testament literature.<sup>537</sup> It is related to prophecy in that the Spirit of truth is the revealer of wisdom (John 16:13), and the one who testifies or speaks for Jesus (John 15:26; 1 John 5:6–8). Additionally, the Spirit of truth helps the disciples to keep the commandments of Jesus (14:17). The term is also found in the Scrolls and the Testament of Judah.<sup>538</sup> This striking similarity of terminology has been written about from the beginning of Qumran scholarship.<sup>539</sup> Some scholars advocate for a direct

---

<sup>535</sup> Cf. Jude 20.

<sup>536</sup> Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 169.

<sup>537</sup> John 14:17; 15:26; 16:13; 1 John 4:6.

<sup>538</sup> Spirit(s) of truth: 1QS III, 18–19; 1QS IV, 21, 23; 1QM XIII, 10; 4Q177 12–13 i, 5; 4Q444 6, 4; T. Jud. 20:1–6.

<sup>539</sup> For a comprehensive list of publications discussing the similarities between Qumran discoveries and Johannine literature cf. Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Qumran Literature and the Johannine Writings,” in *Life in Abundance: Studies of John’s Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S.S.*, ed. Raymond E. Brown and John R. Donahue (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005), 117–133, here 130 n. 14. Additionally, *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, EJM 32 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), is an excellent collection of essays on the topic.

link,<sup>540</sup> while others contend that the similarities between Johannine and Qumran literature lies in their common roots of Judaism.<sup>541</sup> In the Treatise of the Two Spirits, the spirit of truth is also called the prince of light and the angel of light, who: (1) gives wisdom and knowledge (1QS IV, 3–4); (2) assists the sons of light not to stumble (1QS III, 24–25, cf. 1QM XIII, 9–10, 4Q 177 12–13 i, 4–7); and (3) is associated with the holy spirit who will purify and protect the sons of light from being polluted by a spirit of impurity (1QS IV, 21–22).<sup>542</sup> In 1QS IX, 3–4 the members of the Yaḥad will become a foundation of the holy spirit for eternal truth in the eschaton. The dualism of spirit of truth and spirit of deceit is found in 1 John 4:1–6 and in the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS III, 18–19). As previously discussed (§§2.0; 2.2.4), it is often difficult to determine what spirit is in view in the writings of the Yaḥad and the same can be said of 1 John. Scholarly opinion is divided as to which spirit is identified in 1 John 4:1–6. C. Haas and M. de Jonge do not have a monolithic view of the spirits mentioned in this passage. They identify the spirits in 4:1 as human spirits which require testing to determine if God’s Holy Spirit is or is not influencing them, and the spirits of truth and error in v. 6 as incorporeal beings, i.e., good and bad spirits. They nuance the latter view by noting that the spirit of truth is referred to as the Holy Spirit in John 14:17 and that, “Error and untruth characterize the sphere of the devil.”<sup>543</sup> In contrast Marie-Émile

---

<sup>540</sup> E.g., Kuhn, “Die in Palästina,” 192–211; James H. Charlesworth, “A Study in Shared Symbolism and Language: The Qumran Community and The Johannine Community,” in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 3, The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006), 97–152; James H. Charlesworth, “The Fourth Evangelist and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Assessing Trends over Nearly Sixty Years,” in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, ed. Mary L Coloe and Tom Thatcher, EJS 32 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011), 161–182.

<sup>541</sup> E.g., Brown, *John 1*, lxii–lxiv; Fitzmyer, “Qumran Literature and the Johannine Writings,” 117–133, esp 128. Cf. Richard Bauckham, “The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 105–115.

<sup>542</sup> Cf. §§2.2.2–4; 2.3.

<sup>543</sup> Haas and Jonge, *THLJ*, 99–105. Cf. Georg Strecker, *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John*, trans. Linda M. Maloney, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996), 218; Stephen S. Smalley, *1, 2, 3 John*, WBC 51 (Milton Keynes: Word, 1991).

Boismard argues that the spirits of truth and error are human spirits, when he states that, “the expression ‘spirit of truth’ does not signify the third person of the Trinity, but a disposition of the human soul which comes to us ‘from God’ (4:2). Similarly, ‘the spirit of error’ is an evil disposition of the human soul which comes from the Antichrist (4:3).”<sup>544</sup> Brown argues for a combination of the Holy Spirit and “the Evil Spirit”, and states that these two spirits, “manifest themselves in human behaviour, and specifically manifest themselves in true and false confessions of faith.”<sup>545</sup> Brown justifies his use of the singular and specific term “Evil Spirit” by comparing the opposition of the spirit of truth and spirit of error with the opposition of the Paraclete (Spirit of Truth) and the Prince of this world (John 16:11), equating the “Prince of this world with the devil and Satan” and points to John 8:44 and 13:27 to support the notion of personified evil.<sup>546</sup> Craig Keener also argues that the spirit of truth is the Holy Spirit because the Gospel of John parallels “the Spirit with Jesus, whom the Gospel also presents as divine and distinct from the Father.”<sup>547</sup> Likewise Kysar suggests that, “‘truth’ in the Gospel of John means the revelation of God in Christ. Therefore, the Spirit of truth is the one who communicates that revelation of God.”<sup>548</sup>

The vying for influence and dominance by the spirits of truth and falsehood is seen in the Treatise of the Two Spirits. The Sons of Light are not immune to the spirit of deceit who strives to corrupt them, but the spirit of truth assists them so that they can resist. It is only at the eschaton that they will be purified by the holy spirit and no longer

---

<sup>544</sup> Marie-Émile Boismard, “The First Epistle of John and the Writings of Qumran,” in *John and Qumran*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (London: Chapman, 1972), 156–165, here 162.

<sup>545</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Epistles of John: Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*, AB 30 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 486. Cf. Rudolf Bultmann, *The Johannine Epistles: A Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*, trans. R. Philip O’Hara, Lane C. McGaughey, and Robert W. Funk, Repr. ed., Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 64. Bultmann identifies the “spirit of error” as “the satanic power at work in the false teachers.”

<sup>546</sup> Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 486.

<sup>547</sup> Keener, *John*, 971.

<sup>548</sup> Kysar, *John, The Maverick Gospel*, 127.

be assailed by the spirit of deceit. In a similar fashion, the Spirit that God has given his children assists them to love one another as he commanded (1 John 4:12–13). Love for one another is the ultimate test of the two spirits, whereas in the Community Rule, the litmus test is their insight and works in the Torah (1QS V, 20–21). However, they are also instructed to have “merciful love to another” (1QS V, 25). Although there are striking similarities between the Treatise and 1 John 4:1–6, obedience to God’s commandments to love in truth and action determines which spirit you belong to in the epistle (1 John 3:10–24), whereas the author of the Treatise writes that the two spirits and those who walk in them have been appointed by God from the beginning (1QS III, 17–19).

#### 4.3.1.8 Summary of “A Word from the Lord”

Although the bulk of passages which connect the divine Spirit with prophecy are found in Luke’s two-volume work, this particular activity of the Spirit is found throughout the books of the New Testament. While there are references to the divine Spirit and prophecy in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries (cf. §2.2.1), this concept is significantly expanded and developed in the New Testament. Robert Menzies argues that, for Luke, the prophetic power of the Spirit enables the disciples of Jesus to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ.<sup>549</sup> If correct, this may account for the dramatic increase of occurrences in the New Testament. The Spirit’s activity of prophecy in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries is concerned with justice, wisdom, and knowledge. It is not concerned with evangelizing and converting others as is seen in the New Testament. In each of the categories discussed above, the mission of Christ and

---

<sup>549</sup> Menzies, *The Development*, 244–245. For a development of his thesis cf. Menzies, *Empowered for Witness*.

subsequently his church is at the heart of the prophetic activity of the divine Spirit in the New Testament.

Notwithstanding the preponderance of passages which associate the divine Spirit with prophecy, the agency of the Spirit is not limited to this activity. Indeed, transformation is the next dominant manifestation. Scholarly discourse frequently divides the activity of the Spirit in the New Testament into two general categories and associated authors. In this paradigm, the Spirit in Luke-Acts is almost exclusively concerned with prophecy and empowerment for witness, while for Paul the Spirit is the source of transformation; the believer becomes a new creation through the Holy Spirit. The next section explores this transforming action of the divine Spirit.

#### 4.3.2 Transforming

The second activity of the Spirit in the New Testament is that of transforming. As seen in Chapter 2, the discussion on the activities of the divine spirit in the Qumran discoveries (cf. §2.2.4) demonstrates that transformation is both a distinct activity and an element of other activities. The same is true in the New Testament. For example, while Luke's focus is on prophecy as noted above (§4.3.1), there are places where the transforming action of the Spirit is present, albeit by inference. Max Turner like Gunkel and Haya-Prats before him, draws a direct correlation between the infilling of the Holy Spirit and a second quality such as wisdom (Acts 6:3), faith (Acts 6:5; 11:24), goodness/holiness (Acts 11:24), and joy (Acts 13:52). He argues that these qualities are, "due to the effect of the Spirit" and that with the exception of joy in Acts 13:52, these are long term characteristics "imprinted on the life of the person in question."<sup>550</sup> In the

---

<sup>550</sup> Turner, *Power from on High*, 408–409. "6.3 involves a means–result relation (the Spirit is the means, the wisdom the result) is clear from the parallel in 6.10 which represents a fusion of Lk. 12.12 and 21.15.

story of the appointment of deacons in Acts 6:2–5, the disciples looked for people full of the Spirit and wisdom and they chose Stephen, a man full of faith *because* of the Holy Spirit.

There is no mistaking the direct connection between the Holy Spirit and transformation in the writings of Paul. His letter to the Romans distills his pneumatology and therefore frequently refers to this activity of the Spirit. Paul uses a liquid metaphor (“the love of God is *poured* into hearts by the Holy Spirit.”) when describing transformation by the Holy Spirit as an ability to endure suffering which produces character and hope (Rom 5:3–5). Jewett states that this is an allusion to baptism, the moment “when God’s love was first experienced in its fullness.”<sup>551</sup> The divine Spirit is frequently connected with cleansing and/or transformation in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple literature as discussed previously (§§2.2.3–4; 3.2.3–3.2.4; 3.3; 3.4.2–3; 3.5). The topic of the cleansing activity of the Spirit is examined below (§4.3.4). Suffice to note here that baptism is a rite of purification, therefore the Holy Spirit is cleansing and transforming the heart. Precedents for this association are found in Ezek 36:25–27 where the Spirit is sprinkled upon Israel, and they receive a new heart and a new spirit. Israel is transformed into a willing and obedient nation (cf. Jer 24:7; 31:33–34; Ezek 11:19; 18:31). Psalm 51 may also be exerting influence on Paul in the association of cleansing and transformation. The psalmist pleads for purification, a clean heart, a renewal of a steadfast spirit, and to retain the Holy Spirit. The psalm describes a transformation resulting in a willing and steadfast spirit, and rejoicing, while Paul describes endurance, character, and hope. This collocation of divine Spirit, cleansing,

---

The same may be inferred at 6.5, 11.24 and 13.52.” idem 408, n. 21. Cf. Gonzalo Haya-Prats, *L’Esprit, force de l’Église: sa nature et son activité d’après les Actes des apôtres*, LD 81 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975), 139–147; Gunkel, *The Influence*, 17–18.

<sup>551</sup> Jewett, *Romans*, 356. Cf. Ernst Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, trans. Geoffrey William Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 135.

and heart is found in the Hodayot: [Blessed are you, God Most High, that ]you have spread (רָגַד) your holy spirit upon your servant[ and you] have purified m<sup>o</sup>[...]t<sup>o</sup> his heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38).<sup>552</sup> Note that רָגַד can be translated either as “spread” or “sprinkled”, indeed Newsom translates רָגַד as “sprinkled” elsewhere.<sup>553</sup> To translate as “spread” rather than “sprinkle” in this context misses the liquid analogy used to connect the divine Spirit and cleansing/purification (cf. §2.2.3) .

Paul uses the expressions “while we” (ὅτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς) and “but now” (νυνὶ δὲ) to delineate the life in the flesh and the new life (καινότητι) of the Spirit (Rom 7:5–6). The term καινότητι is unique to Paul in the New Testament and is found only here and Rom 6:4 where the newness of life (καινότητι ζωῆς) follows baptism. Paul employs the metaphor of burial and resurrection to demarcate a life in the flesh and a life in the Spirit. He expands on this notion of death of the old self using the metaphor of crucifixion: “We know that our old self was crucified with him so that the body of sin might be destroyed, and we might no longer be enslaved to sin” (Rom 6:6). The metaphor shifts from death to enslavement as a contrast is drawn between slaves to sin and slaves to righteousness (Rom 6:17–19). Slavery to sin makes it impossible to live a righteous life by one’s own efforts. Paul approaches the negative anthropology of the Hodayot when he states, “For I know that nothing good dwells within me, that is, in my flesh. I can will what is right, but I cannot do it. For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do” (Rom 7:18–19, cf. Gal 5:17). Leander Keck comments that, “‘the law of sin’ is a structure of power, which one inevitably obeys. It is not really a matter of ‘the bondage of the will’ but of the bondage of the self which is free enough

---

<sup>552</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 9.

<sup>553</sup> Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit”, 349. Cf. §2.2.3 for the argument to translate רָגַד as “sprinkle”.

to will but not free enough to achieve what is willed.”<sup>554</sup> Despite his best intentions and desires, Paul is unable to live a righteous life. The hymnist of the Hodayot describes himself as “a foundation of shame and a well of impurity, a furnace of iniquity, and a structure of sin, a spirit of error, and a perverted being” (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 24). As seen above (§2.2.4), it is the divine spirit which purifies and transforms the hymnist so that he can serve God in steadfastness and a perfect heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 35). While the hymnist views his essential humanity as depraved, Paul attributes evil to the sin which dwells in him (Rom 7:20). Indeed, he claims that he delights in the law of God in his innermost being (Rom 7:22). He is in a deadlock between slavery to God’s law and slavery to sin. It is the Spirit which sets him free (Rom 8:2; cf. 2 Cor 3:17) and enables him to walk according to the Spirit and not the flesh (Rom 8:4).

Having described slavery to sin (Rom 7), Paul now expands on what life in the Spirit looks like. He uses a series of antitheses and builds phrase upon phrase in a crescendo of hope and expectation of the eschaton. Paul describes walking in the flesh as setting the mind on the flesh which is death, hostile to God and incapable of pleasing God, while walking in the Spirit is life and peace (Rom 8:4–10). Elsewhere Paul further describes the fruits of the Spirit as righteousness and joy (Rom 14:17); love, patience, kindness, generosity, faithfulness, gentleness, and self-control (Gal 5:22). Jewett notes that while the antithesis of *walking* according to the flesh or the spirit is distinctively Pauline and is not found in classical Greek, it is found in the Treatise of the Two Spirits.<sup>555</sup> Paul contrasts flesh with Spirit, whereas the Treatise of the Two Spirits contrasts walking in the spirits of truth/light and of deceit/darkness (1QS III, 18–IV,

---

<sup>554</sup> Leander A. Keck, “The Law and ‘The Law of Sin and Death’ (Rom 8:1-4): Reflections on the Spirit and Ethics in Paul,” in *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God’s Control of Human Events, Presented to Lou H. Silberman*, ed. Lou H. Silberman, James L. Crenshaw, and Samuel Sandmel (New York: KTAV, 1980), 41–57, here 49.

<sup>555</sup> Jewett, *Romans*, 485–486.

11). The descriptions of those who walk in these two different spirits makes Paul's portrait appear terse by comparison. The ways of those who walk in the spirit of truth are humility, patience, great compassion, constant goodness, prudence, insight, wonderful wisdom, leaning on his great mercy, a spirit of knowledge, zeal for righteous precepts, a holy intention with a steadfast purpose, and a glorious purity (1QS IV, 3–5). Conversely, the principles of those who walk in the spirit of deceit are greed, wickedness, falsehood, pride, atrocious disguise, great hypocrisy, fury, great vileness, shameless zeal for abominable works in a spirit of fornication, filthy ways in unclean worship, a tongue of blasphemy, blindness of eyes and deafness of ear, stiffness of neck and hardness of heart, walking in all the ways of darkness, and evil craftiness (1QS IV, 9–11). In contrast to the extreme negative anthropology of the Hodayot, it is important to note that it is not the essential nature of the human in each of these categories, but the influence of the spirit which the individual is under, which produces the attributes or behaviours. Furthermore, the Sons of Light are not immune to the corruption of the spirit of deceit. Although the spirit of truth assists them in resisting, it is not until the eschaton that the holy spirit will destroy the spirit of deceit and purify the sons of light "from all the abominations of falsehood" (1QS IV, 21).

There is a now and not yet aspect to the work of the spirit of truth/holy spirit.<sup>556</sup> This aspect is seen in Rom 8. Paul lays out the dichotomy of life in the flesh versus life in the Spirit culminating in the assurance that the believers of Rome have been transformed by and possessed by the Spirit. However, the work is still in progress; while experiencing the first fruits of the Spirit they groan with the birth pains of their

---

<sup>556</sup> Cf. Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 290. "Even though he received the spirit when he entered the Qumran community (1QH 6.13), the elect may still "look for the spirit" (1QH 8.14). In much the same way, one receives the spirit when he becomes a Christian but nonetheless yearns for the gifts of the spirit (1 Cor. 14:1)."

new creation (Rom 8:23), the Spirit helps them in their weakness, and prays through and for them (Rom 8:26–27). In the second letter to the Corinthians, Paul writes that the gift of the Spirit is just the first instalment (2 Cor 1:22) and transformation by the Spirit is ongoing (2 Cor 3:18). Rabens argues that the transformation Paul describes in 2 Cor 3:18 is the result of the long lasting and ongoing, “gradual and dynamic,” work of the “Spirit-created relationships” to God, Christ and fellow believers.<sup>557</sup> The divine Spirit unveils the glory of God and the minds of the believers so that the believer can see God’s face and through this direct encounter receive true understanding.<sup>558</sup> Perfection only comes in the eschaton, but Paul gives the Roman believers assurance that they have every reason to hope because they have the Spirit, they are therefore in Christ and children of God, and nothing can separate them “from the love of God in Christ Jesus” (Rom 8:39).

Käsemann sees a reciprocity in Paul’s pneumatology in Rom 8:9 and states that, “by the Spirit Christ seizes power in us, just as conversely by the Spirit we are incorporated into Christ.”<sup>559</sup> This mutuality fundamentally changes the believer. They are no longer in the class of those who live according to the flesh. They are not attempting to live a righteous life and follow the law of God on their own merit and efforts. They live in the Spirit as the Spirit lives in them.<sup>560</sup> Jewett notes that “Paul’s language throughout this passage is charismatic and ‘mystical’; it reflects a collective type of charismatic mysticism in which God’s Spirit was thought to enter and energize the community as well as each member.”<sup>561</sup> Rabens views the community as integral to

---

<sup>557</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 129.

<sup>558</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 177–203, here 177. Cf. Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, 116.

<sup>559</sup> Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, 222.

<sup>560</sup> Cf. Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 172.

<sup>561</sup> Robert Jewett, “The Question of the ‘Apportioned Spirit’ in Paul’s Letters: Romans as a Case Study,” in *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, ed. Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker, and Stephen Barton (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 193–205, here 197.

the transforming work of the Spirit, and points to 1 Cor 12:7: “To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good.” He argues that “the Spirit builds up the individual members as well as the faith-community at large through providing gifts that can be used for and within the community.”<sup>562</sup> Likewise, in the Yaḥad, the holy spirit possesses and transforms each member, and in turn the community possesses the holy spirit; the divine spirit dwells in the community. In both communities it can be seen that it is the divine Spirit who by transforming the members, constructs a new identity for each member and defines their group. Yates argues that, “the Spirit does not produce a series of types of men and women, but persons who share a common character, combined with their own particularly personal characteristics: each is in some sense unique. This outlook recognizes the essential interrelation of persons in their becoming persons.”<sup>563</sup>

The fruits of the Spirit are not the only evidence of the transforming work of the Holy Spirit. The charismatic gifts of the Spirit also transform both the one with the gift and those who are witnesses to those gifts. The next section explores the more dramatic manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the early church.

#### 4.3.3 Being a Gift and Bestowing Spiritual Gifts

The third activity of the Spirit involves gifts, both being a gift and bestowing gifts. The New Testament uses terminology in regard to the divine Spirit not often found in the Hebrew scriptures or Qumran discoveries. Jesus promises that the heavenly Father will give (δώσει) the Holy Spirit to those who ask him (Luke 11:13), and that the Father will give (δώσει) another advocate, the Spirit of truth (John 14:16) to the

---

<sup>562</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 238.

<sup>563</sup> Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*, 225.

disciples. Framing the divine Spirit as a gift is rare in the Gospels, but frequent in Acts. The gift (ἡ δωρεά) of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38; 10:44–45) is given (δίδωμι) to believers (Acts 5:32; 15:8; cf. 1 Cor 12:7; 2 Cor 1:22; 5:5; 1 Thess 4:8; 1 John 3:24; 4:13), through the laying on of hands (Acts 8:18), usually in connection to baptism (Acts 2:38), with one notable exception in Acts 8:15–17, and is received (λαμβάνω) (Acts 8:15,17, 19; 10:47; cf. Gal 3:14). There is an interesting aspect to the account of the Samaritans found in Acts 8:5–24 involving a magician, Simon, who attempts to bribe Peter and John. Simon covets the power of the apostles and offers money to purchase the ability to lay hands on people to receive the Holy Spirit. Peter strongly rebukes Simon for his wicked intentions and proclaims that God’s gifts are not to be bought like a commodity.

While the Spirit is called a gift, so are the manifestations of the Spirit referred to as spiritual gifts (πνευματικός), (1 Cor 12:1; 14:1, 37), and more commonly simply “gift” (χάρισμα), (Rom 1:11; 5:15; 12:6; 1 Cor 7:7; 12:4, 9, 28, 30, 31; 1 Tim 4:14; 2 Tim 1:6; 1 Pet 4:10). While the manifestations of the Spirit are present in the Hebrew Bible and the Yāḥad, they are greatly increased both in terms of quantity and types in the very early church. Volker Rabens states that, “Paul portrays the Spirit as drawing believers closer to one another in the way in which he gives different spiritual gifts to different people within the community of faith. Both in this way, as well as through their common experience of ‘participation in the Spirit’, believers are ‘built up’ and encouraged in their religious-ethical life.”<sup>564</sup> In Paul’s corrective letter to the Corinthians, he is at pains to emphasize that there are varieties/distribution (διαίρεσις) of gifts (χάρισμα) or manifestations (φανέρωσις) of the same Spirit (1 Cor 12:4). In a mesmerising repeating triad pattern (there are varieties of ... but the same) Paul refers

---

<sup>564</sup> Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 242.

to gifts (χαρισμάτων), services (διακονιῶν), and activities (ἐνεργημάτων). By grouping these together Paul stresses all three come from the Divine, whether an obviously supernatural gift or what might appear to be a human ability. In an example of proto trinitarianism, the Divine is articulated as the Spirit, the Lord, and God.<sup>565</sup> There are a number of other gifts which are distributed to each person as seen fit by the Holy Spirit. The Pauline Epistles provide four lists of the gifts of the Spirit. They are called manifestations in 1 Cor 12:8–10, and they are appointed in 12:28. Despite the use of different terms, Paul does consider them gifts as demonstrated when he encourages the Corinthians to strive for the greater gifts (12:31). Rom 12:6–8 and Eph 4:11 both refer specifically to gifts. While in some cases there is some overlap, each list has some unique gifts. In total, nineteen gifts are listed. These are: (1) utterance of wisdom; (2) utterance of knowledge; (3) faith; (4) healing; (5) miracles; (6) prophecy; (7) discernment of spirits; (8) various kinds of tongues; and (9) the interpretation of tongues (1 Cor 12:8–10). Paul underscores that these gifts are not natural abilities, but rather activated (ἐνεργεῖ) by the Spirit who allots (διαποῦν) to each person as the Spirit chooses (1 Cor 12:11). In addition to these gifts, Paul adds another list which includes (10) apostles; (11) teaching (although this may be covered under utterance of knowledge)<sup>566</sup>; (12) forms of assistance; and (13) forms of leadership (1 Cor 12:28).<sup>567</sup> Paul states that the gifts of God are given according to grace in the list in his letter to the Romans which includes some of the above and others: (14) ministry/service; (15) exhortation; (16) giving; and (17) compassion (Rom 12:6–8). The list of gifts in Eph 4:11 also adds: (18) evangelists; and (19) pastors, and firmly states that these gifts are

---

<sup>565</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 6:11; 2 Cor 13:13; Eph 4:4–6; Rom 15:16; §4.0 re: Rom 8. For a discussion see Gordon D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994), 827–845, esp. 829–842.

<sup>566</sup> Craig S. Keener, *1–2 Corinthians*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 101.

<sup>567</sup> “Deeds of power” which are also listed here are synonymous with miracles in 1 Cor 12:10. Cf. §4.2.6

given “to equip the saints for the work of the ministry, for building up of the body of Christ,” (Eph. 4:12, cf. 1 Cor 14:12). Moreover, the Spirit and gifts are not given due to works of the law, but by believing (Gal 3:2–5). Even faith and hope are not a result of human effort but are given by the power of the Holy Spirit (Rom 15:13, cf. 1 Cor 2:5). Paul confirms that his preaching is not from human wisdom, but through the power of the Spirit (1 Cor 2:4, 13). None of the gifts listed above are of human origin, even those one would consider natural human abilities such as leadership or assistance. Paul attributes all of them to the Holy Spirit. The believer has been augmented, changed, and transformed. This transformation is not complete, but ongoing.

Paul addresses this problem of a community *in process* of transformation in his first letter to the Corinthians. He is concerned that they are manifesting the gifts of the Spirit without manifesting the fruits of the Spirit. They prize the showy gifts of tongues and prophecy for prestige’s sake, rather than building up the body of Christ. Paul begins his first list of gifts in his letter to the Corinthians by stating that these manifestations of the Spirit are meant for the common good of the community (1 Cor 12:7). Indeed, all the gifts of the Spirit are as nothing without the fruit of love (1 Cor 13:1–2).

#### 4.3.4 Baptising/Cleansing/Sanctifying

The activities of baptising, cleansing, and sanctifying or purifying are closely related activities of the Spirit and therefore are treated together, albeit in different subsections. As noted previously (§§2.2.3–4; 3.2.3–3.2.4; 3.3; 3.4.2–3; 3.5; 4.3.2), cleansing and purifying are a part of transformation. Or to express it differently, an individual is transformed through cleansing and purifying.

##### 4.3.4.1 Baptising and Cleansing

As stated previously and will be discussed in depth in the next chapter, baptism is an immersion for ritual and moral purification. People are baptised in the Jordan while confessing their sins (Matt 3:6; Mark 1:5), and John proclaimed a “baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” (Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3). Peter tells the crowd on the Day of Pentecost, “Repent, and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ so that your sins may be forgiven; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts 2:38), and Ananias instructs Paul to “be baptised, and have your sins washed away” (Acts 22:16).

The connection between cleansing and the divine Spirit is found in the Hodayot (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 29–30; XXIII, 29b, 33; cf. §§2.2.3; 3.3.2.), but it is in the covenant renewal ceremony that the closest parallel to the cleansing of the Holy Spirit and baptism is found. Although there is no extant detailed description of the ceremony, the Community Rule and possibly the Rituals of Purification (4Q414 & 4Q512) provide some prayers and liturgy of the ceremony. It is apparent that cleansing by immersion is part of the ceremony as the member enters the water (4Q414 2ii 5). This mode of purification in the Second Temple era is confirmed by the archaeological evidence of approximately 1000 stepped pools found in Judea and Galilee, and at Qumran in particular with eight structures identified as ritual baths (cf. §3.1, Yonatan Adler). The conflation of moral and ritual purity is unmistakable in the Community Rule where ritual washing is not effective without repentance. Furthermore, it is the holy spirit dwelling in the community which cleanses the individual (1QS III, 7; cf. §§2.2.3; 3.3.1).

All four gospels and Acts record that John baptises with water and another will baptise with the Holy Spirit (Matt 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33; Acts 1:5; 11:16). John points to Jesus as the one who will perform this baptism of the Spirit. Post-

Pentecost, the disciples look back to the baptism of Jesus as a model of what believers can expect in their own baptism. Jesus' ministry begins with his baptism by John the Baptist during which the Holy Spirit descends on him (Matt 3:16; Mark 1:10; Luke 3:21–22; John 1:32). A dove is the visible appearance of the Spirit upon Jesus at his baptism, whereas the Spirit appears as tongues of fire upon the disciples, echoing the fire in Luke's account of John the Baptist's message (Luke 3:17). While Luke records this dramatic and visible encounter with the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:2–4), John records the infilling of the Spirit just before ascension in a very intimate scene where Jesus breathes the Holy Spirit into the disciples (John 20:22). However, some scholars have argued that Jesus baptised in the Spirit throughout his earthly ministry.<sup>568</sup> As noted above (§4.2.1), there is no narrative logic in the hero of the story not fulfilling the expectation laid out for him at the beginning of Mark's Gospel. It is widely accepted that Jesus was able to perform his miracles through the power of the Holy Spirit. But is this the same as baptising in the Holy Spirit? As baptism is a rite of immersion to cleanse from impurity, then it follows that cleansing (καθαρίσαι) a person from leprosy (Mark 1:40–45; Matt 8:1–4; Luke 5:12–16), is indeed immersing one in the Holy Spirit who is the agent of cleansing. Although leprosy or a skin condition is well documented as a ritual impurity, other illnesses and possession by an unclean spirit were thought to be caused by sin as seen in the story of the blind man (John 9:2) and in Ben Sira (Sir 38:1–15; cf. §3.4.10). Jesus connects the two when he heals the paralytic by telling him that his sins are forgiven (Mark 2:1–12; Matt 9:1–8; Luke 5:17–26). Even though neither cleansing nor the Holy Spirit are mentioned in this pericope, Mark and the other Gospel writers have established that Jesus performs his miracles through

---

<sup>568</sup> E.g., Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*; Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind*; Hooker, "John's Baptism"; Taylor and Adinolfi, "John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist."

the Holy Spirit. Additionally, forgiveness of sins is so closely associated with cleansing of, or from sin, as to be synonymous. Therefore, it can be said that Jesus heals the man through the cleansing of his sins by the Holy Spirit.

Brown argues that the messianic secret in Mark is also a Holy Spirit secret. Recognition of who Jesus was and what his ministry signifies is reliant on recognizing the activity of the divine Spirit in him. Additionally, to be the Messiah means to be anointed by the Spirit of God. The title Christ does not refer to Jesus alone, but to the anointing of Jesus by the Holy Spirit. This helps to explain the relative lack of Mark's explicit mention of the Spirit in the ministry of Jesus. Brown concludes that, "if the above interpretation of Mark is correct, there is an undercurrent of allusions to the Holy Spirit throughout Jesus' ministry, not least in the title Christ."<sup>569</sup> As Yates urges, "These are matters which prompt very careful scrutiny of the assumptions on which it has been held that 'He will baptise you with the Holy Spirit' was intended to refer only to an event after the resurrection similar to the story in Acts."<sup>570</sup> Indeed, if Jesus baptising in the Spirit during his earthly ministry can be seen in Mark, it prompts a fresh look at how this is portrayed in the other Gospels. As noted previously (§4.2.1), Matthew is very clear that Jesus casts out demons by the Spirit of God (Matt 12:28). Within the same dialogue with the Pharisees, Jesus calls them a brood of vipers which recalls the Baptist's epithet for them. The drawing of this link creates a continuity between John and Jesus and suggests that by casting out demons by the Spirit of God, Jesus is fulfilling the Baptist's prophecy of baptising in the Spirit.<sup>571</sup> Interpreting Jesus' exorcisms and healings as baptising in the Holy Spirit in the Gospel of Luke is far more challenging. Indeed, as the prophecy of the Baptist is ostensibly fulfilled in Luke's

---

<sup>569</sup> Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind*, 309–310, here 310.

<sup>570</sup> Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*, 16.

<sup>571</sup> Cf. Hooker, "John's Baptism", 35.

second volume, there seems to be no need to look for it in the first volume. A common Christian understanding of baptism in the Spirit has generally been thought of as a gift of the Spirit; the Spirit is the object rather than the agent of cleansing. Even though John offered a baptism of cleansing by water and anticipated a baptism of cleansing by Spirit and fire, the Spirit as the means of cleansing has been overshadowed by the gift of the Spirit as seen in Acts. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, the Spirit as gift is only one aspect of the polyvalent divine Spirit in Acts. The Holy Spirit is both agent/means and gift.

There is a little-known variant in the Lukan Lord's Prayer which replaces "your kingdom come" with a request for the Holy Spirit to come and cleanse us. There are two surviving manuscripts, MS 700 from the 11th century reads: "May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us," and MS 162 which is from the middle of the 12th century does not have "upon us" and reads: "May your Holy Spirit come and cleanse us." Although these are late, there are witnesses among the church fathers to the variant, namely, Tertullian,<sup>572</sup> Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>573</sup> and Maximus the Confessor.<sup>574</sup> See the excursus (§4.4) for a detailed analysis of the variant and the witnesses to it. Suffice to note here that at the very least, the notion of cleansing by the Holy Spirit was known to the early church, and the variant may be original to Luke.

---

<sup>572</sup> Tertullian and Peter Holmes, "Against Marcion," Kindle ed., *Complete Works of Tertullian* (Hastings: Delphi Classics, 2018). Book IV. 26. It is very uncertain whether Tertullian is referencing his text or the text of Marcion. Cf. Tertullian and Ernest Evans, *Tertullian: Adversus Marcionem*, OECT (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 406–407.

<sup>573</sup> (*Oratione Dominica, Oratio III*) Saint Gregory of Nyssa and Hilda C. Graef, *The Lord's Prayer. The Beatitudes*, Ancient Christian Writers; the Works of the Fathers in Translation 18 (New York: Newman Press, 1954), 52–53. Cf. Saint Gregory of Nyssa and John F. Callahan, *Gregorii Nysseni De oratione dominica, De Beatitudinibus*, Gregorii Nysseni opera; v. 7 pt. 2 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992), 39–40.

<sup>574</sup> (*Commentary on the Our Father*) Saint Maximus Confessor and George C. Berthold, *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings*, The Classics of Western Spirituality (New York: Paulist Press, 1985), 106. It is not clear whether Maximus has the variant text available to him, or he is relying on Gregory of Nyssa, however it is noteworthy that Maximus' quote corresponds to MS 162 and Gregory's to MS 700.

Following the Day of Pentecost, the Holy Spirit becomes the object or gift of baptism, not only the means. Herman Gunkel notes that, “the Spirit descends usually by the laying on of hands following baptism (Acts 8:17; 19:6), or by the laying on of hands prior to (Acts 9:17), and during baptism (Acts 2:38).”<sup>575</sup> As a note of caution, this statement can be misleading as the two events offered by Gunkel where the Spirit descends after baptism are very different. In the event at Ephesus, the reception of the Holy Spirit immediately follows water baptism (Acts 19:1–7). However, this is not the situation in the case of the Samaritans (Acts 8:5–17). It is not clear why the Samaritans do not receive the Holy Spirit when Philip baptises them, but it is not until the apostles in Jerusalem send Peter and John to lay hands on them that they receive the Spirit. It is noteworthy that the only other account of Philip baptising someone is the story of the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts 8:26–39), where there is no mention of the eunuch receiving the Holy Spirit.<sup>576</sup> Dunn, however, regards the rejoicing of the eunuch as a manifestation of the Spirit. Furthermore, he cites the Western text which reads “The Holy Spirit fell on the eunuch, and an angel of the Lord seized Philip.”<sup>577</sup>

The story of the Ephesian disciples contains some noteworthy textual difficulties and variants. It is highly improbable that these Jewish disciples would not have heard of the divine Spirit (Acts 19:2). They would have most likely been familiar with Ps 51, Isa 63:10, Ezek 36:25–27; and Joel 2:28–29. The Western text supplies a solution as it

---

<sup>575</sup> Gunkel, *The Influence*, 17.

<sup>576</sup> For a discussion cf. F. Scott Spencer, *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 211–241; Turner, *Power from on High*, 360–375.

<sup>577</sup> “πνευμα αγιον επεπεσεν επι τον ευνουχον, αγγελος δε κυριου ηρπασεν τον Φιλιππον” (NA<sup>28</sup>) A<sup>c</sup> 323, 453, 945, 1739, 1891, 2818 l (p w syh\*\*) mae. James D. G. Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit*, SBT 15 (London: SCM, 1970), 58, n. 15; 93. Cf. Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 198. In defence of the Western text cf. W. A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, SNTSMS 71 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 65–68; Josep Rius-Camps and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger, *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition: Vol. 2: Acts 6.1–12.25: From Judaea and Samaria to the Church in Antioch*, LNTS 302 (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 160–161. Contra Bruce M. Metzger, *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies’ Greek New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: United Bible Societies, 1971), 360–361.

reads, “But we had not heard that anyone received (λαμβάνουσίν τις) a Holy Spirit” rather than, “But we had not heard that there is (ἔστιν) a Holy Spirit.”<sup>578</sup>

Paul emphasizes the Spirit’s role in baptism when he reminds the Corinthians that they were baptised in the one Spirit into the body of Christ and further underscores this connection with the unique phrase, “to drink (ποτίζω) of one Spirit” (1 Cor 12:13).<sup>579</sup> This is an unusual liquid metaphor for the Spirit; however, ποτίζω can also be translated as “watered” which would be an allusion to baptism in the first part of the verse. Carson argues for the meaning of “flood” or “pour out” based on the only other case where ποτίζω and πνεῦμα are together (Isa 29:10 LXX). He renders the phrase as “‘we were all drenched’ or ‘we were all flooded’ in one Spirit.”<sup>580</sup>

Examining the multivalent role of the Spirit in baptism provides a fresh perspective on what it means to be baptised in the Holy Spirit. Viewing baptism in the Spirit only through the lens of the Day of Pentecost dramatically reduces the role of the Spirit to that of object or gift. This view effectively removes baptism in the Spirit from the Gospels. However, as demonstrated (§§2.2.3; 3.2; 3.3.1, 3.3.2), the Holy Spirit is seen as the agent or means of cleansing in the Hebrew Scriptures and the Yāhad. In fact, the Holy Spirit is both the means and the object of baptism in Acts. Yates argues that, “Acts 10 and 11 show the original disciples, and Peter in particular think of the Spirit as the divine agent, and ‘baptised with the Holy Spirit,’ signifies rather purified or cleansed by the divine action.”<sup>581</sup> Reading the Gospels through this lens reveals that

---

<sup>578</sup> ⱥ<sup>38</sup>, ⱥ<sup>41</sup>, D\*, it<sup>d\*</sup>, syr<sup>hmg</sup> cop<sup>sa</sup>. Cf. Joan E. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism*, Studying the Historical Jesus (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 72–73.

<sup>579</sup> A Semitic parallelism, so Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014), 670.

<sup>580</sup> Carson, *Showing the Spirit*, 57.

<sup>581</sup> Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*, 40.

Jesus baptised in the Spirit throughout his earthly ministry. The Spirit cleanses and transforms just as Ezek 36:25–27 promises.

#### 4.3.4.2 Purifying/Sanctifying

As seen previously (cf. ch. 3), purifying is closely related to cleansing, particularly in connection with ritual and moral purification. The term often used for this in the New Testament is sanctified. To be sanctified (ἀγιάζω) is to be made holy, consecrated, set apart, purified. This term is used a few times in connection with the Holy Spirit. Paul assures the Corinthians that their past sinful life is behind them, that they are now washed (ἀπελούσασθε), sanctified (ἡγιάσθητε), and justified (ἐδικαιώθητε) “in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God” (1 Cor 6:11). The Thessalonians are chosen “through sanctification by the Spirit” (2 Thess 2:13). In the letter to the Romans, Paul uses Jewish cultic language to describe his mission to the gentiles. Acting as a priest, he presents the gentiles as an acceptable offering to God because they have been made holy; they have been sanctified by the Holy Spirit (Rom 15:16). Where the gentiles were considered unclean and excluded from the inner courts of the Temple, they are now purified and fully included. Peter also uses cultic language when he declares that the believers in Asia Minor “have been chosen and destined by God the Father and sanctified by the Spirit to be obedient to Jesus Christ and to be sprinkled with his blood” (1 Pet 1:2). The result of sanctification by the Holy Spirit is obedience to Christ. The Spirit purifies and transforms the believers so that they are able to be obedient. Peter substitutes the blood of sacrificial animals which is sprinkled in the Temple with the blood of Christ which is sprinkled metaphorically on the believers. This imagery is also used and made explicit by the writer of the letter to the Hebrews, “For if the blood of goats and bulls, with the sprinkling (ῥάινω) of the ashes of a heifer, sanctifies (ἀγιάζω) those who have been

defiled so that their flesh is purified (καθαρός), how much more will the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish to God, purify (καθαρός) our conscience from dead works to worship the living God!” (Heb 9:13–14).<sup>582</sup> Note that it is the body which is purified in the ritual purification the writer references from Lev 19, and it is the conscience of the believers which is purified in a moral purification in this passage from Hebrews.<sup>583</sup> While the blood of Christ is the purifying agent for the believers, it is the Holy Spirit which makes the metaphorical sacrifice of Christ possible; Christ offers himself through (διὰ) the eternal Spirit.

The ideas of purification and sanctification are closely linked with the Holy Spirit. This is seen in Luke and Matthew with purification by Spirit and fire, recalling Malachi’s refiner’s fire. It is picked up in the Epistles where the Temple cult is used as a metaphor for sanctification by Christ and the Spirit. It is not enough to be cleansed from sin. One must be sanctified and transformed in order to be obedient to Christ.

---

<sup>582</sup> The phrase “eternal Spirit” is unattested elsewhere in the New Testament. Some witnesses read “Holy Spirit,” πνεύματος ἁγίου rather than “eternal Spirit,” πνεύματος αἰωνίου (ℵ<sup>2</sup> D\* P 81. 104. 326. 365. 629. 630. 2464 ar vg sa<sup>mss</sup> bo).

<sup>583</sup> Cf. 1 Pet 3:20; Harold W. Attridge, *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 249–252; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Rev. ed., NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 214–216; William L. Lane, *Hebrews 9–13*, WBC 47B (Dallas: Word, 1991), 239–241; James W. Thompson, *Hebrews*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 187.

#### 4.3.4.3 Summary of Baptising/Cleansing/Sanctifying

Reading the Spirit in the New Testament through Ezekiel and the Yaḥad instead of the Day of Pentecost opens new perspectives. Through this lens an examination of the passages in this section has revealed that cleansing and purifying are not peripheral activities of the divine Spirit, but central to the ministry of Jesus and the transformation of the believer and the construction of a new individual and group identity. With this in mind the closing commission of the gospel of Matthew perhaps takes on another layer of meaning, “Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptising (read cleansing, purifying, and transforming) them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit” (Matt 28:19).

#### 4.3.5 Creating

The fifth activity of the Spirit is creating. The divine Spirit is present in the first verses of Genesis as it hovers over the waters. The psalmist declares, “When you send forth your spirit, they are created; and you renew the face of the ground” (Ps 104:30). It is present again in the mysterious pregnancy of Mary with the Christ child. The divine Spirit is not the father of the child, but nonetheless causes Mary to conceive (Matt 1:18–20; Luke 1:35). Fitzmyer states that, “the Spirit is understood in the OT sense of God’s creative and active power present to human beings.”<sup>584</sup> Raymond Brown clarifies the agency of the Holy Spirit stating, that “the begetting is not quasi-sexual,” nor is Mary barren; “the child does not come into existence because God cooperates with the husband’s generative action and removes the sterility. Rather, Mary is a virgin who has

---

<sup>584</sup> Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*, AYB 28A (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 350.

not known man, and therefore the child is totally God’s work--a new creation.”<sup>585</sup> The divine Spirit creates the God-child in Mary’s womb, and brings him back to life after the crucifixion (1 Pet 3:18; Rom 1:4; 8:11). The Spirit creates and recreates Jesus. The term γεννάω which Matthew uses when he states that “the child conceived (γεννηθὲν) in her is from the Holy Spirit” (Matt 1:20) is also used by John in the late-night conversation between Jesus and Nicodemus.<sup>586</sup> Jesus describes a second birth or re-creation when he proclaims that only those “born (γεννηθῆναι) of water and Spirit” (John 3:5) can enter the kingdom of God. This collocation of water and spirit recalls Ezek 36:25–27 where water and spirit come together; water to cleanse and spirit to transform. The Spirit is active in the first creation and in re-creation or new creation. Jesus affirms the notion of the life-giving Spirit when he states that, “It is the spirit that gives life” (John 6:63). Hooker also notes that, “water is an image of the ‘living water’ that gives life to the believer (John 4:1–30); it is used in this sense as an analogy for the future gift of the Spirit in 7:37–39. The spring of water, as an analogy of the Spirit, provided by Jesus (4:14; 7:38) brings renewal and life.”<sup>587</sup>

The ending of John echoes the first creation story in a new creation story; where God breathes (πνεῦμα, LXX: ἐνεφύσησεν) into Adam the breath of life (Gen 2:7),<sup>588</sup> so Jesus breathes (ἐνεφύσησεν) the Holy Spirit into the disciples (John 20:22). As the breath of God, that is, the Spirit of God, brought Adam to animated life, so the Spirit of

---

<sup>585</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, New updated ed., AB (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 314. Cf. Donald Alfred Hagner, *Matthew 1–13*, WBC 33A (Dallas: Word, 1993), 17–19; Turner, *Power from on High*, 142; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7: A Commentary*, trans. James E. Crouch, Rev. ed., Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007), 95; Roland Deines, “The Holy Spirit in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *The Earliest Perceptions of Jesus in Context Essays in Honour of John Nolland on His 70th Birthday*, ed. Aaron White, Craig Evans, and David Wenham (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018), 213–235, esp. 220–221.

<sup>586</sup> This is not to say that John is aware of Matthew. That debate is outside the scope of this thesis.

<sup>587</sup> Hooker, “John’s Baptism”, 37.

<sup>588</sup> The same Greek word, ἐμφυσάω is used in Ezek 37:9–10; Wis 15:11; 1 Kings 17:21 (LXX).

God brings new life to the disciples.<sup>589</sup> Thomas Hatina notes a closer parallel with *Targums Onkelos and Pseudo-Jonathan Gen 2:7* where the breath of life gives Adam the ability to speak. The Spirit gives life, speech and understanding to Adam. Hatina argues that if this is in the background for John, then when Jesus breathes on his disciples and says, “Receive the Holy Spirit”, “he is imparting his words and understanding of eternal life to the disciples.... So now the disciples, who possess the words of life, by means of the indwelling Spirit (as Jesus), can go forth and continue the prophetic ministry of the earthly Jesus.”<sup>590</sup> Marianne Meye Thompson notes that the inclusion of forgiveness of sins (John 20:23) in the commissioning of his disciples is significant as this theme plays a “relatively minimal role” in the Fourth Gospel. She suggests that the forgiveness of sins and the transformation from death to life as seen in Ezekiel is only possible after receiving the Spirit. The disciples “receive the Holy Spirit not simply as the power for mission or evangelism, but as the life-giving power which renews and purifies them for obedience and worship.”<sup>591</sup>

The creating activity of the Spirit is also seen in Job 33:4, “The spirit (רוח) of God has made me, and the breath of the Almighty gives me life,” and in Ezek 37:9–10 where the breath (רוח) breathes (נָפַח, LXX: ἐμφύσησον) new life into dry bones. The notion of breathing life also shows up in Wisdom 15:11, “the one who formed them and inspired them with active souls and breathed (ἐμφυσήσαντα) a living spirit into them.” It is worth noting that the LXX makes sense of an otherwise difficult passage in 1 Kings 17:21 where Elijah brings a child back to life. The Hebrew word is נָפַח which is the only occurrence of the Hitpolel in the Hebrew Bible. The root נָפַח, means measure but

---

<sup>589</sup> Cf. Annette Weissenrieder, “The Infusion of the Spirit: The Meaning of ἐμφυσάω in John 20:22–23,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John R. Levison, Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), 119–151.

<sup>590</sup> Hatina, “John 20,22,” 217–218. Cf. Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind*, 320.

<sup>591</sup> Thompson, “Breath of Life”, 76.

is translated as stretched out so as to have Elijah lying on top of the boy three times. The LXX uses ἐνεφύσησεν, which has Elijah breathing on the boy which brings him back to life.

This notion of a life-giving spirit is also found in Joseph and Aseneth. Joseph's blessing and prayer for Aseneth recalls the account of creation in Genesis. He prays that God will renew her by his spirit and make her alive again (ἀναζωοποιήσον) (Jos. Asen. 8:11).

The association of the divine Spirit with creation and new creation or transformation is found across the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. The Fourth Gospel is particularly interested in the life-giving Spirit as seen in 3:5–8; 6:53; and 20:22. Ezekiel 36 and 37 appear to be asserting some influence on these passages. New life is created by water and Spirit (Ezek 36:25–27, John 3:5–8); the Spirit breathes new life into dry bones (Ezek 37:9), and Jesus breathes the Spirit into his disciples (John 20:22). The Spirit is a generative creative force.

#### 4.3.6 Empowering

The sixth and final activity of the Spirit examined is empowering. Jesus promises his disciples that they will receive power and the Holy Spirit (Acts 1:8, cf. Luke 24:49). Power (δύναμις) is sometimes associated directly with signs, wonders, and miracles (Acts 6:8; 8:13; 10:38; 19:11–12; Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 12:12; Heb 2:4), indeed δύναμις is translated as miracles in 1 Cor 12:10 and Gal 3:5. The Gospels use δύναμις in reference to the miracles of Jesus. (Matt 11:20–23; 13:54–58; Mark 5:30; 6:2–5; Luke 4:36; 5:17; 6:19; 8:43–46; 19:37, cf. Acts 2:22; 10:38). The Spirit empowers the miraculous. The power of the Spirit is also what strengthens the believer and enables them to dwell in faith, to comprehend the immensity of the love of Christ which is

beyond human knowledge and works wonders through them (Eph 3:16–21, cf. Rom 15:13). The empowering of the Spirit transforms the believer so that they can dwell or walk in faith, much like the member of the Yahad (§2.2.4). The Western text refers to the sustaining activity of the Holy Spirit in Judas and Silas’ instructions to the gentiles: “If you keep yourselves from these, you do well, *being sustained by the Holy Spirit* (φερόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι) (Acts 15:29).<sup>592</sup>

The Spirit provides the power for miraculous events, whether these are miracles, signs, wonders, or the transformation and strengthening of an individual. None of these can be accomplished by a human being; a supernatural power is required.

#### **4.4 Excursus: The Holy Spirit Variant in the Lukan Lord’s Prayer**

A little-known variant in the Lukan Lord’s Prayer merits investigation because it assigns cleansing to the Holy Spirit. Textual critical study of variants has generally been divided into two approaches. The traditional approach seeks to find the “original text,” while the other examines variants in order to learn about the theology and history of the early church.<sup>593</sup> To focus singularly on the Urtext excludes the value of variants which provide rich and illuminating insight into the transmission and reception of scripture. Indeed, reception history is widely acknowledged as shaping our understanding of the meaning of a composition. The following study analyses the arguments for and against the authenticity of the variant and how this tradition may inform notions of cleansing by the divine Spirit.

---

<sup>592</sup> D (l; Ir<sup>1739mg.lat</sup>).

<sup>593</sup> Eldon Jay Epp, “It’s All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism,” *HTR* 100, no. 3 (2007): 275–308, here 275–276. For a discussion on the definition of “original text” cf. 279–281. Cf. Mikeal C. Parsons and Gregory M. Barnhill, “Textual Criticism and Lukan Studies: The (Dis)Connection Between the Two,” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 24 (2019): 1–16.

There are two variant readings for the Lukan Lord's Prayer which replace "your kingdom come" with a plea for the Holy Spirit to come and cleanse. MS 700 reads: "May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" (ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρῖσάτω ἡμᾶς) (MS 700, Egerton MS 2610 f184v – 11th century).<sup>594</sup> MS 162 does not have "upon us" and reads thus: "May your Holy Spirit come and cleanse us" (ἐλθέτω σου τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καὶ καθαρῖσάτω ἡμᾶς) (MS 162, Codex Barberinianus 11 – 1153CE).<sup>595</sup>

This variant is supported by Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth-century (*Oratione Dominica, Oratio III*), who writes, "Perhaps the same thought is expressed more clearly for us by Luke, who, when he desires the Kingdom to come, implores the help of the Holy Spirit. For so he says in his Gospel; instead of 'Thy Kingdom come' it reads 'May thy Holy Spirit come upon us and purify us.' ... For what Luke calls the Holy Spirit, Matthew calls the Kingdom"<sup>596</sup>

Maximus the Confessor, ca. seventh-century, possibly following Gregory states, "For the name of God the Father who subsists essentially is the only-begotten Son, and the kingdom of God the Father who subsists essentially is the Holy Spirit. Indeed, what Matthew here calls kingdom another evangelist elsewhere calls Holy Spirit: 'May your Holy Spirit come and purify us'" (*Commentary on the Our Father*).<sup>597</sup> In his treatment of the phrase "Thy kingdom come," Maximus draws an equivalency between this phrase and the petition for Holy Spirit when he states: "'thy kingdom come,' that is to

<sup>594</sup> [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton\\_ms\\_2610\\_f141r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_ms_2610_f141r).

<sup>595</sup> Barb, gr. 449 at the Vatican library: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.gr.449/0001](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.449/0001).

<sup>596</sup> Gregory of Nyssa and Graef, *Lord's Prayer*, 52–53. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa and Callahan, *Oratione dominica*, 39–40.

<sup>597</sup> Maximus Confessor and Berthold, *Selected*, 106. It is not clear whether Maximus has the variant text available to him, or he is relying on Gregory of Nyssa, however it is noteworthy that Maximus' quote corresponds to MS 162 and Gregory's to MS 700.

say, the Holy Spirit, for by the principle and path of meekness they have already become temples of God by the Spirit.”<sup>598</sup>

Tertullian, ca. mid second-century to mid third-century, makes an elliptical reference to this variant in his treatise *Against Marcion*. It is very uncertain whether Tertullian is referencing his text or the text of Marcion. Tertullian challenges Marcion’s version of the Lord’s Prayer when he asks, “Of whom can I ask for His Holy Spirit? Of him who gives not even the mundane spirit; or of Him ‘who maketh His angels spirits,’ and whose Spirit it was which in the beginning hovered upon the waters?”<sup>599</sup>

Tertullian does not refer to the cleansing of the Holy Spirit, however, his reference to the Spirit hovering over the waters at creation associates the Spirit with water and may be an allusion to this cleansing phrase.

Although discussion of the text of Marcion’s Gospel is outside the scope of this thesis, there are some aspects which require attention as they directly impact the debate on the authenticity of the Holy Spirit variant in Luke 11:2. Adolf von Harnack’s reconstruction of the Lord’s Prayer in the Marcion Gospel has deeply influenced subsequent scholarship on the Holy Spirit variant. Harnack reconstructs the first lines of the Lord’s Prayer as: *πάτερ, (ἐλθάτω) τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (σου ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς και καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς) ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου.*<sup>600</sup> Based on this reconstruction of the Marcion Lord’s Prayer, the critical apparatus of NA28 notes Marcion as a witness to this variant. Yet

---

<sup>598</sup> Maximus Confessor and Berthold, *Selected*, 107.

<sup>599</sup> Tertullian and Holmes, “Against Marcion,” Book IV. 26. It is very uncertain whether Tertullian is referencing his text or the text of Marcion. Cf. Tertullian and Evans, *Adversus*, 406–407.

<sup>600</sup> Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche*, TUGAL 45 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921), 207. Harnack reconstructs the first petition with the clause asking for cleansing from sin based on other ancient witnesses and possibly influenced by his view that the variant was original to Luke. Cf. Adolf von Harnack, “Über einige Worte Jesu, die nicht in den kanonischen Evangelien stehen, nebst einem Anhang über die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vater-Unsers,” *SPAW* (1904): 170–207, here 199–200; Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God*, trans. John E. Steely and Lyle D. Bierma (Durham, NC: Labyrinth, 1990), 42.

this is misleading.<sup>601</sup> Dieter Roth successfully argues that it is not at all clear what the text of the Lord's Prayer is in Marcion's Gospel, and it should not be cited as a textual witness without clarification.<sup>602</sup> Founded on "careful and critical use of the extant evidence,"<sup>603</sup> Roth reconstructs the first lines of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion as:

πάτερ ... τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ... ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου. <sup>604</sup>	Father ... your Holy Spirit ... your kingdom come
--	--

Roth argues that there is no clear evidence for the inclusion of the cleansing phrase found in brackets in Harnack's version. It is also noteworthy that the petition for the Holy Spirit (if it is even a petition) does not replace the petition for the kingdom as it does in the other witnesses. Consequently, subsequent scholarly arguments on the authenticity of the Holy Spirit variant as found in MSS 700 and 162 which are based on or include Marcion's Gospel, are flawed.

Burnett Streeter's argument in favour of the authenticity of the variant demonstrates the negative impact of following Harnack's reconstruction of Marcion. Streeter indicates that Gregory of Nyssa used this variant and states "he says so plainly twice, and moreover gives no hint that he had even heard of any other reading."<sup>605</sup> Streeter also claims that this variant is quoted by Maximus of Turin ca. 450.

Unfortunately, he does not give his references for these claims. As many scholars do, he

---

<sup>601</sup> Joël Delobel, "Extra-Canonical Sayings of Jesus: Marcion and Some 'Non-received' Logia," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, ed. Barbara Aland and William Lawrence Petersen, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 3 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989), 105–116, esp. 106, 109–111.

<sup>602</sup> Joël Delobel, "The Lord's Prayer in the Textual Tradition. A Critique of Recent Theories and Their View on Marcion's Role," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity = La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le Christianisme primitif*, ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin and Barbara Aland, BETL 86 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989), 293–309, esp. 296–297; Dieter T. Roth, "The Text of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion's Gospel," *ZNW* 103, no. 1 (2012): 47–63.

<sup>603</sup> Roth, "Lord's Prayer," 63.

<sup>604</sup> Roth, "Lord's Prayer," 62–63; Dieter T. Roth, *The Text of Marcion's Gospel*, NTTSD 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 421.

<sup>605</sup> Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels. A Study in Origins: Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates*, 4th Rev. ed. (London: Macmillan, 1930), 277.

assumes it is in the Gospel of Marcion, and that Tertullian *may* have had the same text. Streeter then argues that it would be very unlikely that the orthodox church fathers would have adopted a text of Marcion, and therefore, it is highly probable that the variant is original to Luke.<sup>606</sup> Streeter's argument is flawed on two points: (1) He most likely confuses Maximus the Confessor with Maximus of Turin.<sup>607</sup> This is misleading as it places this witness 200 years before Maximus the Confessor, thereby lending an air of greater reliability. (2) Given that there is no attestation for the cleansing phrase in Marcion and the Holy Spirit petition does not replace the petition for the kingdom as it does in the church fathers, one cannot argue against an adoption of a phrase for which we have no evidence.<sup>608</sup>

However, an exclusion of Marcion does not discount all arguments for or against the Lukan originality of the variant. Indeed, there are numerous arguments which do not reference Marcion, as the following examination demonstrates.<sup>609</sup> It is the nature of scholarship that some evidence can be used in both *pro* and *con* arguments. This is certainly true of the authenticity of the Holy Spirit variant in the Lukan Lord's Prayer. The following arguments are arranged in four tables, using a debate format (i.e.,

---

<sup>606</sup> Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 277.

<sup>607</sup> A search of Maximus of Turin's sermons did not find any commentary on the variant of Luke 11:2. Succeeding scholars have made the same error, whether following Streeter or as a result of their own confusion. Cf. A. R. C. Leaney, "Lucan Text of the Lord's Prayer (Luke 11:2-4)," *NovT* 1, no. 2 (1956): 103–111, here 103; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 155; Evans, *Luke*, 481; Bruce M. Metzger, "The Lord's Prayer: Text of the Prayer," in *New 20th Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. J. D. Douglas and Robert G. Clouse, Baker Reference Library 4 (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1991), 520; John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus, Vol. 2, Mentor, Message and Miracles*, 5 vols., ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 356; Turner, *Power from on High*, 337 n. 50; Youngmo Cho, *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile These Concepts* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2005), 164.

<sup>608</sup> Delobel, "Lord's Prayer", 297, cf. n. 15b.

<sup>609</sup> Pace Delobel, "Lord's Prayer", 294. For a summary of the arguments for and against which also include Marcion cf. Gerhard Schneider, "Die Bitte um das Kommen des Geistes im lukanischen Vaterunser (Lk 11,2 v.1)," in *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments*, ed. Heinrich Greeven and Wolfgang Schrage, BZNW 47 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986), 344–373; Shawn Carruth and Albrecht Garsky, *The Database of the International Q Project. Q 11:2b-4*, Documenta Q (Leuven: Peeters, 1996), 4–18.

proponent starts the debate). These are: (Table 2) arguments used by both proponents for and against the authenticity of the variant; (Table 3) arguments for the authenticity of the variant with counter arguments; (Table 4) arguments for the authenticity of the variant with no counter arguments; and (Table 5) arguments against the authenticity of the variant with no counter arguments.

#### 4.4.1 Arguments Used by Both Proponents “For” and “Against” the Authenticity of the Variant

Table 2: Arguments Used by Both Proponents “For” and “Against” the Authenticity of the Variant

	For Authenticity	Against Authenticity
2.1	The Lord’s Prayer with the Holy Spirit variant was a very early prayer used for Baptism and Luke learned this prayer from the churches he visited when compiling his sources for his Gospel. <sup>610</sup>	The variant was used for liturgical purposes at baptisms or at the laying on of hands and therefore crept into some ancient texts, but it is not original to Luke. <sup>611</sup>  Additionally, the variant petition is not suitable for regular use outside of a baptismal setting. <sup>612</sup>

<sup>610</sup> Alfred Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexzte zu den Evangelien: drittes heft Paralleltexzte zu Lucas*, TUGAL 10 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895), 324; Leaney, “Lucan Text,” 106–111; Evans, *Luke*, 481.

<sup>611</sup> Frederic Henry Chase, *The Lord’s Prayer in the Early Church*, TS 1.3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), 28–36; Alfred Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*, 5th ed., ICC 28 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922), 295; John Martin Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1930), 156; Friedrich Hauck, *Das Evangelium des Lukas (Synoptiker II)*, THKNT 3 (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1934), 149; Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, NTD 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936), 145; T.W. Manson, “The Lord’s Prayer. Part 1,” *BJRL* 38, no. 1 (1956): 99–113, here 105–107. Manson rightly views John’s baptism as a rite of purification and therefore a “request for baptism with the Holy Spirit as the supreme cleansing of the spirit of man.” However, he maintains that the prayer was modified by liturgical use and was not original to Jesus or to Luke (106–107). Joachim Jeremias, *The Lord’s Prayer*, trans. John Reumann, Facet Books, Biblical Series 8 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), 3; Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 156; Josef Ernst, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, RNT (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1977), 362; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC 3 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 458; Delobel, “Lord’s Prayer”, 301; John Nolland, *Luke. 9:21–18:34*, WBC 35B (Dallas: Word, 1993), 610; Meier, *Marginal Jew Vol 2*, 356; Carruth and Garsky, *Q Project*, 18; Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 904.

<sup>612</sup> Ernst Lohmeyer, *The Lord’s Prayer*, trans. John Bowden (London: Collins, 1965), 266; Schneider, “Die Bitte”, 362; Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 610.

	For Authenticity	Against Authenticity
2.2	Luke's emphasis on the Holy Spirit. <sup>613</sup> Lampe states that "the activity of the divine Spirit is the essential theme of his writings," <sup>614</sup> and goes so far as to declare that the Gospel of Luke "is a gospel of the work of the Spirit." <sup>615</sup>	Although the request for the Holy Spirit is in keeping with Lucan theology, the variant is most likely a "post Lukan clarification." <sup>616</sup>
2.3	The variant is in keeping with Luke 11:13. Luke reads "how much more will the heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him!" (Lk 11:13), whereas Matthew reads "how much more will your Father in heaven give good things to those who ask him!" (Matt 7:11). <sup>617</sup>	It is unlikely that the variant would be suppressed on a theological basis as it is in line with Luke 11:13. <sup>618</sup>
2.4	"May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us" seems an appropriate response to the request to be taught a prayer as John the Baptist taught his disciples, especially considering the Baptist's promise of the coming one	This variant is a late formation of the early church founded in the theology of John the Baptist waiting for the eschatological coming of the Spirit to cleanse. <sup>620</sup>

<sup>613</sup> Resch, *Paralleltexzte zu Lucas*, 234; Harnack, "Worte," 199; Rudolf Freudenberger, "Zum Text der zweiten Vaterunserbitte," *New Testament Studies* 15, no. 4 (1969): 419–432, here 429.

<sup>614</sup> Lampe, "Holy Spirit", 160.

<sup>615</sup> Lampe, "Holy Spirit", 165. Cf. F. F. Bruce, "Luke's Presentation of the Spirit in Acts," *CTR* 5 (1990): 15–29, esp. 18–19.

<sup>616</sup> Frederick W. Danker, *Jesus and the New Age According to St. Luke: A Commentary on the Third Gospel* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1972), 135. Nolland suggests that the modification for use for baptism was based on Lukan theology as evidenced in Luke 11:13, Acts 10:15; 11:8; 15:8–9. Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 610.

<sup>617</sup> Resch, *Paralleltexzte zu Lucas*, 234; Harnack, "Worte," 199; Julius Wellhausen, *Evangelienkommentare*, Reprint Berlin 1904–1914 ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987), 514–515 [56–57]; Alfred Loisy, *L'Évangile selon Luc* (Paris: Émile Nourry, 1924), 315–316; Heinrich Greeven, *Gebet und Eschatologie im Neuen Testament*, NTF: Beiträge zur Sprache und Geschichte der urchristlichen Frömmigkeit 3.1 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1931), 73; Leaney, "Lucan Text," 104; Erich Grässer, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den Synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte*, BZNTW 22 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957), 110–111; Freudenberger, "Zum Text," 429; Wolfgang Wiefel, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, Rev. ed., THKNT 3 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1988), 214; Evans, *Luke*, 481.

<sup>618</sup> Theodor Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Lucas*, 3. und 4. ed., vol. 3, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament (Leipzig: Deichert, 1920), 769.

<sup>620</sup> Hermann von Soden, "Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vaterunsers," *Die christliche Welt* 18, no. 10 (1904): 218–224, here 222; Ernst Lohmeyer, *Das Vater-unser*, 3rd ed., ATANT 23 (Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1952), 191; Lohmeyer, *Lord's Prayer*, 269–270; Schneider, "Die Bitte", 349.

	For Authenticity	Against Authenticity
	who would baptise with the Holy Spirit. <sup>619</sup>	

As table 2 demonstrates, any given piece of evidence is subject to interpretation. Argument 2.1 supposes that the variant was used in baptismal liturgies. There is an early third-century textual witness independent of the Lord’s Prayer for the phrase being used at baptism in the Acts of Thomas 27: ἐλθὲ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ καθάριζον τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν καρδίαν (Come Holy Spirit and cleanse their minds and hearts).<sup>621</sup> Both positions acknowledge the use of the variant in baptisms, the only difference is the timing. The *pro* argument assumes the variant was used prior to Luke writing his gospel, while the *con* argument assumes a post-Lukan use of the variant. Neither position gives evidence of the timing one way or the other. Therefore, all that can be established is that the variant was used in baptisms. However, this alone is very important. Textual criticism which focuses on whether the variant is original to Luke or not misses the important theological implications of the variant’s use in baptism. The phrase, “May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us,” clearly assigns the act of cleansing from sin to the Holy Spirit. Gregory of Nyssa argues this when identifying the operation of each person of the Trinity in regards to sin; “the Father forgives sins, the Son takes away the sins of the world, and the Holy Spirit cleanses from the stains of sin those in whom he dwells.”<sup>622</sup> He further states that, “the proper power and virtue of the Holy Spirit is precisely to cleanse sin.”<sup>623</sup> This is also evidenced in the compositions of

---

<sup>619</sup> J. C. O’Neill, “The Lord’s Prayer,” *JSNT* 51 (1993): 3–25, here 8. O’Neill’s overarching theory is that the Lord’s Prayer in Matthew, the Didache and Luke represent two collections of nine short prayers and that there is no single ‘original’ prayer. Marc Philonenko, “‘Que Ton Esprit-Saint vienne sur nous et qu’il nous purifie’ (Luc 11,2): l’arrière-plan qoumrânien d’une variante lucanienne du ‘Notre Père’,” *RHPR* 75, no. 1 (1995): 61–66, here 65.

<sup>621</sup> Albertus Frederik Johannes Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*, 2nd Rev. ed., NovTSup 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 83. My translation.

<sup>622</sup> Gregory of Nyssa and Graef, *Lord’s Prayer*, 56.

<sup>623</sup> Gregory of Nyssa and Graef, *Lord’s Prayer*, 53.

the Yahaḏ where it is clear that it is the holy spirit dwelling in the community who cleanses the member from sin (§§2.2.3; 3.3.1–2). Additionally, a request for cleansing from sin would not be restricted to a baptism. Jewish purification rites were performed regularly, even daily for some. Moreover, a baptised individual does not cease sinning; baptism is not a cure for sin. Therefore, a request for cleansing from sin would be appropriate at any time.

In support of the *pro* authenticity position in argument 2.2 a survey of the term “Holy Spirit” reveals that well over half (fifty-three out of eighty-five) of all occurrences of the term in the New Testament are found in Luke-Acts. Indeed, even the *con* authenticity position acknowledges that a request for the Holy Spirit coheres with Lukan pneumatology. The difference between the two positions is once again a matter of timing. The *pro* position argues that Luke would have written the variant as it follows his theology, while the *con* position argues that redactors of Luke would have been confident with the edit as it is in line with Lukan theology. Putting aside the authenticity question, it is therefore very clear that the Holy Spirit as purifier was deemed so essential to the emerging Jesus movement that the petition was included in the central prayer as taught by Jesus.

Argument 2.3 is one of the most compelling for the authenticity of the variant. Luke’s version of the Lord’s Prayer is part of a larger section teaching about prayer. The section begins with the disciples asking Jesus how to pray. Jesus provides a short petition and then tells a parable about a neighbour asking for bread at midnight. From there Jesus assures his disciples that the Father is faithful to answer the supplications and requests of his children. In contrast to Matthew, it is not simply good things which the Father will give, but the Holy Spirit specifically. Thus, Luke draws a direct line from the request for the Holy Spirit in 11:2 to the promise that the Father will answer

that very request in 11:13. There is no ambiguity here. Perhaps one of the cleverest uses of an agreed upon item is argument 1.3. While fully acknowledging the connection between Luke 11:2 and 11:13, the *con* position uses this to bolster their argument that the variant could not have been original to Luke and then suppressed later, because it fits with 11:13. In other words, if the request for the Holy Spirit were original to Luke, then the redactors would certainly not have removed it precisely because it pairs with the fulfilment of the request in verse 13.

Like the first and third arguments in this table, the fourth argument also agrees on the content, namely that the variant is in keeping with John the Baptist's eschatological expectation of the Holy Spirit, which will baptise but disagrees on the timing. The *pro* position sees a direct connection between the disciples' request for a prayer "as John taught his disciples" (11:1) and a prayer which would request the Holy Spirit to cleanse, therefore original to Luke. Meanwhile, the *con* position sees it as a redaction by the early church who looked to the eschatological cleansing of the Spirit as John promised. There is merit in the notion that Jesus himself gave this very prayer in response to the request "as John taught." However, here is an example of where the quest for the original text can lead us astray, specifically the quest for the original text of the Lord's Prayer.

There is an assumption that Jesus taught only one prayer to his disciples and therefore it remains to be determined which version, Matthew's or Luke's is the original. The Jews have many different prayers for different occasions. Indeed, Joseph Heinemann argues convincingly that there were many versions of different Jewish prayers existing side by side and that they were originally "spontaneous, on-the-spot improvisations of the people who gathered on various occasions to pray in the synagogue. Since the occasions and places of worship were numerous, it was only

natural that they should give rise to an abundance of prayers, displaying a wide variety of forms, styles, and patterns.”<sup>624</sup> Therefore, it seems not only likely, but probable, that Jesus himself used different prayers. Furthermore, Charlesworth maintains that, “we should not begin with the assumption that only one form is original; and we should allow for the fluidity of spontaneous oral expression.”<sup>625</sup> J. C. O’Neill makes a compelling argument in support of this view. O’Neill suggests that the Matthean and Lukan Lord’s Prayer are not two versions of one prayer but two collections of one-line prayers. He finds support for this theory from the practice of rabbis adding a one-line prayer at the end of one of the daily prayers as recorded in the Babylonian Talmud (*b. Ber* 16b–17a). As a pious Jew, it is reasonable to assume that Jesus prayed three times a day, likely with his disciples. From the example of other rabbis, O’Neill posits that Jesus would have also added a short concluding prayer. These prayers were remembered, collected, and edited into the two forms we see in Matthew and Luke.<sup>626</sup> Therefore, if O’Neill is correct and we are no longer looking for “one” original prayer, then the possibility of the authenticity of the Holy Spirit variant gains merit. At the very least, the variant demonstrates that the church used more than one or two prayers, whether recorded by Luke or edited by a later redactor. Additionally, the setting for the Lukan Lord’s Prayer coheres with the Holy Spirit variant, whether originally constructed this way or as a later redaction.

The two different settings in Matthew and Luke lead to two separate prayers. In Matthew, the Lord’s Prayer is preceded by instruction on how to pray, in private and

---

<sup>624</sup> Joseph Heinemann, *Prayer in the Talmud*, SJ 9 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977), 36–69, here 36.

<sup>625</sup> James H. Charlesworth, “A Caveat on Textual Transmission and the Meaning of Abba: A Study of the Lord’s Prayer,” in *The Lord’s Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, Mark Harding, and Mark Christopher Kiley (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), 1–14, here 5.

<sup>626</sup> O’Neill, “Lord’s Prayer,” 4–5.

with simple words. Jesus gives a prayer which includes, presumably, the most important elements. This is followed up with an admonition to forgive others so that you will be forgiven, to fast in secret, and to lay up your treasure in heaven. The prayer is bookended with instruction on private piety versus public piety and empty displays of self-righteousness. The Lukan prayer responds to the specific request of the disciples. The prayer is preceded by the disciples' request for a prayer "as John taught his disciples," and is followed by assurances of the Father hearing and answering their prayers. In this assurance, Jesus specifically states that the "heavenly Father will give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him." The Lukan prayer is bookended with a reference to the Baptist who looked forward to an eschatological cleansing/baptism in/by the Holy Spirit and the promise that the Holy Spirit will be given.

#### 4.4.2 Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with Counter Arguments

Table 3: Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with Counter Arguments

	For Authenticity	Against Authenticity
3.1	Although the manuscripts (162 and 700) are rather late, the early witness of Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor, and Tertullian are very significant. <sup>627</sup>	The textual witnesses we have come from the same original. Thus MS 162 comes from MS 700 and Maximus the Confessor was dependant on Gregory. <sup>628</sup> The evidence from Tertullian is unreliable.

<sup>627</sup> Harnack, "Worte," 199; F. Spitta, "Die älteste Form des Vaterunsers," in *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst Vol. 9* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1904), 333–345; Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 277.

<sup>628</sup> Soden, "Gestalt," 219; Schneider, "Die Bitte", 359.

	For Authenticity	Against Authenticity
3.2	Codex Bezae contains the variant, ἀγιασθήτω ὄνομά σου ἐφ ἡμᾶς ἐλθέτω σου ἡ βασιλεία. <sup>629</sup> The ἐφ ἡμᾶς may be the remains of the petition of the Holy Spirit to come upon us. <sup>630</sup>	The ἐφ ἡμᾶς in Codex Bezae should not be taken as evidence of the variant as the request for God’s name to be hallowed upon us is consistent with Hebrew Bible references to the dwelling for the divine name in Deut 12:11; 14:23; 16:6, 11. <sup>631</sup>
3.3	The Matthean Lord’s Prayer very quickly became the dominant of the two versions of the prayer, with some later manuscripts of Luke showing editing by scribes to match Matthew’s version more closely. It would not be out of the question that this pressure to conform to the Matthean version caused the petition for the Holy Spirit to be changed for the petition for the Kingdom, thus explaining the lack of textual witnesses. <sup>632</sup>	The vast majority of manuscripts do not attest to the variant. An early and comprehensive suppression of the variant as the original text is not easily explained. <sup>633</sup>
3.4	The variant coheres with Lukan pneumatology. <sup>634</sup>	The demand for the Spirit does not cohere with Lukan specifically or New Testament general concept of the coming of the Spirit, as the promise had been fulfilled. <sup>635</sup>
3.5	Luke echoes this collocation of the Holy Spirit and cleansing in Acts 15:8–9. <sup>636</sup>	Luke never attributes cleansing to the Spirit. <sup>637</sup>

<sup>629</sup> <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NN-00002-00041/441>.

<sup>630</sup> Leaney, “Lukan Text,” 107. Although Nolland views the variant as a secondary addition, he acknowledges that the ἐφ ἡμᾶς in Codex Bezae, “may be a residue of this alternative petition.” Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 610.

<sup>631</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 155. Metzger notes that the LXX renders “for my name to be invoked there.” Marshall, *Luke*, 458. Marshall only states that “the variant in D can be explained otherwise.”

<sup>632</sup> Harnack, “Worte,” 199–200; Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 277; Greeven, *Gebet*, 73; Leaney, “Lukan Text,” 105; Wilhelm Ott, *Gebet und Heil; die Bedeutung der Gebetsparänese in der lukanischen Theologie*, SANT 12 (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1965), 117–118; Philonenko, “Esprit-Saint,” 61–66, here 62.

<sup>633</sup> Zahn, *Lukas*, 3, 769; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, The Century Bible, New Edition (London: Nelson, 1966), 163, “the manuscript evidence is too scanty to regard this reading as original.” Cf. Jeremias, *Lord’s Prayer*, 3; Marshall, *Luke*, 458; Meier, *Marginal Jew Vol 2*, 356; Heinz Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium: 9:51–11:54*, HTKNT 3.2a (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 189; Carruth and Garsky, *Q Project*, 18.

<sup>634</sup> Cf. Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 160, 165.

<sup>635</sup> Lohmeyer, *Lord’s Prayer*, 264–266; Schneider, “Die Bitte”, 362; Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 610; Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, 190.

<sup>636</sup> Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 170; Leaney, “Lukan Text,” 104. Cf. §5.2.5.

<sup>637</sup> Lohmeyer, *Lord’s Prayer*, 264; Schneider, “Die Bitte”, 368, 369; Delobel, “Lord’s Prayer”, 300; Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, 190; Carruth and Garsky, *Q Project*, 18.

	For Authenticity	Against Authenticity
3.6	The cleansing activity of the divine Spirit is part of Jewish thought as evidenced by Ps 51, Ezek 36:25–27, 1QS III, 6–9; IV, 20–21. <sup>638</sup>	Metzger argues that the “cleansing descent of the Holy Spirit is so definitely a Christian ecclesiastical concept,” that if original, it makes no sense it would be replaced by a far more Jewish petition. <sup>639</sup>

In contrast to the first table of arguments (table 2), table 3 correlates arguments for and counter arguments against the authenticity of the variant. Argument 3.1 argues for authenticity based on the importance of the surviving witnesses. The *pro* position argues that the early date and status of Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor outweigh the late date of the extant manuscripts. The counterargument is that, with the exception of Tertullian, all witnesses have come from the same source, therefore the variant is post Luke. As for Tertullian, Metzger argues that *Against Marcion* IV.26 is from his “Montanist period” where the Holy Spirit features in his writings in contrast to earlier commentary on the Lord’s Prayer where the request for the Holy Spirit is not mentioned (*On Prayer*).<sup>640</sup> However, the fact that Tertullian does not dispute the presence of a request for the Holy Spirit in the Lord’s Prayer indicates that the request itself is not out of place. Given Tertullian’s severe criticism of Marcion, it is not possible that Tertullian would have left unchallenged an inserted request even if he were in his “Montanist period”. From Tertullian we know that a request for the Holy Spirit in the Lord’s Prayer was circulated at least as early as the second century CE. The detail of Gregory’s discussion leaves no doubt about the wording and placement in the prayer, that is, replacing the request for the kingdom. It is significant that Gregory does

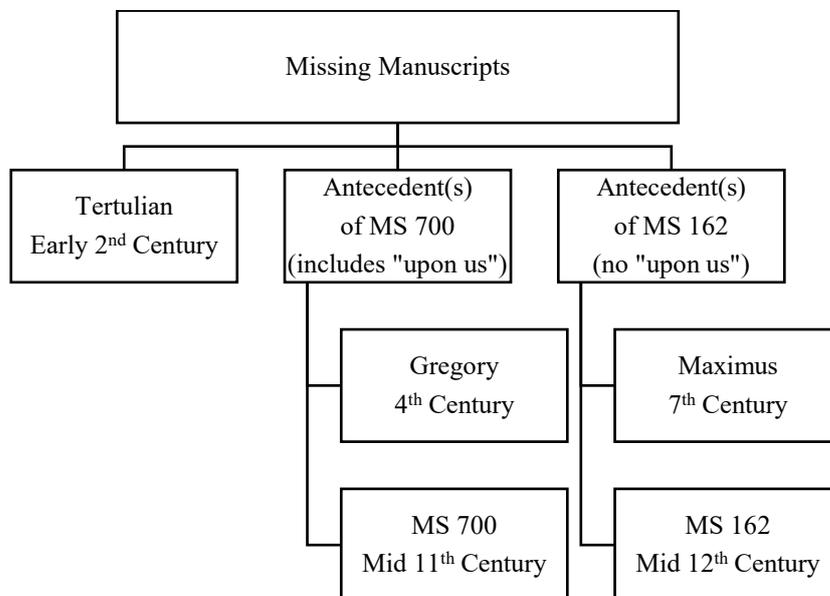
<sup>638</sup> Cf. Gottlieb Klein, “Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vaterunsers,” *ZNW* 7 (1906): 34–50, here 42, 44–45, 49–50; O’Neill, “Lord’s Prayer,” 19–20; Philonenko, “Esprit-Saint,” 64–66.

<sup>639</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 156; Meier, *Marginal Jew Vol 2*, 356.

<sup>640</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 155.

not indicate that it is a variant, and it appears to be the only text of the Lukan Lord's Prayer known to him. The fact that Maximus does not indicate which "other evangelist" has the variant may lend weight to the argument that Maximus has no access to a textual witness of his own and is only following Gregory. However, Gregory cites the wording of MS 700 ("upon us") while Maximus cites the wording of MS 162. This may indicate that Maximus is independent of Gregory and relying on the antecedent of MS 162 which is also independent of MS 700. The following chart illustrates possible relationships.

Chart 7: Possible Relationships for the Witnesses to the Holy Spirit Variant



This argument in favour of authenticity is somewhat more convincing. Nevertheless, it remains that whether authentic or not, these three church fathers were familiar with a request for the Holy Spirit in the context of the Lord's Prayer. As noted above, for Gregory this is more than just a simple substitution of Holy Spirit for kingdom. The cleansing aspect of this request has special significance.

The arguments for and against the authenticity of the Holy Spirit which rely on the Codex Bezae variant in the Lord's Prayer (3.2) depend on how the line is

interpreted. As the manuscript is written in uncials and there is no punctuation, it is therefore difficult to ascertain if the petitions would read as, “hallowed be your name upon us, your kingdom come,” or “hallowed be your name, your kingdom come upon us.” If the former, then the argument that the request for God’s name to be hallowed upon us may be supported by the notion in Deuteronomy that the name of God dwells in the place of sacrifice.<sup>641</sup> The name of God is a symbol for the Divine which can come upon us as a kind of anointing. This is, however, a rare occurrence of this precise request, indeed it is not found elsewhere in the New Testament. Nor, however, is a request for the kingdom to come *upon us*. The two possible translations are awkward and do not fit with theological ideas of what can come upon us. With very few exceptions it is disasters, God’s wrath, and judgment which come upon humanity in the Hebrew scriptures.<sup>642</sup> The exceptions are blessings (Deut 28:2, Prov 24:25; Sir 3:8; Sir 5:7) and the spirit of the Lord (Ezek 11:5). The phrase “come upon” is less attested in the New Testament with some occurrences referring to an eschatological judgment (Luke 19:43; 21:35; 1 Thess 5:3; Matt 23:35, 36), one referring to peace (Matt 10:13), and three referring to the Holy Spirit (Luke 1:35; Acts 1:8; 8:16). The whole phrase as found in the Codex Bezae is a *hapax legomenon*. With this in mind, it is reasonable to conclude that this phrase is a result of scribal error. There is a possibility that the separate requests for the Holy Spirit and the kingdom were conflated in this manuscript. Evidence either way is inconclusive and the explanations for the presence of the phrase “ἐφ ἡμᾶς” are speculative at best and should not be relied upon one way or the other.

The dominance of the Matthean Lord’s Prayer in the early church (3.3) is thought by many scholars to have influenced the scribes who copied the Gospel of

---

<sup>641</sup> Deut 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11.

<sup>642</sup> For example: Gen 44:34; Ezra 9:13; Neh 9:32, 33; Job 15:21; 20:22; 20:25; 21:17; Ps 44:17; 55:5, 15; Isa 47:9; Jer 13:22; 22:23; 23:17; 40:3; Lam 3:47.

Luke.<sup>643</sup> The table below demonstrates how later manuscripts harmonized Luke’s prayer with Matthew’s.

Table 4: Harmonization of the Lord's Prayer

Matthew 6:9–13	Luke 11:2–4 Harmonized with Matthew (NKJV)	Luke 11:2–4 <sup>644</sup>
Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name.	<u>Our Father in heaven.</u> <sup>645</sup> Hallowed be your name.	Father, hallowed be your name.
Your kingdom come.	Your kingdom come.	Your kingdom come. (or “May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us” <sup>646</sup> or “your kingdom come upon us” <sup>647</sup> )
Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven.	<u>Your will be done</u> <u>On earth as it is in</u> <u>heaven.</u> <sup>648</sup>	
Give us this day our daily bread.	Give us day by day our daily bread.	Give us each day our daily bread.
And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.	And forgive us our sins, For we also forgive everyone who is indebted to us.	And forgive us our sins, for we ourselves forgive everyone indebted to us.
And do not bring us to the time of trial,	And do not lead us into temptation,	And do not bring us to the time of trial.
but rescue us from the evil one.	<u>But deliver us from the</u> <u>evil one.</u> <sup>649</sup>	

<sup>643</sup> Cf n. 632. For a list of manuscripts which demonstrate the harmonization of the Lukan prayer with Matthew cf. Fitzmyer, *Luke X-XXIV*, 902, 904, 906, 907.

<sup>644</sup>  $\text{p}^{75}$   $\text{x}$  B (1).

<sup>645</sup>  $\eta\mu\omega\nu$   $\omicron$   $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  A C D K P W  $\Gamma$   $\Delta$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$  070  $f^{13}$  33<sup>vid.</sup> 565<sup>s.</sup> 579. 892. 1241. 1424. 2542  $\aleph$  it sy<sup>c-p,h</sup> co  $\mid$   $\eta\mu\omega\nu$  L $\mid$ .

<sup>646</sup> MS 162 (without “upon us”), MS 700, Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor.

<sup>647</sup> Codex Bezae.

<sup>648</sup>  $\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\tau\omega$   $\tau\omicron$   $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$   $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  (- 565<sup>s.</sup>)  $\omega\varsigma$   $\epsilon\nu$   $\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omega$  (+  $\sigma\upsilon\tau\omega$   $\aleph^*$ )  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\tau\eta\varsigma$  (-  $\aleph^{*2b}$  A C D W  $\Delta$   $\Theta$  070<sup>vid.</sup> 892)  $\gamma\eta\varsigma$   $\aleph^{*2a,2b}$  A C D K W  $\Gamma$   $\Delta$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$  070  $f^{13}$  33<sup>vid.</sup> 565<sup>s.</sup> 579. 700. 892. 1241. 1424. 2542  $\aleph$  it vg<sup>s</sup> sy<sup>p,h</sup> bo  $\mid$   $\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\theta\eta\tau\omega$   $\tau\omicron$   $\theta\epsilon\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$   $\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  a vg<sup>mss</sup> sa bo<sup>mss</sup>.

<sup>649</sup>  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$   $\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$   $\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma$   $\alpha\pi\omicron$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon$   $\aleph^{2a}$  A C D K W  $\Gamma$   $\Delta$   $\Theta$   $\Psi$  070  $f^{13}$  33. 565. 579. 892. 1241. 1424. 2542  $\aleph$  it vg<sup>mss</sup> sy<sup>c-p,h</sup> bo<sup>pt</sup>.

The New King James Version uses late manuscripts of Luke for the Lord's Prayer which show harmonization with Matthew, (the addition of "Our", "in heaven", and "Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven" in 11:2, and "But deliver us from the evil one" in 11:4). It is not unreasonable to imagine that this pressure resulted in the removal of the Holy Spirit variant from the Lukan account. If there were additions, there certainly could be deletions. While harmonization is not a strong argument for authenticity on its own, it becomes more plausible when supported by other evidence. The counter arguments merely state that a suppression of the variant is not easily explained as most textual witnesses do not possess the variant. Given the evidence of redaction in the four verses of the Lukan Lord's Prayer, this seems a weak assertion.

The next item (3.4) demonstrates the wide scope of scholarship on Lukan pneumatology as it is listed in two separate tables here. In the first table of arguments (table 2), the *con* argument agrees with the variant's coherence with the Lukan pneumatology, but differs on the timing, that is, the variant is post-Luke and not original to Luke. In the second table of arguments (table 3), the *con* argument refutes the coherence with Lukan or New Testament pneumatology. The scholars in this group argue that a request for the Spirit would only be required until the Day of Pentecost at which time the request is fulfilled. The Spirit was given on that day and therefore does not need to be requested further by believers. There are several responses to this argument. First, most scholars agree that the variant was used at baptisms post Pentecost. As discussed above, it is not possible to determine if Luke recorded the prayer as used by the churches he visited, or the churches developed the prayer post-Luke. Second, *if* one assumes the coming of the Holy Spirit only happened on or after the Day of Pentecost then the disciples' request for the Holy Spirit would be a valid prayer as they looked forward to the eschaton. This is supported by Luke 11:13.

Additionally, this would lend weight to the theory that the variant is original to Jesus as it would not be original to Luke in view of the post-Pentecost timing of the gospel. However, and critically, as demonstrated in Chapter 2 as well as in this chapter, there is ample evidence for the activity and intervention of the Holy Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries, and Gospels. This leads to the third response. The pouring out of the Spirit is a notion found across a range of compositions spanning a considerable time, found in the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries, and New Testament literature. Moreover, it is not a once-only occurrence and for all time. Perhaps the concept of once-only water baptism has influenced Spirit baptism and confined the coming of the Holy Spirit to a once-only event, rather than an ongoing intervention. However, the idea of “once-only” baptism was only developed in the second century CE and is not present in New Testament literature.<sup>650</sup>

Item 3.5 is closely related to 3.4. Lampe and Leaney argue that cleansing by the Spirit is supported by Acts 15:8–9, where God gives the Holy Spirit and cleanses their hearts, while Lohmeyer *et alia* argue that the Holy Spirit does not cleanse in the New Testament. Yet baptism was/is a purification rite and baptise means to wash, dip, or immerse. John’s statement that another would baptise with the Holy Spirit could be stated as “cleansed with the Holy Spirit.”<sup>651</sup>

In contrast to his fellow “against authenticity” scholars, Metzger views the cleansing of the Holy Spirit as a definite Christian concept (3.6). Therefore, it is not logical that a Christian petition would be replaced by a Jewish petition for the kingdom.<sup>652</sup> Although Leaney suggests that the kingdom petition is appropriate to

---

<sup>650</sup> Lynn E. Mills and Nicholas J. Moore, “One Baptism Once: The Origins of the Unrepeatability of Christian Baptism,” *EC* 11, no. 2 (2020): 206–226.

<sup>651</sup> Cf §§4.3.4.1, 5.2.2.

<sup>652</sup> Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 156.

Jewish prayer and the request for the Holy Spirit to come and cleanse is appropriate to gentile prayer, he notes that Luke’s conception of the Holy Spirit is in complete agreement with the development of the theology of the Holy Spirit in Jewish tradition.<sup>653</sup> Indeed, it is not a matter of a Jewish petition supplanting a Christian one, but one Jewish petition replacing another. From the beginning the divine Spirit is associated with water as the Spirit hovers over the waters. There are many liquid representations of the divine Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries and other Second Temple literature (§§2.2.2–4).<sup>654</sup> Newsom argues that the imagery of spirit as liquid “is used both to represent pervasive divine presence and spiritual transformation of individuals and communities, themes that were particularly important to the developing spirituality of Second Temple Judaism.”<sup>655</sup> Psalm 51 and Ezekiel 36 demonstrate that the divine Spirit is intrinsically connected to cleansing from sin in the Hebrew Bible (cf. §§3.2.3–4). Rabbi Gottlieb Klein suggests that Ezek 36 is in the background for Jesus as he teaches his disciples how to pray and argues that the request for the Holy Spirit coheres with the Lord’s Prayer. Klein maps the individual petitions contained in the Matthean and Lukan versions onto Ezekiel 36 as follows:<sup>656</sup>

Table 5: Ezekiel 36 and the Lord's Prayer

<b>Ezekiel 36</b>	<b>The Petitions of the Lord’s Prayer</b>
23: I will sanctify my great name	Hallowed be your name
24: And I will take you from the nations and gather you from all countries	Let your kingdom come

<sup>653</sup> Leaney, “Lucan Text,” 108.

<sup>654</sup> Isa 29:10; 32:15; 44:3–4; Ezek 39:29; Joel 2:28–29; Zech 12:10a; 4Q504 1–2 R v, 11–16a, Jub. 1:23b; Sirach 39:6; Enoch 91:1; T.Jud. 24:2; Benj. 9:4.

<sup>655</sup> Newsom, “In Search,” 104–123, here 118.

<sup>656</sup> Klein, “Vaterunsers,” 45–46.

**Ezekiel 36****The Petitions of the Lord's Prayer**

25–27: I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will remove from your body the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances.	Your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us.
26b: I will remove from your body the heart of stone	Deliver us from evil
28: and you shall be my people, and I will be your God.	Your will be done on earth as it is in heaven
29b–30: I will summon the grain and make it abundant and lay no famine upon you. I will make the fruit of the tree and the produce of the field abundant	Give us each day our daily bread
31: Then you shall remember your evil ways, and your dealings that were not good; and you shall loathe yourselves for your iniquities and your abominable deeds.	And forgive us our sins

In light of this analysis, O'Neill's theory of the two versions of the Lord's Prayer being in fact two different collections of individual petitions takes on greater significance. If Klein and O'Neill are correct, then, the petitions are interchangeable based on the circumstances of the prayer and are directly connected to Ezek 36.

The concept of cleansing by the holy spirit is central to the theology of the Yahad who believed that it was only through the holy spirit which dwells in their community that sins could be cleansed, and they could be purified (cf. §§2.2.3–4; 3.3.1–2). While cleansing by the divine Spirit was effected every time they entered the waters of purification, they looked toward an eschatological final cleansing (1QS IV, 20–22a)<sup>657</sup> just as the disciples looked toward the coming of the Holy Spirit at the

<sup>657</sup> Cf. §§2.3; 3.3.1.

eschaton. In the Hodayot, the hymnist beseeches God for “cleansing by your holy spirit” (לטהרני ברוח קודשך) (1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 29–30). This concept is echoed in the Words of the Luminaries where the holy spirit is poured upon them and they are purified from their sin (4Q504 1–2 R v, 15–16; R vi, 2–3).<sup>658</sup> The holy spirit and cleansing of sin is also found in Jubilees 1:20–24 (§3.4.3) and the Prayer of Levi (§3.4.4).

Whether the Holy Spirit variant is pre-Lukan or post-Lukan, attributing cleansing from sin to the divine Spirit is a thoroughly Jewish idea. It is present in the Hebrew scriptures, the writings of the Yahad and other Second Temple literature.

#### 4.4.3 Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments

Table 6: Arguments for the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments

6.1	Gregory specifically states that the petition for the Holy Spirit is in the Gospel of Luke, contrasts it with Matthew, and quotes the petition in full (unlike Tertullian). He does not make any mention of another version of the prayer in Luke which does not contain this petition for the Holy Spirit. <sup>659</sup>
6.2	As Gregory argues, the petition for the Holy Spirit is in essence the same as the request for the coming of the kingdom. For Luke, the kingdom comes on earth through the work of the apostles, empowered by the Holy Spirit. <sup>660</sup>
6.3	The close connection between the Holy Spirit and prayer. <sup>661</sup>
6.4	<i>Lectio difficilior</i> . James D. G. Dunn suggests that it is possible the variant is the original reading based on the principle of ‘the more difficult reading is stronger.’ <sup>662</sup>

It is noteworthy that there is no response to argument 6.1, namely that Gregory is clear that the variant is in the Gospel of Luke and that he makes no mention of any

<sup>658</sup> Cf. §3.4.2.

<sup>659</sup> Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 277.

<sup>660</sup> Leaney, “Lucan Text,” 105; Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 186–187; Grässer, *Problem*, 111; Freudenberger, “Zum Text,” 429; James D. G. Dunn, “Spirit and Kingdom,” *ExpTim* 82, no. 2 (1970): 36–40, here 38; Stephen S. Smalley, “Spirit, Kingdom and Prayer in Luke-Acts,” *NovT* 15, no. 1 (1973): 59–71, here 64, 68–71; Bruce, “Luke’s Presentation,” 15–29, here 17–18; James B. Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*, Paperback ed. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000), 95.

<sup>661</sup> Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 169; James B. Shelton, “Filled with the Holy Spirit: A Redactional Motif in Luke’s Gospel” (e-Thesis, University of Stirling, 1982), 385; Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed*, 95.

<sup>662</sup> Dunn, “Spirit and Kingdom,” 38.

other manuscript tradition for the Lord's Prayer in Luke. Both points cannot be easily dismissed. Gregory of Nyssa is not a cleric on the margins of the Christian "world" with only one manuscript at his disposal. As one of the three Cappadocian fathers, he is at the heart of the great debates on the divinity of Jesus and the doctrine of the Trinity in the fourth century. While it is possible that Gregory chose not to mention other textual witnesses which did not have the variant because they did not add to his rhetoric, it remains that there was a textual witness before MS 700. More importantly, the variant is in keeping with Gregory's theology of the Trinity and the primary roles of each. Certainly, this evidence of the variant in the mid-fourth century does not prove that the variant is authentic to Luke. It is, however, confirmation that the early church taught the concept of cleansing by the Holy Spirit.

While a counter use of, or a counter argument against the statement that the Spirit and kingdom were interchangeable for Luke (6.2) was not found by this author, it falls into the category of "cannot be proven to be pre-Lukan or post-Lukan." Either it is authentic to Luke because it coheres with his pneumatology, or, because it coheres with Luke's pneumatology, the redactors in the early church felt completely justified in moving a note in the margins to the main text. Whichever way, the Spirit and the kingdom are very closely linked for Luke as seen in Acts 1:6–8, and for Paul in Rom 14:17. Dunn navigates the now and not yet aspect of the coming of the Spirit and or the kingdom by nuancing the operation of the Holy Spirit as only through Jesus when he states that "the Kingdom is present because (and insofar as) the Spirit is operative in Jesus and submitted to by Jesus. But it is also future because the Spirit has yet to be bestowed on others."<sup>663</sup> This view is flawed in that it does not take into account the

---

<sup>663</sup> Dunn, "Spirit and Kingdom," 36–40, here 39.

experience of the Holy Spirit by the disciples and others prior to the Day of Pentecost (cf. above and §4.0)

The close connection between the Holy Spirit and prayer (6.3) is an appealing argument. Lampe contends that “one of the most characteristic features of St. Luke’s teaching ... [is] ... his insistence upon prayer as the means by which the dynamic energy of the Spirit is apprehended.”<sup>664</sup> James Shelton proposes that it is the Holy Spirit which enables effective prayer.<sup>665</sup> Therefore, it seems fitting that the prayer taught by Jesus would begin with a petition for the Holy Spirit. Additionally, Shelton argues that “the Holy Spirit’s pervasive influence over the activities of prayer provide a prelude [10:21] and epilogue [11:13] of the Lukan Lord’s Prayer.”<sup>666</sup> While this argument adds to the overall argument of coherence with Lukan pneumatology, it does not prove that Luke is the origin of the variant.

Of the four arguments in table 6, the fourth is the only one which may have a direct bearing on the origins of the variant. The principle that the more difficult reading is preferred is based on a tendency of scribes to clarify. As cautioned by Aland,<sup>667</sup> Dunn does not stand on the criterion of *lectio difficilior* alone but suggests it amidst a discussion of the close connection of Spirit and kingdom.<sup>668</sup> Although Dunn does not expound on this criterion, it appears that he is using what Emanuel Tov calls a

---

<sup>664</sup> Lampe, “Holy Spirit”, 169. Cf. Carl J. Bosma, “Prayer, the Holy Spirit and Jubilee in the Life of Jesus and the Church,” in *The Spirit Is Moving: New Pathways in Pneumatology: Studies Presented to Professor Cornelis Van Der Kooi on the Occasion of His Retirement*, ed. Cornelis van der Kooi, et al., SRT 38 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 309–330, esp. 327; Baer, *Heilige Geist*, 61.

<sup>665</sup> Shelton, “Filled with the Holy Spirit,” 385; Shelton, *Mighty in Word and Deed*, 95.

<sup>666</sup> Shelton, “Filled with the Holy Spirit,” 388.

<sup>667</sup> Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*, trans. Erroll F. Rhodes, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 281.

<sup>668</sup> Dunn, “Spirit and Kingdom,” 38. Cf. the discussion of argument 6.2 above.

subcategory of *lectio difficilior*, namely, harmonization.<sup>669</sup> The variant is not a difficult reading because of its syntax, but rather the scribal tendency for resolving textual inconsistencies resulting in its suppression due to harmonization with the Matthean Lord’s Prayer. As discussed in §4.4.2, the Lukan Lord’s Prayer was emended to include phrases only present in the Matthean prayer. If phrases were added, then it is reasonable to conclude that the request for the cleansing by the Holy Spirit which is not present in the Matthean prayer would be deleted and replaced with the Matthean request for the kingdom.

#### 4.4.4 Arguments Against the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments

Table 7: Arguments Against the Authenticity of the Variant with No Counter Arguments

7.1	A gloss noted in the margins which was taken as a correction rather than a comment resulted in its inclusion in the text proper. <sup>670</sup>
7.2	Jesus would not be requesting the Holy Spirit as he had already received the Holy Spirit at his baptism. <sup>671</sup>
7.3	What had been a petition for cleansing by the Holy Spirit in a prayer of John the Baptist became a petition for the coming of the kingdom in the prayer of Jesus. <sup>672</sup>
7.4	The variant petition does not cohere with the structure of the prayer. <sup>673</sup>
7.5	The petition for forgiveness of sins becomes obsolete if the second petition is a request for cleansing. <sup>674</sup>

The first argument in table seven is a very plausible explanation for how the variant found its way into the main text by a scribe or redactor. It is easy to imagine a note in the margin for an alternative line involving cleansing for the purposes of

<sup>669</sup> Emanuel Tov, “The Relevance of Textual Theories for the Praxis of Textual Criticism,” in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam*, ed. James C. VanderKam and Eric Farrel Mason, JSJSup 153 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 23–35, here 33.

<sup>670</sup> Schneider, “Die Bitte”, 344–373, here 359.

<sup>671</sup> Klein, “Vaterunsers,” 46.

<sup>672</sup> Jean Magne, “La variante du Pater de Lc 11,2,” *LTP* 44 (1988): 369–374, esp. 373–374; Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, 190.

<sup>673</sup> Lohmeyer, *Lord’s Prayer*, 269; Nolland, *Luke 9:21–18:34*, 610.

<sup>674</sup> Lohmeyer, *Lord’s Prayer*, 269.

baptism. A later scribe, particularly one who was very familiar with Lukan pneumatology and perhaps the Jewish notion of cleansing by the divine Spirit, could have interpreted the note in the margin as a correction rather than an alternative. However, as discussed above, the coherence of the variant with Lukan pneumatology and Jewish concepts of the divine Spirit supports both *pro* and *con* arguments.

Although Klein does suggest that the variant may be original to Jesus, he also notes that while Jesus may have prayed this before his baptism, he would not have afterward as he had received the Holy Spirit (7.2).<sup>675</sup> There are two responses to this comment. First, the coming of the Holy Spirit is not a onetime only event. It is an ongoing interaction with the divine. The Jews immersed themselves frequently for purification and they would have sought this cleansing from the divine each time. The second response is that Jesus is giving a prayer to his disciples as requested by them. It need not be a prayer said by Jesus. It should be noted that the second response is also applicable to any objection of Jesus praying for cleansing by the Holy Spirit as he was without sin.

While acknowledging that a request for the Holy Spirit to come and cleanse fits very well in a prayer for disciples of John the Baptist, Magne and Schürmann maintain that Jesus would have changed the request for the Holy Spirit to one for the kingdom as the kingdom of God is a central theme of his teaching (7.3). As Gregory of Nyssa and Maximus the Confessor argued, and others have followed, the Spirit and kingdom were interchangeable for Luke. Jesus would not have to change the petition to a request for the kingdom as the Spirit empowered the coming of the kingdom.

---

<sup>675</sup> Klein, "Vaterunsers," 46.

Both Lohmeyer and Nolland state that the variant does not fit into the structure of the prayer (7.4). Only Lohmeyer expands on this by adding that nowhere else in the prayer are “two parallel verbs connected with an ‘and’.”<sup>676</sup>

Lohmeyer provides an additional argument against the variant which was not found elsewhere (7.5). He sees no need for a request for cleansing when there is a request for forgiveness of sins. In his view the second request makes the first redundant. It is assumed that as the request for forgiveness of sins is present in both the Matthean and Lukan Lord’s Prayer, Lohmeyer gives priority to the second request. Ironically, while arguing that cleansing and forgiveness of sins are synonymous and therefore one is redundant if both are present, he refers to 1 John which contains both expressions, namely, God “is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness” (1 John 1:9). Additionally, Lohmeyer does not take into account that Hebrew prayers and poetry are known for repetition.

While it is impossible to ascertain whether the Holy Spirit variant is original to Jesus, or Luke, or to scribes/redactors of the early church, the arguments in favour of Luke or even Jesus himself are compelling. The accumulated weight of the arguments in favour builds a persuasive thesis. Some of the most critical of these are: (1) the variant fits in the specific setting/context, that is, the prayer is bookended with a reference to the Baptist who looked forward to an eschatological cleansing/baptism in the Holy Spirit and the promise that the Holy Spirit will be given; (2) as the Holy Spirit enables effective prayer, it is fitting that a request for the Spirit begin the prayer; (3) it coheres with Lukan pneumatology; (4) it follows the Jewish concept of cleansing by the divine Spirit; (5) the witnesses to the variant are significant, specifically Tertullian

---

<sup>676</sup> Lohmeyer, *Lord’s Prayer*, 269.

(although admittedly vague), Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor; and finally, (6) the criterion of *lectio difficilior*, specifically the subcategory of harmonization, that is, early scribes redacted the Lukan prayer to conform to the Matthean prayer, thus explaining the lack of early manuscripts attesting the variant. The arguments against authenticity can be summarized in one phrase: “reasonable doubt.” They further provide reasonable circumstances for the existence of the variant, namely, as a baptismal prayer which crept into the main text. Without further discoveries of very early manuscripts which attest the variant, this will remain an open debate. However, the quest for the original text of the Lukan Lord’s Prayer has provided fertile ground to investigate the notion of cleansing from sin by the Holy Spirit in the first centuries of the common era. John J. Collins writes that, “modern literary criticism attaches great importance to the reception of a text and recognizes that our reading is often quite validly shaped by the later literary tradition.”<sup>677</sup> From the evidence of Tertullian, Gregory, Maximus, and MSS 700 and 162, it is evident that the notion of cleansing by the Holy Spirit was present in the church in geographically and temporally diverse places. Early readers made the association between the Holy Spirit and cleansing, and although we do not have very early canonical textual evidence of the variant, this association was not conceived *ex nihilo* as this study demonstrates.

#### 4.5 Concluding Remarks

The examination of the activities of the Holy Spirit in New Testament literature has illuminated the diversity of the divine Spirit. It is fitting that the polyvalence of רִיחַ and πνεῦμα is matched by the wide variety of the activities of the divine Spirit. While some of the activities are seen in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries such as

---

<sup>677</sup> John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 59.

prophesying, revealing wisdom or knowledge, transforming, and cleansing/purifying, these activities are increased both in terms of frequency and type in the New Testament. The experience of the Spirit is multiplied to many people, indeed to all Christ followers, and breaks out to the wider world, engulfing the gentiles. All these believers experience the agency of the Spirit in some similar ways (wisdom/knowledge, cleansing/purifying, and transformation), while also experiencing the Spirit in individual ways as the gifts of the Spirit are manifested in their lives. Paul says that “there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit... To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good” (1 Cor 12:4, 7). To borrow the language of Star Trek Vulcan ideology IDIC, there is “infinite diversity in infinite combinations.”<sup>678</sup> The gifts, and to some extent the fruits of the Spirit, are different for different individuals, yet the Spirit is the same. The diverse Spirit is a unifying force in the early Jesus movement where the gifts of the Spirit are used to build up the communities of Jewish and gentile believers. Indeed, as noted by Käsemann, Jewett, and Rabens, there is a reciprocity in the Spirit.<sup>679</sup> Not only is the individual in the Spirit, but the Spirit is in the individual. This reciprocity extends to the community. The individual, transformed by the Spirit, in turn plays a part in transforming the community through the Spirit. The transformed community, through the Spirit, transforms the individual.

Paul exhorts the Romans to love one another and to be ardent (τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες) in spirit (Rom 12:10–11). Jewett states that “the energies of love, stimulated by the Spirit, must be allowed to flow freely or be lost,” and suggests that “τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες (‘remaining effervescent in Spirit’) is a unique, early Christian expression. The

---

<sup>678</sup> *Star Trek, The Original Series*. Season 3, episode 5, “Is There in Truth No Beauty?” Directed by Ralph Senensky. Aired October 18, 1968; Michael Okuda et al., *Star Trek Encyclopedia: A Reference Guide to the Future* (New York: Harper Design, 1999), 202.

<sup>679</sup> Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, 222; Jewett, “‘Apportioned Spirit’”, 197; Rabens, *Holy Spirit and Ethics*, 127, 172.

verb means to bubble, boil, ferment, or seethe, and was frequently used in a metaphorical sense to describe high emotion.”<sup>680</sup> This is a dynamic experience of the Spirit available to all believers, Jew and gentile. Paul says that the sacrifice (προσφορά) of the gentiles is made acceptable and holy by the Holy Spirit *in* the community (Rom 15:13–16), and constructs a new definition of God’s people as those who are sanctified by the Holy Spirit. He redefines the sacrifices as the “priestly service of the gospel of God” (Rom 15:16) and instructs the believers in Rome to “present your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God” (Rom 12:1). Dunn states that the “cultic sacrifice has been replaced by the sacrifice of committed day-to-day living in personal relationships.”<sup>681</sup> Jewett argues that “it is the presence of the Holy Spirit within Christian communities that makes them holy.... It is the *transformation* of their social life that requires the appellation ‘holy’.”<sup>682</sup> The human being is not capable of becoming holy through their own efforts. Their sacrifices and best intentions are not sufficient. To become holy, one must be purified and transformed by the divine Spirit. The Spirit is critical in the construction of the personal and community identities in the early church.

As noted previously, the Yahad considers their community holy because of the presence of the holy spirit. The holy spirit cleanses, purifies, and transforms them. Through the divine spirit they are able to walk in the paths of the Lord. Their experience of the spirit is also reciprocal. They are a holy community because the spirit purifies them, and the divine spirit can dwell in their community because they are holy.

---

<sup>680</sup> Jewett, *Romans*, 763.

<sup>681</sup> Dunn, *Romans 9–16*, 868.

<sup>682</sup> Jewett, *Romans*, 908. Italics mine. Cf. Fee, *God’s Empowering Presence*, 627.

Previous studies read baptism in the Spirit in the Gospels back through the lens of Acts and the Epistles which narrows the understanding of the role of the Spirit in baptism to that of object, namely, the gift of the Spirit. However, examining baptism in the Spirit through the lens of the Hebrew Bible, particularly Ps 51 and Ezek 36:35–27, and the Yaḥad opens up new interpretations. The Spirit is not only the object, but the means of baptism. When the Spirit is the means, it becomes clear that baptism is cleansing. This realigns baptism in the Spirit with baptism in water and the cleansing activity of the Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures and the Yaḥad. The benefit of this view is that it resolves the dilemma in the New Testament in which the Spirit is less active in moral cleansing in the Gospels than either the Hebrew scriptures or the Yaḥad (cf. §5.0.1). There is no logical reason for a hiatus of the activity of the Spirit from the prophets to the Day of Pentecost, especially in light of the contemporaneous Yaḥad and the central role the Spirit has in that community. It is far more reasonable to acknowledge a continuity of the Spirit who is active in its many different ways as promised by the prophets to the Jews.

While there are many activities of the Spirit and the authors of the various texts of the New Testament emphasized different aspects or activities, each of the activities of the Spirit transforms the individual in some way. The believer is made into a new creation. The ongoing experience of the Spirit changes who they are at a fundamental/ontological level. For both the Yaḥad and the early Jesus movement this transformation begins with cleansing. Carol Newsom states that liquid images of Spirit in exilic and Second Temple texts are not random, indeed, they are consistently used when speaking of the transforming agency of the divine Spirit.<sup>683</sup> For the author of

---

<sup>683</sup> Newsom, “In Search,” 104–123, here 118.

John's Gospel, water is the symbol of the Spirit. Jesus proclaims that living waters will flow from the hearts of believers, and John states that this is the Spirit they will receive once Christ is glorified (John 7:38–39). The next chapter explores water as a transforming agent in New Testament literature and especially notes when the divine Spirit is associated with this activity.

# Chapter Five: Water in the New Testament

## 5.0 Introduction

In this chapter we return to the element of water and its symbolism, with our focus on the New Testament, special interest is given to how the notions of cleansing from sin and transformation are developed from the Hebrew Bible, as well as to compare and contrast that development with the Qumran discoveries, particularly within the Yahad. Attention is given to those occurrences where cleansing and transformation is paired with a divine Spirit.

This study is organized into three main parts. First (§5.0.1), an analysis of Greek verbs and action nouns denoting cleansing, isolating those occurrences where moral purification is in view and paying particular attention to where these occurrences are paired with the divine Spirit. Second (§5.1), a review of significant studies on John the Baptist. Third (§§5.2–5.4), an examination of the occurrences of cleansing from sin identified in the previous analysis (§5.0.1). This investigation seeks to answer some questions resulting from anomalies found in the analysis.

### Definition of terms

The English terms “baptise”, and “baptism” are, respectively, transliterations of the Greek verb βαπτίζω and the noun βάπτισμα. Benjamin Snyder rightly argues that there are difficulties in using transliteration as translation as it “decontextualizes terms, imbuing them with meaning from the interpreter’s context or preformed assumptions.” And continues that this “practice also leads scholars to inappropriately treat transliterated words as technical terms when they were not used this way by the original

audience.”<sup>684</sup> One’s understanding of the modern rite of baptism in their own tradition shapes their understanding of the term in the New Testament. The mode (i.e., whether immersion or sprinkling), notions of initiation, and identification as a Christian rite skews interpretations. John’s baptism is seen as both a Christian rite and an act of initiation before it was appropriated by the early church as such. In early depictions, Jesus is often portrayed as standing in the water and having it sprinkled or poured over him versus being immersed. According to Liddell, Scott, and Jones, βαπτίζω and its cognates means to dip, plunge, immerse; to be drowned; of ships, sink or disable them; to be drenched.<sup>685</sup> Joel Marcus notes that, “before the NT, the word does not have the technical sense of an act of water initiation.”<sup>686</sup> Therefore, with this in mind, βαπτίζω and its cognates are taken to mean “immerse” unless the context suggests otherwise. For instance, John’s baptism is viewed as a Jewish rite of immersion not of initiation. The baptising of vessels is also immersion for purification (Mark 7:4). The context of baptism on the Day of Pentecost where three thousand people are *added* to the group of Jesus followers indicates that some form of initiation ritual is in view. However, baptism for the dead (1 Cor 15:29) is neither Christian initiation nor Jewish purification. In fact, Murphy O’Connor cogently argues for the metaphorical sense “to destroy”, thus reading “What will they do who are being destroyed on account of the (spiritually) dead? If those who are really dead are not raised, why indeed are they being destroyed on their account.”<sup>687</sup> Starting from an understanding of baptism as Christian initiation

---

<sup>684</sup> Snyder, “Technical Term or Technical Foul?: βαπτίζω (Baptizō) and the Problem of Transliteration as Translation,” 91–113, here 91.

<sup>685</sup> Henry George Liddell et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th, with Revised Supplement ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 305–306.

<sup>686</sup> Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 150.

<sup>687</sup> Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, *Keys to First Corinthians: Revisiting the Major Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 242–256, here 251.

has produced centuries of convoluted and unsatisfactory exegesis on this passage. As the occurrence in 1 Cor 15:29 does not refer to immersion, it is not treated in this study.

### 5.0.1 Analysis of Cleansing Words

In this chapter, the examination of verbs related to cleansing or purification in the non-canonical Qumran discoveries and the Hebrew scriptures is continued in the New Testament. This study looks at the following verbs: καθαρίζω, διακαθαρίζω, διακαθαίρω, λούω, ἀπολούω, νίπτω, ἀπονίπτω, ἀγνίζω, ἐκκαθαίρω, ῥαντίζω, and βαπτίζω; and the following action nouns: καθαρισμός, καθαρότης, λουτρόν, ἁγιασμός, ἄγνισμός, ῥαντισμός, βάπτισμα, and βαπτισμός. As in Chapter 3, this study is concerned primarily with those words which refer to cleansing or purification of the body and focuses on the occurrences of cleansing words in connection to moral cleansing with a special interest for those times it is paired with the divine Spirit. This examination of cleansing words takes its point of departure from the Qumran discoveries study in Chapter 3 in that every occurrence is counted. In the Qumran discoveries, there are many copies of the Community Rule and the Hodayot, and occurrences of a verb are only counted once if it is attested in more than one iteration of the document. In comparison, although there are numerous repeated stories across the Gospels, each Gospel is its own distinct composition and what the Gospel writer chooses to include or exclude from its sources is significant. Therefore, every occurrence is counted even if the story occurs in more than one Gospel.

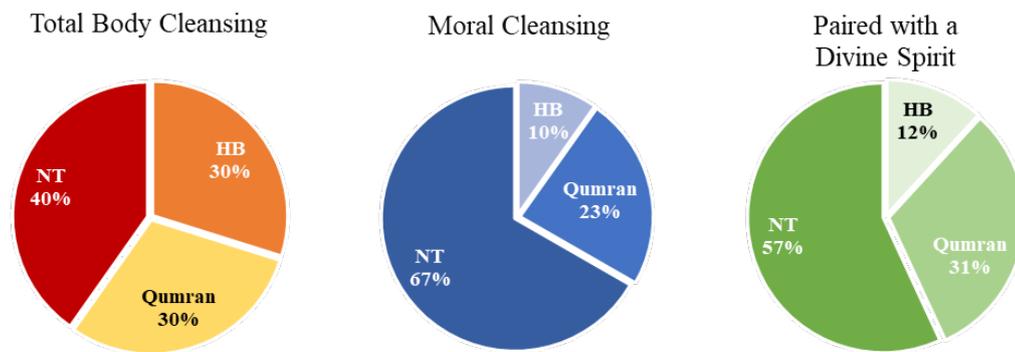
The following chart demonstrates the distribution of occurrences of (1) body cleansing; (2) cleansing from sin; and (3) pairing with a divine Spirit, *across* the Hebrew scriptures, Qumran discoveries, and the New Testament. There is a dramatic increase in all three categories in the New Testament, which would seem to demonstrate

a heightened interest in ritual and moral cleansing, and the divine Spirit’s agency in this cleansing. However, viewing the information only through this dataset can be misleading as will be shown in chart 10 which examines the occurrences of cleansing paired with the divine Spirit *within* each corpus (HB, Qumran, NT).

Table 8: Table of Distribution of Cleansing Categories Across the Hebrew Scriptures (HB), Qumran Discoveries (Qumran) and the New Testament (NT)

Occurrences of cleansing words for body purification	Total body cleansing	Cleansing from sin (moral)	Paired with a divine spirit
HB	135	17	6
Qumran	135	41	16
NT	182	116	29
<b>Total</b>	<b>452</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>51</b>

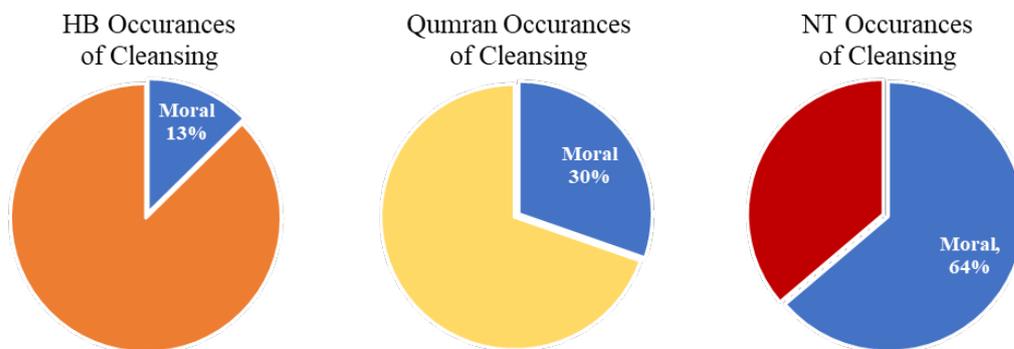
Chart 8: Chart of Distribution of Cleansing Categories Across the Hebrew Scriptures (HB), Qumran and the NT



Looking at the data vertically in table 8, which shows the distribution of moral cleansing *across or among* the corpora, demonstrates the increase in moral cleansing from the Hebrew scriptures to Qumran and to the New Testament (17 to 41 to 116). This is a dramatic increase in moral cleansing in the New Testament. Given that John’s baptism is defined as a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins (as argued in §5.2.1.3), and is the forerunner of Christian baptism, all references to baptism are counted as moral cleansing and comprise a majority of the total occurrences of moral cleansing in the NT (sixty-nine of one hundred and fifteen). There is also a significant

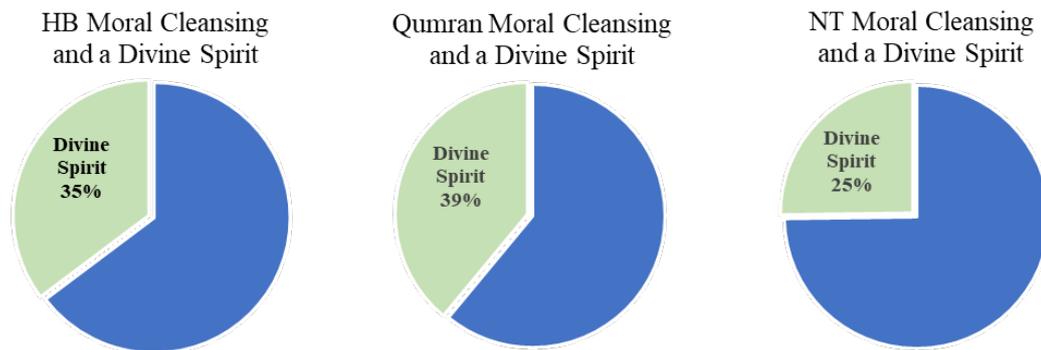
increase for pairing with a divine spirit (6 to 16 to 29). This is expected given the heightened interest in the divine Spirit in New Testament literature. However, a very different picture emerges when the data is read horizontally. Analysing the data *within* each corpora reveals that the increase in moral cleansing in the New Testament is far greater than pairing with a divine spirit is. They do not increase at the same rate. In other words, both the Hebrew scriptures and the Qumran discoveries attribute moral cleansing to the divine Spirit considerably more often than the New Testament does. The following charts help to demonstrate this. Chart 9 shows that the percentage of moral cleansing as a subset of all body cleansing increases dramatically in the New Testament (HB: 17 of 135, 13%; Qumran: 41 of 135, 30%; NT: 116 of 182, 64%.)

Chart 9: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in the HB, Qumran, and NT, Identifying Those Which Refer to Moral Cleansing as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Cleansing of Humans



Comparing occurrences of *moral* cleansing paired with a divine Spirit *within* each corpus reveals a surprising outcome and sharpens the difference between the compositions of the Yaḥad and the varied compositions of the early Christians regarding the role of the Spirit in moral cleansing. This analysis demonstrates that the percentage of pairing moral cleansing with the divine Spirit actually decreases in the New Testament (HB: 6 of 17, 35%; Qumran: 16 of 41, 39%; NT: 29 of 116, 25%).

Chart 10: Occurrences of Moral Cleansing in the HB, Qumran, and NT, Identifying Those Which Are Paired with a Divine Spirit as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Moral Cleansing



The ratio decrease in pairing moral cleansing with the Spirit is a surprising outcome given the repeated references to baptism in water and Spirit in the context of a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins and the dramatic increase in the mention of the divine Spirit overall. This result demonstrates that the divine Spirit is more closely associated with moral cleansing in the Qumran discoveries, specifically those associated with the Yaḥad than is the case in the New Testament. The decrease in a connection between the Holy Spirit and cleansing in the compositions of the New Testament is a direct consequence of the separation of water and Spirit baptism. The separation removes the agency of the divine Spirit from cleansing in the water rite as seen in the Yaḥad compositions, particularly the Community Rule and moves the baptism in the Spirit to Jesus in the Gospels and Acts.<sup>688</sup> Is this bifurcation of water baptism and Spirit baptism another consequence of the Gospel writers pointed diminishment of John the Baptist and the elevation of Jesus? If so, then it is particularly striking that there is no explicit attestation of Jesus baptising in the Spirit in the Gospels. Why would the Synoptic Gospel writers state that Jesus would baptise in the Spirit, but then provide no examples of such activity?<sup>689</sup> In contrast, the Fourth Gospel

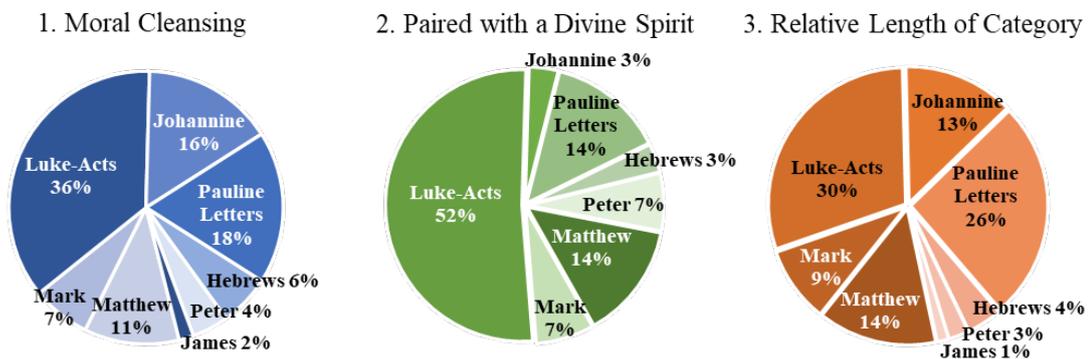
<sup>688</sup> Mark 1:8; Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; John 1:26, 33.

<sup>689</sup> Cf. §§4.3.4.1; 5.2.2.

hints at Jesus baptising in the Spirit when he breathes the Holy Spirit into his disciples (John 20:22).

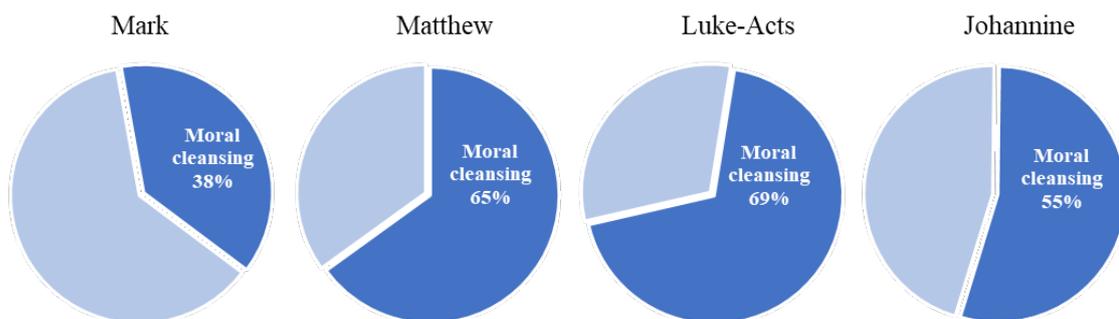
The New Testament is a canon of complex and diverse compositions. To reveal patterns of thought and the importance of moral cleansing and the agency of the Holy Spirit in this activity, this study has grouped compositions together by author such as Luke-Acts or by “school” such as the Johannine compositions and the Pauline letters. These categories are: (1) Mark; (2) Matthew; (3) Luke-Acts; (4) Johannine writings; (5) Pauline letters; (6) Hebrews; (7) Peter; and (8) James. As there are no occurrences of moral cleansing in Jude or Revelation, these compositions are not part of the dataset. The chart below (Chart 11) demonstrates the distribution of occurrences of (1) moral cleansing and (2) cleansing paired with the divine Spirit in comparison to the (3) relative length of each category. It reveals some significant patterns. For example, while Luke-Acts accounts for 30% of the compositions in this study, it contains 37% of all occurrences of moral cleansing and 48% of all occurrences of moral cleansing when paired with the divine Spirit. As expected, there is a higher percentage of occurrences of the Holy Spirit paired with moral cleansing in Luke-Acts given the high interest in the Spirit in these compositions (cf. §4.2.2). Additionally, the percentage of moral cleansing in Luke-Acts is significantly higher than the Pauline letters relative to its length. While this may seem surprising at first, it is due to the genre of each category. Luke and Acts are books of history which tell repeated stories of baptism, while the Pauline letters do not recount these events.

Chart 11: Distribution in the NT of the Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs (1) in Connection to Moral Cleansing and (2) Paired with a Divine Spirit and (3) Compared to the Relative Length of Each Category

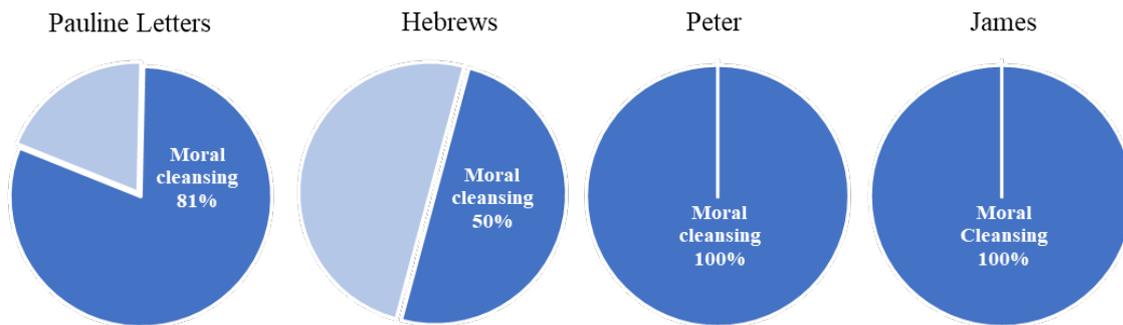


The next analysis demonstrates the tendency of each of the categories of compositions to conflate moral and ritual cleansing. The Gospel of Mark has the lowest percentage of occurrences of moral cleansing as a subset of body or ritual cleansing at 38% (eight out of twenty-one). Six occurrences are clustered in just two verses where Jesus refers to his death as a baptism (Mark 10:38–39), and seven occurrences refer to ritual cleansing with four of those concerned with ritual cleansing after healing from leprosy. Moral cleansing accounts for over half of all occurrences of cleansing in all other compositions. The highest percentage of moral cleansing occurs in 1 and 2 Peter, and James where all occurrences of cleansing refer to moral cleansing.<sup>690</sup>

Chart 12: Occurrences of Cleansing Verbs in the NT, Identifying Those Which Refer to Moral Cleansing as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Ritual Cleansing Within Each Category

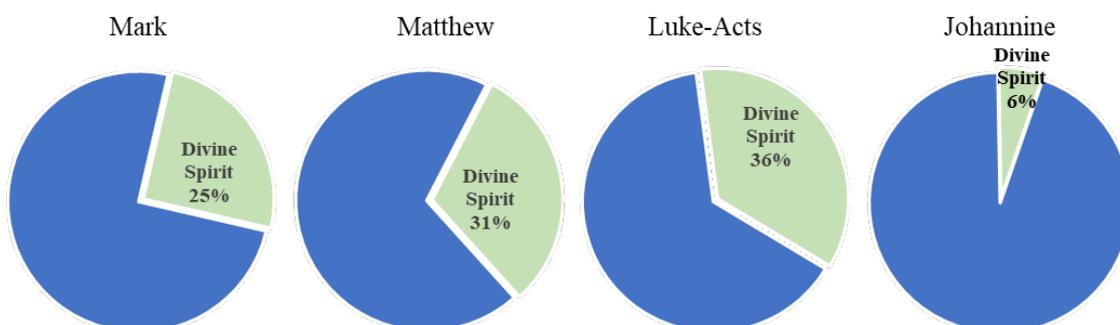


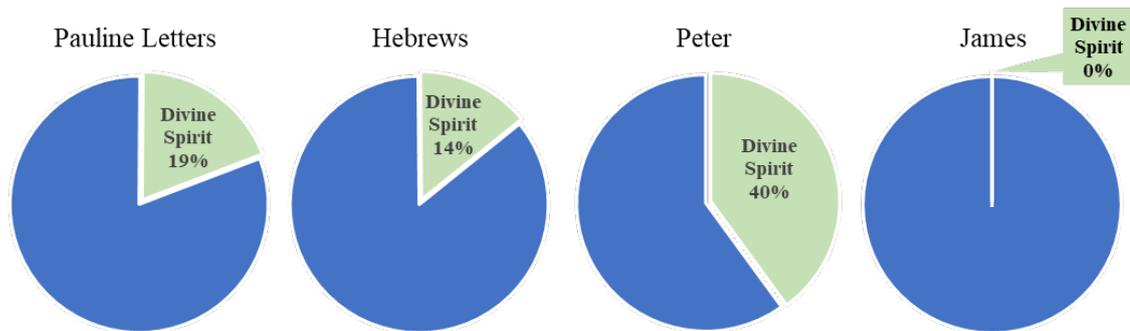
<sup>690</sup> 1 Pet 1:2, 22; 1 Pet 3:21; 2 Pet 1:9; Jas 4:8.



The final analysis looks at the number of times moral cleansing is paired with the Spirit within each of the eight categories. The most significant result is that while the percentage of occurrences of moral cleansing is substantial (55%) in the Johannine writings, the percentage of occurrences which are paired with a divine Spirit is dramatically less at just 6% of this dataset. This demonstrates a marked disinterest in the agency of the Spirit in moral cleansing as compared to the other compositions in the New Testament. While the separation of water and Spirit baptism may account for the relative lower occurrences of moral cleansing paired with the Spirit in the New Testament as compared to the Scrolls, there is another factor at play in the Gospel of John. John is careful to avoid any indication that the Spirit (or Paraclete) is given before the resurrection of Christ, although this conflates two understandings of baptism in the New Testament, viz. being cleansed by the Spirit with receiving the Spirit. This topic will be returned to below.

Chart 13: Occurrences of Moral Cleansing in the NT, Identifying Those Which Are Paired with the Divine Spirit as a Subset of All Occurrences Which Refer to Moral Cleansing





Given the prevalence of baptism in the New Testament, some of the outcomes of this analysis were expected, namely, when comparing the distribution of all body cleansing, moral cleansing, and a connection with the divine Spirit across the New Testament, Hebrew scriptures, and the Qumran discoveries, there are significantly more occurrences of all three categories in the New Testament. This demonstrates an increased interest in notions of cleansing among the multiple New Testament writers.

However, some outcomes were unexpected, namely, when comparing the number of times the Spirit is connected to moral cleansing within each of the eight composition categories (i.e., Mark, Matthew, Luke-Acts, Johannine writings, Pauline letters, Hebrews, Peter, and James) there is a dramatic decrease in the New Testament as compared to the Hebrew scriptures and especially the Qumran discoveries. In other words, both the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran Scrolls attribute moral cleansing to the divine Spirit considerably more than the New Testament does. The examination of passages where moral cleansing occurs (§§5.2–5.4) seeks to understand this surprising outcome.

### 5.1 Review of Significant Studies

Much of the secondary literature relevant to the New Testament has already featured in previous chapters because it is also relevant for early Judaism. Chapter 3 establishes the foundation for understanding notions of ritual and moral purity in the

late Second Temple era. Chapter 4 provides a framework for understanding the concept of the divine Spirit in the New Testament. However, the specific application of immersion in the rite of baptism is unique to this chapter. As all roads lead to Rome in the Roman Empire, so all roads lead to John the Baptist in typical studies on baptism in the New Testament. Therefore, this literature review concentrates on the Baptist, particularly as John is the starting point of this thesis.

John the Baptist looms large in the study of immersion in the first century CE. Scholars have asked and have attempted to answer many critical questions surrounding the Baptist. This is a challenging task because very little is actually known about John despite the frequent references within the New Testament, and a passing account in Josephus.<sup>691</sup> The most frequently asked question is regarding the origins of baptism. Other questions concern the nature of John's baptism and the element of repentance and forgiveness of sins. Recent scholarship has been interested in the competition between the disciples of John and Jesus. Since the discoveries of the scrolls near Qumran questions have been asked about John's childhood and if he could have been associated with the community at Qumran.

---

<sup>691</sup> While there are references to the Baptist in other texts from the Nag Hammadi, the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Slavonic Josephus, and Mandaeen literature, these are all dependant on earlier sources. Additionally, some scholars dispute the authenticity of the account of John the Baptist in Josephus and maintain that it is a Christian interpolation such as Rivka Nir, "Josephus' Account of John the Baptist: A Christian Interpolation?," *JSHJ* 10, no. 1 (2012). The majority see the account as authentic, such as Josef Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989); Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 41–43; John P. Meier, "John the Baptist in Josephus: Philology and Exegesis," *JBL* 111, no. 2 (1992): 225–237; Taylor, *Immerser*; Colin Brown, "What Was John the Baptist Doing?," *BBR* 7 (1997): 37–49; Bruce D. Chilton, "John the Purifier: His Immersion and His Death," *HvTSt* 57, no. 1–2 (2001): 247–267; Amy-Jill Levine and Ben Witherington, III, *The Gospel of Luke*, NCBC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 83–84; Albert I. Baumgarten, "John and Jesus in Josephus: A Prelude to the Parting of the Ways," in *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus*, ed. Lori Baron, et al., ECL 24 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 41–63; Albert I. Baumgarten, "Rescuing John the Baptist," in *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Judaism and Christianity: The Eastern Mediterranean, The Near East, and Beyond*, ed. Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev, TSEC 21 (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 352–367.

Nils Dahl, writing before the Qumran discoveries were widely available, argues that the “initiatory lustrations” of the priests in the Temple is the antecedent of Christian baptism.<sup>692</sup> Dahl sees a correlation between the initiation and consecration of the Temple priests with the baptism of Jesus. In this view Jesus was initiated and consecrated into his messianic role. While Dahl’s correlation works for the baptism of Jesus, it does not apply to the many others baptised by John. Additionally, he argues that baptism in water only prefigures the consecration of the members of the *ekklesia* which is brought about by the expiatory death of Jesus. Dahl further states that “purification is the precondition for approach to God in worship.”<sup>693</sup> The requirement for purification is not restricted to the priests but extended to all Israel as seen in the prophets as a preparation for the eschaton (Isa 4:2–6; Ezek 36:25–27, 33; 37:23; Jer 33:8; cf. Jub. 1:23). Dahl notes that, “in such texts the purification is not only bound up with the idea of forgiveness, but also with the idea of renewal of life and the gift of the Spirit of God.”<sup>694</sup> In addition, Dahl views a dual purpose for baptism in fire as it not only destroys sinners, but also purifies and renews the people of God.<sup>695</sup> Dahl’s work demonstrates the connection between baptism and Hebrew scripture notions of purification, renewal, and the divine Spirit. This is particularly important in situating John’s baptism as a rite of purification.

Robert Webb uses a socio-historical approach to situate John the Baptist within the context of first-century Judaism and concludes that John is a popular prophet. Webb considers John’s baptism to have six interrelated functions: (1) conversionary

---

<sup>692</sup> Nils Alstrup Dahl, “The Origin of Baptism,” in *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes Sigundo Mowinckel septuagenario missae*, ed. Nils Alstrup Dahl and Arvid S. Kapelrud (Oslo: Land og Kirke, 1955), 36–52.

<sup>693</sup> Dahl, “The Origin of Baptism”, 40.

<sup>694</sup> Dahl, “The Origin of Baptism”, 40.

<sup>695</sup> Dahl, “The Origin of Baptism”, 45.

repentance; (2) mediation of divine forgiveness; (3) purification from uncleanness; (4) foreshadowing of an expected eschatological figure; (5) initiation into the “True Israel”; and (6) protest against the Temple establishment.<sup>696</sup> The last two functions are related to what Webb considers the closest parallel to John’s baptism, namely, the initiatory immersion of the Qumran community. Webb proposes that John chose the location on the east bank of the Jordan River across from Jericho to re-enact the crossing of the Jordan. He imagines “the people, now constituting the true, remnant Israel, were reentering their land in a symbolic act of ‘possessing it’, anticipating its imminent fulfilment when the expected figure would arrive.”<sup>697</sup> However attractive the notion of re-enacting the crossing of Jordan is, the texts say nothing of a remnant Israel. Unlike the Yahad who limit their rites of purification to a select few, John offers his baptism to all and sundry. Additionally, Webb’s argument that John offers an alternative to Temple sacrifice for the forgiveness of sins, thereby rejecting the Temple is built on musings.<sup>698</sup> He provides no textual evidence to support this claim and even acknowledges that there is nothing in the extant texts concerning John which reference the temple. Furthermore, given that forgiveness of sins is not exclusive to Temple sacrifice, Webb’s argument is built on a fragile foundation. While Webb acknowledges that John conceived of his baptism “as a foreshadowing the OT expectation of an eschatological ablution,” he states that it is “beyond the evidence to tie John’s baptism to Ezekiel’s prophecy in particular.”<sup>699</sup> The dismissal of a distinct connection to Ezekiel based on lack of evidence is curious considering his own argument concerning John rejecting the Temple. It also demonstrates Webb’s privileging of Qumran texts over the Hebrew

---

<sup>696</sup> Robert L. Webb, “John the Baptist and His Relationship to Jesus,” in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, ed. Bruce Chilton and Crag A. Evans, NTTS 19 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 179–229, esp. 187–197. Cf. Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 183–205.

<sup>697</sup> Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 364–365, here 364.

<sup>698</sup> Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 203.

<sup>699</sup> Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 207.

Bible. He is much more willing to see a parallel between the Yahad and John's baptism than a connection with the Hebrew scripture prophets.

Joan Taylor defines the purpose of her study of John as, "to provide a concise and accessible argument that redefines John as a Jewish immerser and teacher of righteousness who was accepted by many Jews as an exceptionally good and faithful man and regarded by some — including Jesus — as a prophet."<sup>700</sup> In contrast to Webb, Taylor rejects the reliability of the Gospel accounts in regards to John's baptism being a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins arguing that "the Gospels were written for a gentile Christian audience, to whom issues of Jewish ritual purity were not relevant."<sup>701</sup> Instead she turns to Josephus (*Ant.* 18.117) to demonstrate that repentance and righteous living must precede baptism. Taylor also makes a distinction between repentance and conversion. She correctly states that John did not convert people, he called them to repentance which "is rather the return to a state in which the person should have been all along."<sup>702</sup> Taylor cautions that John's eschatological message does not change his immersion from that of other Jewish purification rituals.<sup>703</sup> However, she sees significance in his chosen location of the area around the Jordan River and suggests a connection with Israel crossing into the promised land.<sup>704</sup> Furthermore, Taylor argues for Ezekiel exerting influence on John, particularly in regards to immersion in the Spirit.<sup>705</sup> It is noteworthy that Webb and Taylor, who disagree on most issues concerning John the Baptist, see his baptism as a rite of purification and

---

<sup>700</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 8.

<sup>701</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 81.

<sup>702</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 69.

<sup>703</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 86.

<sup>704</sup> Joan E. Taylor, "John the Baptist on the Jordan River: Localities and Their Significance," *Aram* 29 (2017): 365–383.

<sup>705</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 137–141.

consider the possibility that John's chosen location of the Jordan is a re-enactment of crossing the Jordan into the promised land.

Bruce Chilton similarly argues that John's baptism is an act of ritual purification which follows a return to righteousness.<sup>706</sup> Chilton, like Taylor, preferences Josephus over the Gospels for any reliable information on John and therefore argues against any forgiveness of sins in John's baptism. However, unlike Webb and Taylor, he rejects the role of prophet and any significance to the Jordan River,<sup>707</sup> but interestingly maintains that "John's baptism was driven by an eschatological expectation, not necessarily of a messiah, but of divine judgment."<sup>708</sup> In contrast to Webb, Chilton argues that even though there is no direct citation of Ezek 36:22–27 in association with John, that Ezekiel's representation of the hope of restoration is taken up in his practice of cleansing by immersion, much like the Yaḥad and in Jubilees.<sup>709</sup> Additionally he posits that the key to John's baptism is in the one statement attributed to him that Chilton regards "possibly authentic",<sup>710</sup> namely "I have baptised you with water; but he will baptise you with the Holy Spirit" (Mark 1:8).

Chilton also argues against Webb and denies any initiatory aspect or that "John preached a 'conversionary repentance' by baptism" and that his baptism was a once for all, not to be repeated act. He argues that while this view is "a fine description of how baptism is portrayed in the Epistle to the Hebrews 6:1–8," it is, "only the attribution to John of later, catholic theology of baptism" which characterizes "his baptism as symbol of a definite 'conversion'."<sup>711</sup> Chilton dismisses any idea that John was opposed to the

---

<sup>706</sup> Bruce D. Chilton, "Yohanan the Purifier and His Immersion," *TJT* 14, no. 2 (1998): 197–212; Chilton, "John the Purifier," 247–267.

<sup>707</sup> Chilton, "John the Purifier," 253–255.

<sup>708</sup> Chilton, "John the Purifier," 262.

<sup>709</sup> Chilton, "Yohanan the Purifier," 208.

<sup>710</sup> Chilton, "John the Purifier," 262.

<sup>711</sup> Chilton, "John the Purifier," 260.

Temple stating that “such assertions invoke a supposed dualism between moral and cultic atonement which simply has no place in the critical discussion of early Judaism.”<sup>712</sup>

Albert Baumgarten is a proponent of the competition theory and argues that the diminishment of John in the Gospels is a Christian bias and views John “as the founder of an independent eschatological movement.”<sup>713</sup> John is a reformer and is seen as a holy man, or in Baumgarten’s words, “a symbol of unique holiness.”<sup>714</sup> He has a ritual named after him and lives a strict life but does not demand more of his audience beyond common decency towards one’s fellow human being (Luke 3:11–14). Baumgarten argues that this can have immense appeal and would have drawn large crowds and followers.<sup>715</sup> According to Mark, John’s simple act of immersion brought repentance and forgiveness of sins and was a “ritual of immense power.”<sup>716</sup> However, Mark’s immediate demotion of John in favour of Jesus complicates this view (Mark 1:8). Therefore, Baumgarten finds the gospel accounts problematic sources for understanding John’s baptism. Josephus does not provide any more insight for, “the dichotomy between soul and body appears to be a Hellenistic style attempt to present John’s baptism in a light that would make it comprehensible and attractive to Josephus’s non-Jewish audience but as a result of which the practice is less clear in Jewish terms.”<sup>717</sup> Having dismissed Josephus as the hermeneutical key to understanding John’s baptism, he turns to the Palestinian Jewish context and finds a common and simple circumstance

---

<sup>712</sup> Chilton, “John the Purifier,” 257.

<sup>713</sup> Baumgarten, “Rescuing John the Baptist”, 352–367, here 365.

<sup>714</sup> Baumgarten, “Rescuing John the Baptist”, 367.

<sup>715</sup> Baumgarten, “Rescuing John the Baptist”, 366.

<sup>716</sup> Albert I. Baumgarten, “The Baptism of John in a Second Temple Jewish Context,” in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. J. Harold Ellens, et al., DCLS 38 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 399–414, here 406.

<sup>717</sup> Baumgarten, “Baptism of John”, 410.

which offers a solution, namely an additional washing before entering the temple.<sup>718</sup> Baumgarten calls this טבילה לקדושה, an extra immersion for consecration, and proposes that John's baptism was modelled on this practice for meeting the divine presence in the Temple. Furthermore, "in John's case, the encounter for which one was preparing was even more momentous.... John's baptism prepared for encountering God on the greatest, most glorious, and most awesome day of the Final Judgment."<sup>719</sup> While Baumgarten offers a unique perspective on John, his arguments for John's baptism being an immersion for purification further support previous arguments made by Dahl, Webb, Taylor, and Chilton.

Joel Marcus, in agreement with Baumgarten, views John the Baptist as a strong eschatological prophet in his own right, quite apart from Jesus.<sup>720</sup> He bases this conclusion on a careful study of the competition hypothesis of which he is a proponent. Marcus considers John and Jesus to be Elijah and Elisha redivivus respectively.<sup>721</sup> In fact, Marcus goes so far as to argue that John baptises in both water and Spirit and that the phrase "but he will baptise you with the Holy Spirit" (Mark 1:8b) is a Christian interpolation to put the Baptist "in his place."<sup>722</sup> Marcus states that, "whereas, then, there is a significant tendency for early Christian theology to portray Jesus as the first and only impartor of the Spirit, the truth probably is that John already saw himself as

---

<sup>718</sup> Baumgarten, "Baptism of John", 410–412; Eyal Regev, "The Ritual Baths Near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before Entering the Temple Courts," *IEJ* 55, no. 2 (2005): 194–204; Adler, "Between Priestly Cult and Common Culture," 239–240.

<sup>719</sup> Baumgarten, "Baptism of John", 412.

<sup>720</sup> Joel Marcus, *John the Baptist in History and Theology*, SPNT (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2018).

<sup>721</sup> Joel Marcus, "John the Baptist and Jesus," in *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini*, ed. Anthony J. Saldarini, et al., JSJSup 85 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 1.179–197; Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 87–89.

<sup>722</sup> Marcus builds on Martin Dibelius, *Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer*, FRLANT 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 56–58. Cf. Steven Mason, "Fire, Water and Spirit: John the Baptist and the Tyranny of Canon," *SR* 21, no. 2 (1992): 163–180, here 170. Note however, that Mason argues that "Spirit" was missing from the original saying, leaving just water and fire.

possessing it and thought that his baptism would impart it to those who came to him with repentant hearts.”<sup>723</sup> In support of this thesis Marcus appeals to the linkage between John’s baptism and the forgiveness of sins. Marcus points out that forgiveness of sins is strongly associated with the Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries.<sup>724</sup> He goes further than Webb and argues for a direct connection with Qumran which would have heavily influenced the Baptist’s view of the action of the Holy Spirit in purification immersion.<sup>725</sup> Additionally, contrary to Webb, Marcus argues that both the Baptist and the Qumran community were influenced by Ezek 36:25–27.<sup>726</sup> Given what Marcus calls, “deep Old Testament linkages and John’s own rootedness in Qumran,” he posits that John would not have proclaimed a baptism which accomplished the forgiveness of sins “without associating it with the eschatological action of the Spirit.”<sup>727</sup> Marcus sums up his arguments and suggests the original form of the phrase about baptism in water and Spirit was something like “I baptize you in water and the Holy Spirit, but he will baptize you in fire.”<sup>728</sup> Webb’s interpretation of the threshing floor may support this reading. He argues that John winnows and the expected one gathers the wheat into the granary and throws the chaff into the fire.<sup>729</sup> While Webb would not draw this conclusion, attributing winnowing to John the Baptist and the use of fire to the expected one has similarities with Marcus’ reading of Matt 3:11 = Luke 3:16.

---

<sup>723</sup> Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 67.

<sup>724</sup> “Ps. 51:1–2, 10–12; Ezek. 11:18–20, 18:30–31, 36:25–31; cf. Jer. 31:31–34, ... 1QS 3:6–7, 4:20–23, 9:3–5; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17[9]:32–34, frag. 2 1:13; 4Q506 frags. 131–132 11–14.” Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 69.

<sup>725</sup> Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 27–45.

<sup>726</sup> Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 29, 68–69, 75.

<sup>727</sup> Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 69.

<sup>728</sup> Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 73.

<sup>729</sup> Robert L. Webb, “The Activity of John the Baptist’s Expected Figure at the Threshing Floor (Matthew 3:12 = Luke 3:17),” *JSNT* 14, no. 43 (1991): 103–111. Webb draws on Palestinian agricultural practices to differentiate between a winnowing fork (מזרה, θριναξ) and a winnowing shovel (רחת, πτύον). The former is used to throw the grain into the air to separate the wheat from the chaff, while the latter is used to shovel the wheat into the granary and the chaff into the fire.

Benjamin Snyder's thesis on John the Baptist challenges previous studies on the basis that they start with the assumption that baptism is an initiation ritual.<sup>730</sup> As discussed previously (cf. §5.0), Snyder argues that using the transliteration of βαπτίζω as a technical term, instead of translating it, erroneously imports later meanings of Christian baptism such as conversion and initiation into John's baptism.<sup>731</sup> Rather, he prefers to translate the word unless it occurs in a quotation. For the most part Snyder translates βαπτίζω as "immerse" and argues that "John's immersion is best understood as an exemplar of ritual purity."<sup>732</sup> He further argues that "there is no conflation going on with John's immersion of repentance, ritual and moral purity are intersecting in natural ways."<sup>733</sup> Those who responded to John's call to prepare for the coming of God immersed to resolve any ritual impurity and while still in the water or coming up out of it, confessed their sins. Snyder does not view John's baptism as an eschatological ritual *per se*. He argues, as Baumgarten does, that "in antiquity, humans do not enter divine presence without preparing both morally and ritually," and, like Taylor, that "the eschatological context does not change the purpose of the immersion in any way."<sup>734</sup> In support of this view, Snyder points to the ritual washing of the Israelites at Sinai in preparation to encounter the divine presence.<sup>735</sup> Furthermore while he acknowledges that John may have been influenced by Ezek 36:22–27, he is in agreement with Webb when he argues that any direct connection to this eschatological text is founded on an argument from silence. Snyder also challenges the historical understanding of John administering the immersion and argues that, "John's title, "the baptizer," could have

---

<sup>730</sup> Benjamin J. Snyder, *Ritual Purity and the Origin of John's βάπτισμα μετανοίας* (Tübingen: Mohr Seibeck, Forthcoming).

<sup>731</sup> Snyder, "Technical Term or Technical Foul?: βαπτίζω (Baptizō) and the Problem of Transliteration as Translation."; Snyder, *John's βάπτισμα μετανοίας*.

<sup>732</sup> Snyder, *John's βάπτισμα μετανοίας*.

<sup>733</sup> Benjamin J. Snyder, "John's Immersion: In Ritual Context and Comparative Perspective" (paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online, 2021), 17.

<sup>734</sup> Snyder, "John's Immersion," 18.

<sup>735</sup> Snyder, *John's βάπτισμα μετανοίας*.

been ascribed on the basis that he called people to immerse themselves or was viewed as an immersion enthusiast.”<sup>736</sup> Although Snyder approaches the origins of John’s baptism from a new direction, namely challenging the transliteration of βαπτίζω and instead translating as immersion, he arrives at the same place as the other scholars in this review. All agree that John’s baptism is an immersion for the purposes of purification.

Thomas Kazen examines John’s baptism through conceptual blending, metaphor, and ritual theories. Like Baumgarten and Snyder, he argues that John’s baptism prepares the individual for encountering the divine presence. Additionally, he further identifies ritual purification as a ritual of transition.<sup>737</sup> Also in agreement with Taylor and Snyder, Kazen argues that it matters not that this is the eschatological encounter with God, for any divine encounter requires special purification. However, the eschatological setting does give urgency to the act.<sup>738</sup> Using conceptual blending theory Kazen shows how John’s baptism blends ritual and moral purification. He notes that the “blending process is not haphazard, but requires that the input spaces have certain traits or characteristics in common, which we call a generic space.”<sup>739</sup> In his diagram below, Kazen illustrates how the removal of physical dirt, purification by water, and the removal of a person with skin disease by isolation and healing can be combined into a blended space which represents the ritual purification of a person after being healed of a skin disease (Lev 14).

---

<sup>736</sup> Snyder, *John’s βάπτισμα μετανοίας*.

<sup>737</sup> Thomas Kazen, “John’s Immersions: Ritual Purifications, but from What?” (paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online 2021), 5–6.

<sup>738</sup> Kazen, “John’s Immersions,” 7.

<sup>739</sup> Kazen, “John’s Immersions,” 8.

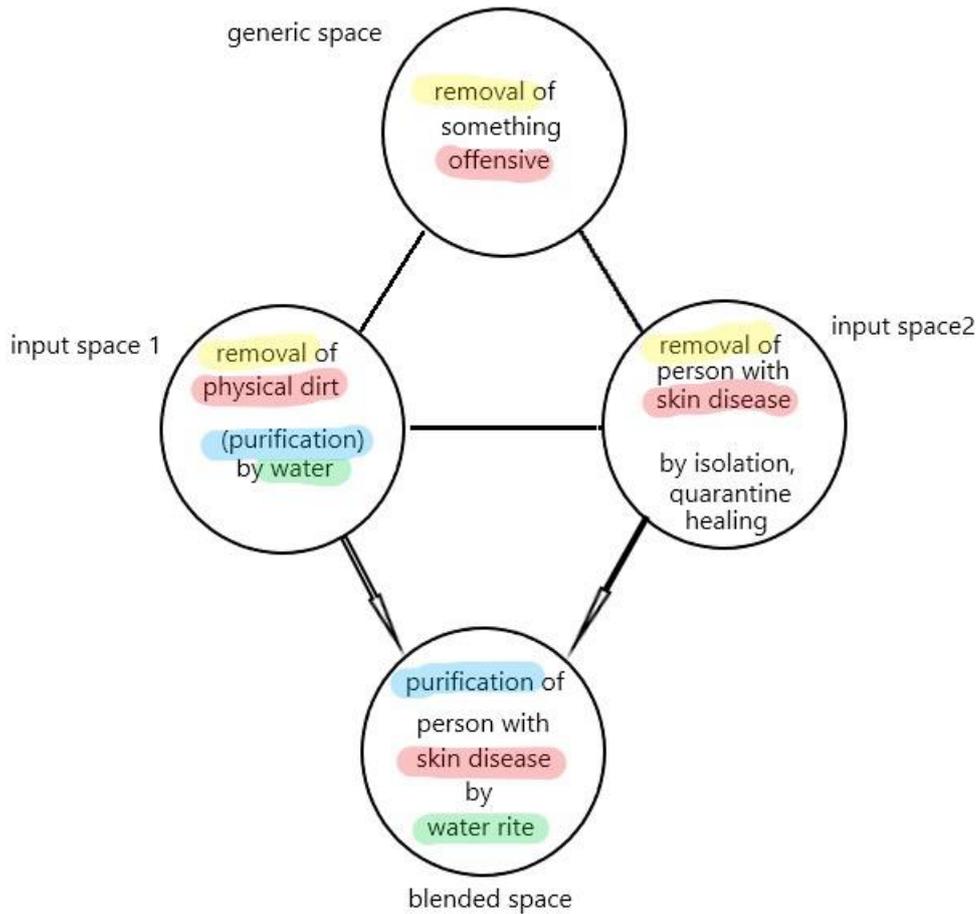


Figure 1: Kazen's Blended Space<sup>740</sup>

Both dirt and skin disease are offensive and require removal. In the conceptual blend, both are removed by water, and this becomes not simply removal, but purification.<sup>741</sup> Having arrived at a new input space, ritual impurity, Kazen redefines the generic space to include water and adds other input spaces, namely: moral impurity, repentance, and possibly sacrifice to arrive at the blended space of John's baptism:

<sup>740</sup> Kazen, "John's Immersions," 8, Fig. 4.

<sup>741</sup> Kazen, "John's Immersions," 8.

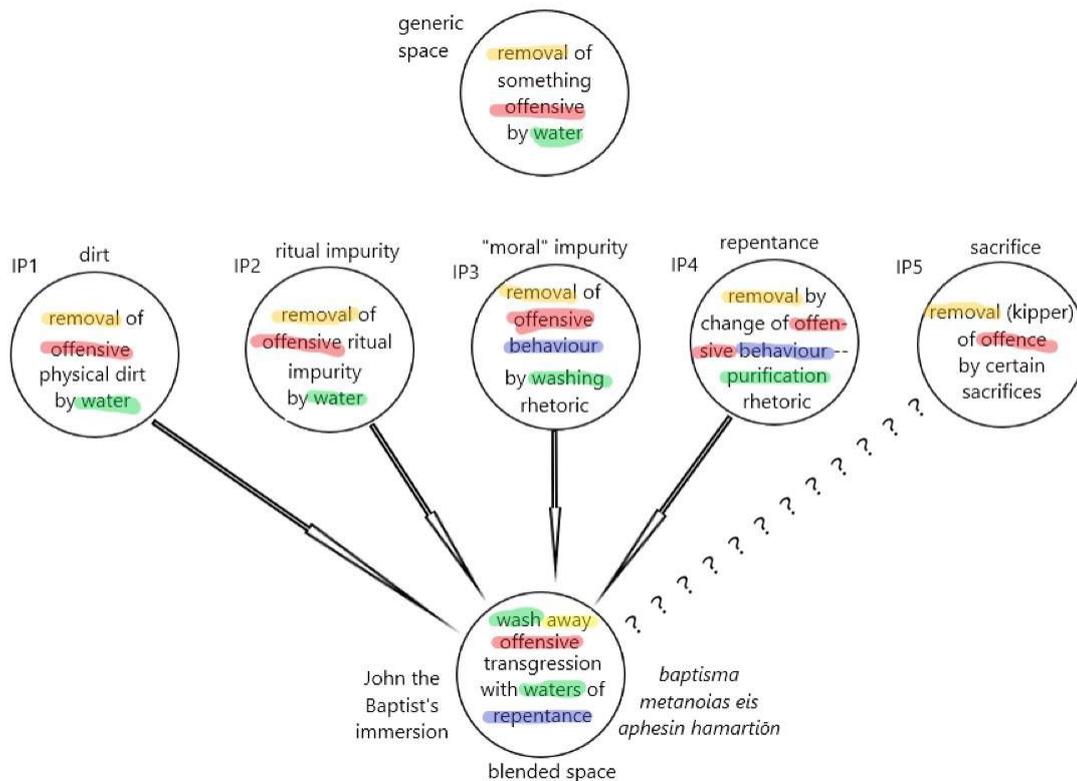


Figure 2: Kazen's Complex Blended Space of John's Baptism<sup>742</sup>

Kazen argues that with the exception of sacrifice, all of the above input spaces sought to remove the offense by purification, most often by washing in water.<sup>743</sup> From this he concludes that John's baptism was conceived as a purification ritual. This is a fresh and insightful approach to the search for the origins of John's baptism. While one might challenge Kazen's conflation of washing (IP3) and purification (IP4) with water (generic space and IP1 and 2), the correlation is well established, as demonstrated previously (cf. §1.2). Additionally, input space 1: dirt, is not a factor in John's baptism, it is not a bath to cleanse oneself of a material substance. Therefore, it is not blended into the same space. Nevertheless, Kazen's diagram demonstrates that the elements of ritual and moral purification are present in John's baptism.

<sup>742</sup> Kazen, "John's Immersions," 9, Fig. 5.

<sup>743</sup> Kazen notes that there is no clear association between sacrifice and water and therefore "no firm basis for suggesting that the domain of sacrifice provided essential input for the Baptist's innovative water ritual." However the other input spaces are sufficient to explain the association of John's Baptism with the removal of transgressions. Kazen, "John's Immersions," 9.

Turning to ritual theory, Kazen asks where the divine agency comes into this baptism. Is the divine acting “through the ritual agent, in the action by means of an instrument, or in or through the patient?”<sup>744</sup> Contrary to immersions in a *miqveh* in which God is in the action by means of an instrument—the water and the procedure, thereby a “Special Instrument” ritual, John’s baptism is an example of a “Special Agent” ritual where God is ritually connected to the water and to the person of John. Kazen argues that John’s baptism appealed to the crowds because of the high sensory nature of the ritual. Special Instrument rituals are low sensory as they are frequent and common acts with little sensory pageantry (self-immersion in a *miqveh*) while Special Agent rituals are infrequent and have high sensory pageantry (immersion in natural water in the wilderness) in addition to God acting through the agent. Based on this theory, Kazen, in contrast to Snyder, concludes that it is most likely that John “actively immersed people and that most of them intuitively understood him as a Special Agent in the ritual. This is a ritual innovation.”<sup>745</sup> Kazen’s application of ritual theory provides a compelling explanation for the popularity of John’s baptism. Especially if, as the scholars reviewed here argue, and I agree, John’s baptism is a ritual of purification. It would have to be something extraordinary to a common immersion in a *miqveh* to draw large crowds and to earn him the title “the Baptist”. A high sensory ritual which introduces the elements of an encounter with a holy man and the Divine in a wilderness setting would be compelling. This theory also offers an additional reason why John baptises in the Jordan.

---

<sup>744</sup> Kazen, “John's Immersions,” 10. Cf. Robert N. McCauley and E. Thomas Lawson, *Bringing Ritual to Mind: Psychological Foundations of Cultural Forms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 8–36.

<sup>745</sup> Kazen, “John's Immersions,” 13. Kazen adds that “the precise manner in which John acted is not decisive for my argument, however, but his agency as it was experienced by people coming to him for immersion.” n. 66

The brief review of scholars above demonstrates that there is great disparity in studies of John the Baptist with little consensus among them. All nine scholars surveyed here agree on only one thing, namely, John's baptism was a Jewish ritual of purification. John is viewed as a prophet with the exception of Chilton who rejects this along with most other traditions regarding John. He narrowly views John within the role of an eschatological immerser. Most scholars view his baptism as eschatological in nature, while Taylor, Snyder, and Kazen argue that the eschatological context does not change the nature or purpose of the immersion, although it does lend a sense of urgency to it. The majority argue that forgiveness of sins was associated with John's baptism whether before, during, or after. Marcus alone connects forgiveness of sins to the Spirit and argues that John baptises in water and Spirit. This is an intriguing conclusion which brings John's baptism closer to the immersions of the Yaḥad. Indeed, Marcus bases his argument on John's previous membership in this group, in addition to eschatological references to moral cleansing and the Spirit in the Hebrew scriptures. However, the notion that John baptised in water and Spirit does not require membership or even an indirect connection to the Yaḥad. If the Hebrew scriptures were sufficient for the Yaḥad to develop the connection of purification by water and Spirit in their community, then the same must be true for John. With the exception of Baumgarten and Kazen who make no mention of Ezekiel, all the remaining scholars reviewed here view Ezek 36 as exerting influence on John the Baptist, although Webb and Snyder both comment that the textual evidence does not support a direct connection. Nevertheless, there does not have to be a direct quote for there to be allusions or even a connection, direct or indirect. Both the Yaḥad and John pick up on the themes of an eschatological cleansing by the divine Spirit as seen in Ezekiel, among other prophets.

## 5.2 Water in the Gospels and Acts

Due to the foundational nature of John's baptism for the development of notions of cleansing from sin in the New Testament, this section begins with an examination of John and his rite of baptism. The origins and function of his baptism are reviewed. Additionally, other passages in the Gospel and Acts where moral cleansing is in view are examined, paying special attention to those times it is paired with the divine Spirit.

### 5.2.1 John the Baptist<sup>746</sup>

John the Baptist is central to notions of baptism in water and the Spirit. Indeed, his statement, "I have baptised you with water; but he will baptise you with the Holy Spirit" (Mark 1:8) is the starting point for this thesis. As stated previously, this chapter is interested in water baptism as a part of cleansing, transformation, and initiation. All four gospels begin the narrative of Jesus' active ministry with his baptism by John (Matt 3; Mark 1; Luke 3; John 1). In Acts, Peter also states on two separate occasions that John's baptism was the beginning of Jesus' ministry (Acts 1:22; 10:37).<sup>747</sup>

As seen in the review of literature above, scholars have long asked questions about the nature of John's baptism and its origins. These questions have been asked for millennia, with oftentimes very different results. The Qumran discoveries and the quest

---

<sup>746</sup> Early iterations of portions of this section (§5.2.1) have appeared in a joint published article, Mills, Lynn E., and Nicholas J. Moore. "One Baptism Once: The Origins of the Unrepeatable of Christian Baptism." *EC* 11, no. 2 (2020): 206–226. This article was researched and written during the timeframe of the PhD. Furthermore, only the current author's work is repeated here and with significant edits.

<sup>747</sup> Recent discussions concerning the "competition hypothesis" which challenge John's subordination to Jesus are outside the scope of this thesis. Cf. Fernando Bermejo-Rubio, "Why is John the Baptist Used as a Foil for Jesus?: Leaps of Faith and Oblique Anti-Judaism in Contemporary Scholarship," *JSHJ* 11, no. 2 (2013): 170–196; Marcus, *John the Baptist*, esp. 81–97; Federico Adinolfi, "Jesus and the Aims of John: Abandoning the Quest for the Underivable Jesus," in *From Jesus to Christian Origins: Second Annual Meeting of Bertinoro (1-4 October, 2015)*, ed. Adriana Destro, *JAOC* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 47–61; Baumgarten, "John and Jesus in Josephus: A Prelude to the Parting of the Ways", 41–63; Albert I. Baumgarten, "John the Baptist: The Absinthe of the Divine Feast?," *JSHJ* 19 (2021): 47–61; Fernando Bermejo-Rubio, "John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth, Two Rivals?: The Never Ending Story" (paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online 2021).

for the historical Jesus have reinvigorated scholarship on John the Baptist. Indeed, a search for the historical John has gained interest and momentum in recent years as demonstrated by a conference hosted by the University of Michigan and organized by the Enoch Seminar in collaboration with the *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* in January 2021 which was dedicated to the Baptist.<sup>748</sup> In this regard, John's historical context is central to this search and therefore the subject of this section.

Kazen, reviewed in the preceding section, argues that John's rite of immersion can be viewed, "in the light of an urge for purity and holiness in encountering the divine," and that we "must then think of purity and impurity ... as they were practised in everyday life."<sup>749</sup> He further argues that "it is not the eschatological setting as such that creates the need for a special general purification, but the divine encounter, the expected transition from the life of the ordinary, to the holy sphere of God."<sup>750</sup> This is the social and religious context for John's baptism.

#### 5.2.1.1 Jewish Ritual Immersions

Ritual purity is at the centre of Jewish life. The issues of maintaining purity apply to both the Temple and the home. Jacob Neusner states that the "sources of change and disruption that threaten the cleanness, hence the sanctification of the Temple are the same sources that threaten the norm of cleanness of the household. If the same uncleanness affects the Temple and the table, then the only difference is one of degree, not of kind."<sup>751</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, by the Second Temple era the rites

---

<sup>748</sup> The online conference gathered specialists in the study of John the Baptist including Joel Marcus, Joan Taylor, Edmondo Lupieri, James McGrath, Albert Baumgarten, Cecilia Wassén, and Eric Noffke among others. Their papers can be accessed at <http://enochseminar.org/online-2021>.

<sup>749</sup> Kazen, "John's Immersions," 5.

<sup>750</sup> Kazen, "John's Immersions," 6.

<sup>751</sup> Jacob Neusner, "The Integrity of the Rabbinic Law of Purity (Mishnah-Tractate Tohorot)," *RRJ* 9 (2006): 167–180, here 174.

of purification moved from a priestly Temple setting to a personal piety, a common purity.<sup>752</sup>

There are two primary ways that impurity is understood in the Hebrew Bible: ritual and moral.<sup>753</sup> The sources of ritual impurities are natural, unavoidable, impermanent, and not regarded as sinful; examples of this are childbirth and coming into contact with a corpse. Alternatively, moral impurity is sinful and is produced by committing acts which are prohibited and avoidable; examples are murder and sexual misconduct. Contrary to popular Christian conceptualization of Jewish ritual purity laws, these are not merely legalistic regulations meant to marginalize a large segment of the population with the taint of sinfulness. Amy Jill Levine addresses this misunderstanding when she states,

Purity practices are not a form of social marginalizing. To the contrary, they are a recognition of the boundaries between the sacred and the profane, then as now. Going to the Temple should not be the same thing as going to the market. Attending to the birth of a child or the burial of a corpse should not be followed immediately by a return to the world of business as usual, but should require taking the time to recognize the power of life and death. By engaging in distinctive practices concerning diet and immersion, Jews recognize the importance of the body.<sup>754</sup>

The Priestly (P) and Holiness (H) authors in the Pentateuch give detailed instructions on purity laws and the procedures for purification after becoming impure. These procedures involve four methods: ablutions, sacrifices, the passage of time, and disposal. David Wright states that “bathing for humans (complete washing of the body) and washing for objects is a basic element in all purification rites.”<sup>755</sup> There are other

---

<sup>752</sup> Cf. §3.1.1; Alon, “Bounds”, 190–234; Regev, “Pure Individualism,” 187; Miller, “Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels,” 242; Adler, “On the Origins of Tevilah.”

<sup>753</sup> Cf. §3.1.2.

<sup>754</sup> Amy-Jill Levine, *Short Stories by Jesus: The Enigmatic Parables of a Controversial Rabbi* (New York: HarperCollins, 2014), 128.

<sup>755</sup> David P. Wright, “Unclean and Clean,” in *ABD* 6 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 729–741, here 736.

forms of ablutions for general purification, such as washing of hands and feet by priests before performing their Temple service. If as Wright has assumed, most rites for purification from impurity were accomplished by bathing the entire body, then the Hebrew scriptures give little detail on immersion. However, by the Second Temple era, there is both archaeological and textual evidence for the widespread practice of immersion. E. P. Sanders notes the significance of the emergence of ritual purification by immersion:

Given the differences which we know existed within second temple Judaism, I am amazed that in the first century so many Jews in Palestine agreed (1) that there should be pools; (2) that they should be large enough to allow immersion [...] in all probability immersion before entering the temple was *enforced*: thus the pools near the entrance. This is an unexpected, almost a fantastic degree of uniformity, once one recognizes that immersion pools are not required by the Bible.<sup>756</sup>

Beyond the purity requirements to enter the Temple, immersion was practised by Jews in the Second Temple era as the default method of ritual purity. Yonatan Adler points to Sifra, Emor 4:7 as a Tannaitic and Amoraic rabbinical source for the preferred practice of full immersion in order to remove impurity:

“Unless he has washed his body in water” (Lev. 22:6). Perhaps he should wash one limb at a time? Scripture teaches: “When the sun sets he shall be clean” (Lev. 22:7). Just as the setting of the sun occurs all at once, so too in water—all at once.<sup>757</sup>

”כי אם רחץ בשרו במים” -- יכול יהא מרחיץ אבר אבר? תלמוד לומר ”ובא השמש וטהר”. מה ביאת שמשו-- כולו כאחת, אף במים-- כולו כאחת.<sup>758</sup>

As helpful as this text is for interpreting Leviticus, Adler notes that there is an inherent difficulty in citing rabbinic sources to support ritual immersion practice pre-70 CE, as

<sup>756</sup> Sanders, *Jewish Law*, 223–224. (emphasis original).

<sup>757</sup> Adler, “On the Origins of Tevilah.”

<sup>758</sup> Text after I. H. Weiss, *Sifra de-ve Rav hu sefer Torat kohanim* (Vienna: Schlossberg, 1862; repr., New York: Om, 1946), 96d;

[https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C\\_Emor%2C\\_Chapter\\_4.7?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en](https://www.sefaria.org/Sifra%2C_Emor%2C_Chapter_4.7?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en).

not only is dating these sources very difficult, but also determining the extent to which they influenced popular piety. In fact, some scholars argue that the rabbinic discourse is attempting to normalise popular practice.<sup>759</sup> Rather than relying on later rabbinic writings, Adler argues for the widespread practice of ritual immersion through archaeological evidence, specifically the geographic distribution patterns of stepped baths and stone vessels which are concentrated in Jewish settlements.<sup>760</sup>

Far from the Temple, *miqva'ot* are often discovered in rural agricultural areas next to oil or wine presses of the Second Temple era. “It is the strict observance of regulations related to the handling of fruits that calls for extreme purity: fruits that were picked and pressed to yield fluids (oil, wine) become susceptible to ritual impurity.”<sup>761</sup> Adler notes that as of 2017 there have been approximately 1,000 archaeological *miqva'ot* identified in the land of Israel.<sup>762</sup> Stuart Miller argues convincingly that the practice of ritual immersion was widespread “in 'Ereṣ Israel not only among the sages and different types of pietists but also among the masses.”<sup>763</sup> Miller further argues that all Jews, even those with a superficial awareness of biblical purity “would have

---

<sup>759</sup> cf. Wright, “Jewish Ritual Baths”, 190–214, here 192–193; Stuart S. Miller, “Stepped Pools and the Non-Existent Monolithic ‘Miqveh’,” in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the “Other” in Antiquity* (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007), 215–234; Miller, *Intersection of Texts and Material Finds*. Miller’s leitmotif is that the practice of ritual immersion was both widespread among the Jewish population of Palestine and that practice varied widely. However, he also argues that the stepped pools were not exclusively for ritual immersions and had other uses such as bathing and washing fruits and vessels. Cf. 45–55 and Miller, “Stepped Pools”, 215–234, esp. 218, 228–229 n. 20.

<sup>760</sup> Yonatan Adler, “Along Ethnic Lines: The Case for Stepped Pools and Chalk Vessels as Markers of Jewish Purity Observance,” in *Negotiating Identities: Conflict, Conversion, and Consolidation in Early Judaism and Christianity (200 BCE–600 CE)* ed. Karin Hedner Zetterholm, et al., ConBOT (Lanham, MD: Lexington/Fortress, Forthcoming). Adler also argues that the stepped pools found within the Augusteum compound and close to a pagan temple attest to the “the pervasiveness and tenacity of Torah observance within Jewish society at large at this time.” Yonatan Adler, “The Imperial Cult Meets Judaism: The Stepped Pools Adjacent to the Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste,” *JEMAHS* 9, no. 4 (2021): 395–414, here 395.

<sup>761</sup> Ronny Reich, “Miqva’ot,” in *EDSS I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 560–563, here 561.

<sup>762</sup> Adler, “On the Origins of Tevilah,” 5. Adler, Ronny Reich, Sanders, and Miller are maximalists who take all stepped pools to be *miqva'ot*, rather than the minimalists’ position which is that a stepped pool would have to be built according to rabbinic strictures to be a *miqveh*.

<sup>763</sup> Miller, “Stepped Pools”, 223. Cf. especially the progression of Miller’s argument on pp 224 ff.

understood the role water played in ritual sanctification.... Whether the efficacy of water was rooted in magic or in God mattered little, since the person undergoing a ritual immersion did so with a realization that something would be different as a consequence.”<sup>764</sup>

Several passages in the New Testament also attest to the widespread practice of purification by immersion. This reading emerges when the semantic range of βαπτίζεῖν is taken seriously.<sup>765</sup> The basic meaning of the verbs βαπτίζεῖν and βάπτειν is “to put into a yielding substance.” Schnabel glosses this in English as “to plunge, to dip, to immerse” and the extended meanings in greater context as:

when a person immerses himself in water, he “washes” himself; if she stays under water, she “drowns”; if a ship is immersed in the ocean, it “sinks”; when a woven cloth is immersed in water containing color pigments, it is “dyed”; when a knife is “plunged” into the flesh of an animal, it is “slaughtered”.<sup>766</sup>

Given this understanding that washing implies that the individual is immersed to do so, Adler reads *immerse* rather than *wash* in Mark 7:3–4 and Luke 11:38.<sup>767</sup> What is more, John 3:25 explicitly connects John’s baptism with ritual purification. While the reference and function of the dispute about purification (καθαρισμός) between John’s disciples and “a Jew” are opaque, this verse clearly demonstrates that John’s baptism was understood as relating to the wider domain of ritual purity.<sup>768</sup>

---

<sup>764</sup> Miller, “Stepped Pools”, 224.

<sup>765</sup> Schnabel, “βαπτίζεῖν,” 3–40, here 4, points out that the term “baptize” is a transliteration of the Greek βαπτίζεῖν, not a translation. Benjamin Snyder notes the transliteration is problematic when he states that, “the refusal to translate “baptism” renders the term an empty set, laden with non-semantic, theological freight, that is then reified as “baptism.” Snyder, “John’s Immersion,” 5.

<sup>766</sup> Schnabel, “βαπτίζεῖν,” 16.

<sup>767</sup> Adler, “On the Origins of Tevilah,” 4.

<sup>768</sup> On the nature of this dispute in its Johannine and wider context, particularly the relationship between ritual and ethical purity, see Niclas Förster, “Jesus der Täufer und die Reinwaschung der Jünger,” *NTS* 64, no. 4 (2018): 455–472.

From this brief and limited survey of archaeological and textual evidence it is evident that immersion was the purification method frequently employed by the priests and the people of Israel in the first century CE. Its purpose was to purify, and as one is continually exposed to natural and unavoidable impurities, purification is a recurring activity. Colin Brown argues that the Jordan is an unlikely place for ritual immersion and therefore John was not performing ritual immersion, but only a prophetic call to re-enter the land and the covenant.<sup>769</sup> However, this ignores the ritual cleansing of Naaman in the Jordan (2 Kings 5), the preference for living water (running water), and Josephus (*Ant.* 18.117). Indeed, Taylor argues that “by taking the form of immersion in the river Jordan ... John’s baptism would have been acceptable as a means of Jewish purificatory ritual for bodily uncleanness, even by later rabbinic standards.”<sup>770</sup> What distinguishes John’s baptism from the ritual immersion practiced by other Jews is that in some way John administered the baptism. The people were baptised by John, it was not a self-administered ritual cleansing. The texts do not give the details of John’s involvement. He may have been in the water with those being baptised and lowered them into the water, or poured the water over them, or he may have poured the water over them from the bank of the river.<sup>771</sup> Alternatively he may simply have prayed over the individual while they lowered themselves into the water. Whatever the method, it is an innovation

---

<sup>769</sup> Brown, “What Was John the Baptist Doing?,” 37–49, esp. 45.

<sup>770</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 56. Cf. Bruce D. Chilton, *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels*, International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 1–37. For a discussion on “living water” cf. Stuart S. Miller, “New Directions in the Study of Ritual Purity Practices: Implications of the Sepphoris Finds,” in *The Architecture, Stratigraphy, and Artifacts of the Western Summit of Sepphoris I*, ed. Eric M. Meyers, Carol L. Meyers, and Benjamin D. Gordon, Duke Sepphoris Excavation Reports III (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018), 445–475, esp. 449–452.

<sup>771</sup> Joan Taylor notes that while John is closely associated with water, he is almost always depicted as standing on a rock or the earth of the bank in early Christian art. She suggests that, “In such iconography, drawn from existing tropes of Graeco-Roman art, John could almost be read as a prophet of the Stoic God-as-Nature.” Joan E. Taylor, “Dimensions of John the Baptist in Early Christian Art” (paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online, 2021), 4–5 of handout.

of John's which sets this rite apart from the common rite of immersion. Thomas Kazen applies ritual theory to John's innovation and concludes that:

In contrast to frequent immersions in a *miqveh*, likely to trigger little excitement because of its frequency, everyday character, and relative lack of sensory pageantry ... John's ritual innovation apparently appealed to the crowds, which suggests, less frequency (perhaps a singular event), higher sensory pageantry (natural water in the wilderness), and at least in popular understanding, aspects of a Special Agent ritual, meaning that God was understood to be ritually connected not just to the water medium, but to the person of John, intervening or acting on those who immersed through his agency.<sup>772</sup>

The immersion in the Yahad's annual covenant renewal ceremony is also a high sensory event. The Community Rule gives little details of the event but is not the same as daily immersion. This ritual is only performed once a year and is a public event with specific liturgy spoken by the priests and the participants. As the leader (*maskil*) is a central figure in the Yahad it seems reasonable to assume he is directing, or at the very least, participating in this ceremony. Additionally, there is an encounter with the divine spirit who is the agent of moral cleansing.

#### 5.2.1.2 The Community at Qumran

John's baptism is often compared with the ritual immersions of the Yahad at Qumran.<sup>773</sup> The debate as to the precise relationship between the Baptist and Qumran is

---

<sup>772</sup> Kazen, "John's Immersions."

<sup>773</sup> (1) For those who argue for a direct connection, cf. William H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of the Ancient Scrolls," *Interpretation* 9, no. 1 (1955): 71–90; William H. Brownlee, *Whence the Gospel According to John*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, John and Qumran (London: Chapman, 1972), 166–194, esp. 174; Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 9–10; Otto Betz, "Was John the Baptist an Essene?," *BRev* 6, no. 6 (1990): 18–25; David Flusser and R. Steven Notley, *Jesus* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1997), 37–40; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*, SDSSRL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 19–21; James H. Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 3, The Scrolls and Christian Origins*. (Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 1–35, esp 17–35; Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 27–33, 45. (2) For those who argue for an indirect connection, cf. John A. T. Robinson, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community," *HTR* 50, no. 3 (1957): 175–192; Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (New York: Doubleday, 1958), 152 n. 9; Brown, *John 1*, 49; Daniel R. Schwartz, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*, WUNT 60 (Tübingen: Mohr

represented by three positions: (1) those who argue for a direct connection, i.e., John was a member if only in his youth; (2) those who argue for an indirect connection, i.e., John was aware of the Qumran sect and their theology; and (3) those who see no connection beyond the common milieu of the first century. Levine and Witherington who see no connection argue that Luke knew of no such connection because “were John to have been associated with Essenes and Essenes, in turn, with the Scrolls, then Luke missed a good opportunity to enhance John's reputation. The Essenes, at least according to Josephus, were to be admired for their communal funds, honesty, and simple living.”<sup>774</sup> This connection would have greatly enforced John's message as recorded by Luke (Luke 3:11–14).

Those scholars who argue against a direct connection between John and Qumran will often contrast the many washings of the Yahad with John's once only immersion. One such scholar is Everett Ferguson who argues that, “the one-time character of John's baptism derived not from proselyte baptism but his prophetic call announcing the messianic end times.”<sup>775</sup> This eschatological connection is all the more dubious given that the Qumran community, which practised frequent ritual immersion, and which

---

Siebeck, 1992), 3; Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 93–105. (3) For those who see no connection beyond the common milieu of the first century, cf. Joachim Gnilka, “Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannaufe,” *RevQ* 3, no. 2 (10) (1961): 185–207, esp. 205–206; Charles H. H. Scobie, *John the Baptist* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964), 206–208; Donato Baldi and Bellarmino Bagatti, *Saint Jean-Baptiste dans les souvenirs de sa patrie* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1980), 61; Morna D. Hooker, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St Mark*, BNTC (London: Black, 1991), 41–42; Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 351; Carl R. Kazmierski, *John the Baptist: Prophet and Evangelist* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996), 26–30; Taylor, *Immerser*, 15–48, 84–88; Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: on the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 221–227; Chilton, “John the Purifier,” 247–267; Schiffman and Potok, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 404; Corrado Martone, “La figura di Giovanni Battista alla luce della letteratura qumranica: alcune considerazioni,” in *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, ed. J. Harold Ellens, et al., DCLS 38 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 476–487, here 487; Levine and Witherington, *The Gospel of Luke*, 81–82; Lawrence H Schiffman, “John the Baptist and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Purity Perspectives” (paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online 2021).

<sup>774</sup> Levine and Witherington, *The Gospel of Luke*, 82.

<sup>775</sup> Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 86–87.

Ferguson discusses in the same section, also had a strong eschatological orientation. To account for this divergence in practice despite similarities in outlook, Ferguson states simply that “this feature [of the Qumran community’s beliefs] is not connected with its washings although the imagery of cleansing by water was used to describe the eschatological cleansing.”<sup>776</sup> Ferguson has missed one of the primary identifiers of the Qumran community. Ritual purification was a very important element in preparation for the appointed time of judgement and the eschaton at Qumran. As Harrington states, “purification is holistic, referring not simply to the removal of ritual impurity, but to a complete eradication of guilt and perversion so that a person can join the company of the holy angels and enjoy the blessings of the eschaton.”<sup>777</sup> Additionally, the assumption that John’s baptism was a once only event is not founded on any New Testament text but is read back through a much later tradition that Christian baptism is once only.<sup>778</sup>

One area in which the purity rites of the Yahad and John share a common thread is in conflating moral and ritual impurity.<sup>779</sup> Purification was not achieved by washing in water alone but must be accompanied by repentance. Repentance is required only for moral impurity as ritual impurity was a natural and unavoidable state as seen above. This is seen most clearly in the Community Rule, 1QS III, 4–9 where the candidate cannot be cleansed by waters of purification until he repents and submits to judgements of God, and instruction by the community. The Synoptic Gospels connect John’s immersion to his message of repentance (Mark 1:4–5; Matt 3:2–11; Luke 3:3–8).

---

<sup>776</sup> Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 87.

<sup>777</sup> Harrington, “Accessing Holiness”, 86. Cf. John Pryke, “John the Baptist and the Qumran Community,” *RevQ* 4, no. 4 (1964): 483–496, here 495; Derwood C. Smith, “Jewish Proselyte Baptism and the Baptism of John,” *RevQ* 25, no. 1 (1982): 13–32, esp. 31–32; Newton, *The Concept of Purity*, 48–49.

<sup>778</sup> Mills and Moore, “One Baptism Once.”

<sup>779</sup> Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 75; Klawans, “Moral and Ritual Purity”, 278–281.

Additionally, both the Yaḥad and John looked for a further and final cleansing by the Holy Spirit (1QS IV, 20–23; Mark 1:8; Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16; Acts 1:5; 11:16; John 1:33). While there appears to be a close parallel here, there are some important differences. Cleansing by the holy spirit is not confined to a distant eschatological moment for the Yaḥad but is also the critical factor in the community’s ritual purification as seen in 1QS III, 4–9 (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 29–30; §2.2.3). In the consensus view, the only individual who is anointed by or has an interaction with the divine Spirit in John’s baptism is Jesus. John restricts the activity of the Holy Spirit to the one coming after him. Joseph Baumgarten notes this difference and asks why would John “have rejected or postponed to the future the pneumatic aspect of purification which had already emerged so saliently at Qumran.”<sup>780</sup> The Gospel accounts are of course concerned with emphasizing the priority of Jesus over John; therefore only Jesus could baptise in the Holy Spirit. This view is challenged by Otto Böcher and Joel Marcus who argue that John baptised in both water and Spirit.<sup>781</sup> Although the Yaḥad is a close parallel to this view of John’s baptism and underscores the connection between forgiveness of sins and the divine Spirit, both practices are within the milieu of Palestinian Judaism and are influenced by Psalm 51 and the eschatological prophets of the Hebrew Bible. John’s baptism does not need to be dependent on the Yaḥad. The Hebrew prophets and Psalm 51 are sufficient background for John’s rite.

### 5.2.1.3 John’s Baptism of Repentance

The Gospel of Mark states that John proclaimed, “a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins” (Mark 1:4, cf. Luke 3:3) and that the people were baptised, confessing their sins (Mark 1:5, cf. Matt 3:6). Hartwig Thyen observes that:

<sup>780</sup> Baumgarten, “Law and Spirit”, 101.

<sup>781</sup> Böcher, “Wasser und Geist”, 197–209; Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 66–74.

Because of the tendency, shared by Mark with the entire Christian tradition, to make John the forerunner of Jesus and because of the story of the healing of the paralytic which reaches its high point in the question τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἶς ὁ θεός: . . . we must assume that the expression βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν was so fixed a designation for John's baptism that it could hardly be suppressed.<sup>782</sup>

This observation makes it difficult to challenge the textual accuracy and authenticity of Mark's statement. Some scholars are uncomfortable with the notion that John, or his baptism, could actually forgive sins, therefore they nuance what forgiveness of sins means. Marcus posits in his commentary on Mark 1–8 (2000) that while repentance and forgiveness of sins are interrelated, baptism, “might merely be intended to foreshadow a remission of sins that will take place at the eschaton,” and as “John thought of the eschatological condemnation of the wicked as a future event, . . . he probably thought of the forgiveness of the sins of the righteous as a future event also.”<sup>783</sup> However, the forgiveness of sins in the present time does not preclude final forgiveness in the eschaton as seen in 1QS III, 4–9; IV, 20–22.<sup>784</sup> The forgiveness of sins is not a once-for-all activity. Importantly, Marcus changes his mind on John's baptism imparting the forgiveness of sins in his later work (2018).<sup>785</sup> Not only does he now argue that it does, but that it is through the Holy Spirit in John's baptism which accomplishes the forgiveness of sins.

Most scholars agree that Matthew deliberately omits the phrase, “forgiveness of sins,” because for him, forgiveness can only be realised through Jesus.<sup>786</sup> However, Luz

---

<sup>782</sup> Hartwig Thyen, “βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν,” in *The Future of Our Religious Past: Essays in Honour of Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. Rudolf Bultmann and James M. Robinson (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 131–168, here 132 n. 4.

<sup>783</sup> Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 156.

<sup>784</sup> Cf. §2.3.

<sup>785</sup> Marcus, *John the Baptist*, 66–74.

<sup>786</sup> Cf. Walter Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*, SNTSMS 7 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 36; John P. Meier, *Matthew*, NTM 3 (Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1980), 24; Davies and Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew*,

Ulrich views the omission as merely a result of Matthew’s reformulation of John’s proclamation in v. 2 and further argues that forgiveness of sins is implied by confessing them.<sup>787</sup> This seems a lucid argument. One confesses their sins to have them forgiven; they are two connected actions. Isaiah promises that God will abundantly pardon the wicked who forsake their way and their unrighteous thoughts and return (שׁוּבוּ) to the Lord (Isa 55:7). The psalmist confesses their sin in full expectation of forgiveness, cleansing, and transformation (Ps 51, cf. §3.2.4). The Prayer of Manasseh explicitly links repentance and forgiveness: “You, O Lord, according to your gentle grace, promised forgiveness to those who repent of their sins, and in your manifold mercies appointed repentance for sinners as the (way to) salvation” (Pr Man 7b)<sup>788</sup> Repentance, cleansing and forgiveness are linked in the Psalm of Solomon: “He will cleanse from sin the person who both confesses and publically acknowledges it.... And whose sins will he forgive, except those who have sinned?... Because your kindness is upon those that sin, when they repent.”<sup>789</sup> As seen in Chapter 3, cleansing from sin is present in a number of passages in the Hebrew scriptures and increasingly so in Second Temple literature. Rather than seeking a solution to a perceived problem of John or his baptismal rite, namely, forgiving sins, it is helpful to see a distinction between the human action in the rite of baptism (confession of sins) and the divine action in response to it (forgiveness of sins). Baptism itself does not forgive sins; it is a symbolic action of cleansing which seeks the forgiveness of sin from the Divine.<sup>790</sup> This

---

1–7, 301; Baumgarten, “Baptism of John”, 400; Matthias Konradt, *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Commentary*, trans. M. Eugene Boring (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020), 47–48.

<sup>787</sup> Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20: A Commentary*, trans. James E. Crouch, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001), 136.

<sup>788</sup> English translation by James H. Charlesworth, “Prayer of Manasseh,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985), 625–637, here 634.

<sup>789</sup> English translations by Wright, *Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, 131. Cf. §3.4.9.

<sup>790</sup> Cf. Carl H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1951), 120–122; Scobie, *John the Baptist*, 110.

understanding of the divine activity is present in Psalm 51 and Ezekiel 36, and is explicit in 1QS III, 4–9 (cf. Chapter 3). Rarely is the individual cleansing themselves from sin. Indeed, the progression of thought in the texts of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel demonstrate that humanity is incapable of cleansing themselves and walking in the straight paths of God. God must cleanse and transform humanity (cf. §3.2).

Conversely, Josephus specifically refutes this claim of repentance and moral cleansing, emphasizing that John's baptism was a purification of the body, and that the soul was purified beforehand by righteousness as an unconnected act (*Ant.* 18.117). However, the pairing of cleansing and changing ethical and moral behaviour is seen in Isaiah:

Wash yourselves; make yourselves clean; remove the evil of your doings from before my eyes; cease to do evil, learn to do good; seek justice, rescue the oppressed, defend the orphan, plead for the widow. (Isa 1:16–17)

The cleansing is performed by the individual and appears to be the first step of the process. That is, the changing of behaviour comes after the cleansing. This sequence, but with the Divine doing the cleansing, is seen in Psalm 51 and 1QS III, namely: (1) repentance; (2) cleansing from sin; and (3) transformation. It is partially seen in Ezek 36:25–27 where repentance is not mentioned. However, the removal of a heart of stone may indicate that repentance was only possible after this spiritual surgery. If this is the case, then the sequence is: (1) cleansing (“I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses”); (2) transformation (“I will remove from your body the heart of stone”); (3) repentance (“and give you a heart of flesh”); and (4) further transformation (“I will put my spirit within you, and make you follow my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances”). The sequence in Luke's Gospel is closer to Josephus in that a change of ethical behaviour precedes the cleansing. Luke

chastises the crowds who came to be baptised telling them that they can't avoid the judgment through baptism but must "bear fruits worthy of repentance" (Luke 3:8). This would seem to indicate that true repentance must be proved through ethical behaviour before one could be cleansed. Although the sequence is varied, there are at minimum two to four critical elements in common among the texts which refer to moral and ritual purification, namely: repentance, cleansing, forgiveness of sins, and transformation. It is noteworthy that confession during the rituals for purification, and most likely while the individual is in the water, is present in 4Q512 (cf §3.3.4). Even Josephus, who is at pains to separate any notion of moral purification from John's baptism, effectively pairs the two simply by protesting too much.

The weight of evidence demonstrates that John's baptism was not an initiation rite. It was a rite of purification. He was not founding a new sect or group.<sup>791</sup> John was preaching a message of repentance within the framework of Judaism. It was not conversion to something new, but a return to righteous living as taught by the Torah. John takes the images of cleansing and repentance from the Hebrew Bible and interprets them in the dominant practice of immersion for ritual cleansing in the first century CE.<sup>792</sup> T. W. Manson argues that John's promise of a baptism of Spirit and fire (Luke 3:11; Matt 3:16) is also a baptism of purification. He refers to the purification of vessels in the Temple cult by both water and fire. He further states that, "it seems to me not impossible that the cleansing work of water and fire has been transferred to the Holy Spirit; and that the reception of the Holy Spirit may have been thought of as the perfect cleansing of the human soul."<sup>793</sup>

---

<sup>791</sup> Pace Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 201–202.

<sup>792</sup> Cf. Ps 51:2; Ezek 36:25–27; Jer 4:14; Jer 33:8; Isa 1:16–17.

<sup>793</sup> Manson, "Lord's Prayer," 106.

John's prophetic message echoes those of the Hebrew prophets. It is a call to "do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8). John gives specific instructions to care for the poor, not to steal from them or exploit them through protection schemes in Luke 3:11–14. Josephus readily records this aspect of John's message: "[he] commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God" (*Ant.* 18.117a). In keeping with Josephus' avoidance of any mention of things eschatological, he does not record the eschatological content of John's preaching, nor the call to repentance with the remission of sins.<sup>794</sup> However, the call to righteous behaviour is intricately tied to John's call to repentance. True repentance results in changed behaviour. The reason John preaches this message is to "prepare the way of the Lord." If Jesus is the one coming after, as the writers of the Gospels are at pains to emphasize, then John expected this to happen in his lifetime and worked to bring his fellow Jews back into right relationship with God to prepare for this coming judgement. Israel was called to repentance by her prophets repeatedly and the formal rites were enacted every year at Yom Kippur. John has taken up the mantle of Israel's prophets calling his people to return to their Lord. This is a call not for conversion, but rather for a return to the covenant.

#### 5.2.1.4 Prophetic Symbolic Act

John, the prophet, calls the people of Israel, his fellow Jews, to a renewal of the covenant and to return to their God, as mentioned above. In the tradition of the Hebrew

---

<sup>794</sup> Josephus is reluctant to explain the exact meaning of the vision of the stone in Daniel 2:34 (*Ant.* 10.207) because it could be interpreted as foretelling the fall of Rome. Most scholars see this as evidence of his caution against offending his Roman patrons. Cf. Arnaldo Momigliano, "What Flavius Josephus Did Not See," in *Essays on Ancient and Modern Judaism*, ed. Silvia Berti (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 71–75.

scripture prophets, his physical actions were a medium for his message.<sup>795</sup> In contrast to the somewhat opaque actions of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Hosea, John's choice to conduct his baptism in the river Jordan, possibly close to where Joshua led Israel into the land, was more obviously connected to his message. Being immersed in the Jordan, particularly on the east bank (John 1:28; 3:26; 10:40), the baptised would cross (back) across the Jordan and re-enter the promised land, having repented and renewed their covenant with God.<sup>796</sup> Robert Webb describes this scenario, acknowledging that it is plausible that John conceived of his baptism in this highly symbolic way, but that it was not possible to confirm, and admitting that it is possible that John baptised elsewhere than the Jordan.<sup>797</sup> However, the textual evidence supports that John baptised mainly in the Jordan. All four Gospels place John at the Jordan (Matt 3:5; Mark 1:5; Luke 3:3; John 1:28; 3:26; 10:40). Only John 3:26 places him at Aenon near Salim for a time. The exact location of this is unknown. The Madaba map shows two Aenons, one east of the Jordan, and one on the west bank which is identified as the Aenon near Salim.<sup>798</sup> Evans notes that the most likely place of John's baptism in the Jordan, near Jericho, would have been near where Israel crossed over into the land of Canaan and where Joshua set up the monument of twelve stones to mark the occasion. He then posits that John's statement that, "God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham" (Matt

---

<sup>795</sup> Cf. Isa 20; Jer 13:1–11; Ezek 4–5; Hos 1:1–9.

<sup>796</sup> For discussion on the locations of John's baptism cf. Bo Reicke, "The Historical Setting of John's Baptism," in *Jesus, the Gospels, and the Church: Essays in Honor of William R. Farmer*, ed. E. P. Sanders (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987), 209–224; Craig A. Evans, "The Baptism of John in Typological Context," in *Dimensions of Baptism: Biblical and Theological Studies*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross, JSNTSup 234 (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 45–71, here 50–52, argues for a geographical connection to the twelve stones set up by Joshua. Cf. Taylor, "John the Baptist on the Jordan River," 365–383.

<sup>797</sup> Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*, 364–65.

<sup>798</sup> Taylor, *Immerser*, 47. Cf. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypotheses," *NTS* 36, no. 3 (1990): 359–374, esp. 363–366. Murphy-O'Connor argues for the location of Aenon in Samaria as part of an overall argument for Jesus and John working together but in different locations in a baptismal ministry.

3:9; Luke 3:8), refers to these stones.<sup>799</sup> Taylor investigates this notion and concludes that the twelve stones were most likely megalithic standing stones placed in a circle as seen in southern Syria, north-eastern Israel, the Golan, and Jordan.<sup>800</sup> The circular shape would account for the name Gilgal.<sup>801</sup> While there is some uncertainty as to the exact location of Gilgal, it is in the area of Jericho in the Jordan Valley. As Taylor notes, it could not have been on the banks of the Jordan as the area is marshy and muddy with no stones of any significant size. Given this, John could not have been referring to any stones along the banks of the river. The place of Gilgal, commemorating the crossing of the Israelites into the promised land, would exactly fit John's reference to stones and the sons of Abraham. These factors point to John intentionally choosing this site to enact prophecy and herald in the end times.<sup>802</sup> Murphy-O'Connor states that, "John's choice of location was a deliberate prophetic gesture," and notes that, "John appeared exactly where Elijah had disappeared (2 Kings 2:4–11)."<sup>803</sup> Hartmut Stegeman also argues for the east bank of the Jordan stating that, "in a kind of symbolic, prophetic manipulation of signs, John was thereby placing the people of Israel at the transition to the future time of salvation."<sup>804</sup>

There is a noteworthy parallel in the covenant renewal ceremony at Qumran. The text uses phrases such as "cross over into the covenant (ובעוברם בברית)" (1QS I, 18) to describe the action of entering the community in a ceremony which involves ritual immersion. Newsom notes that although, "entering the covenant is a definitive act, it is one that is never completed once and for all. Through the yearly ritual the sectarian

---

<sup>799</sup> Evans, "The Baptism of John", 51.

<sup>800</sup> Taylor, "John the Baptist on the Jordan River," 372–373.

<sup>801</sup> BDB: 1537 II. גִּלְגָּל n.pr.loc. (= (sacred) circle of stones) — 1. place E. of Jericho, where Isr. lay encamped.

<sup>802</sup> Pace Snyder, *John's βάπτισμα μετανοίας*.

<sup>803</sup> Murphy-O'Connor, "John the Baptist and Jesus," 360, cf. n. 7.

<sup>804</sup> Stegeman, *The Library of Qumran*, 214. Cf. Brown, "What Was John the Baptist Doing?," 37–49.

repeatedly re-enacts the movement of ‘crossing over’ and ‘entering in’ that constitutes his identity.”<sup>805</sup> Keeping in mind the commandment to remember the exodus out of Egypt in an annual re-enactment of the Passover meal (Ex 12:14; Lev 9:1–5; Deut 6:1), it is not surprising that these rites would be repeatable.<sup>806</sup> John’s ministry certainly had prophetic-symbolic aspects, and the Qumran parallel suggests that his immersive rite would have been iterable at least annually if not more frequently.

John’s audience would have heard his proclamation of a coming baptism in the Spirit as a fulfilment of prophecies such as Ezek 36:25–27 and Joel 2:28–29. It also echoes the plea of the psalmist in Psalm 51. As demonstrated (§§3.3; 3.4), Psalm 51 is a very influential psalm in the late Second Temple era. The elements of cleansing and the Spirit of God are woven into many compositions of this period. John is drawing on a rich tradition which his audience would understand. The reference to purifying by Spirit and fire (Matt 3:11; Luke 3:16) echoes Isa 4:4, “once the Lord has washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion and cleansed the bloodstains of Jerusalem from its midst by a spirit of judgment and by a spirit of burning.” The image of purification or refining by fire is frequent in the Hebrew scriptures, either using צרף (Ps 12:6; 66:10–12; Isa 1:25; 48:9; Jer 6: 27–30; 9:7; Zech 13:9; Mal 3:2–3; Dan 11:35; 12:10; Prov 17:3) or תהר (Mal 3:3; Dan 11:35; 12:10). Fire and water are paired together in terms of testing or trials:

For you, O God, have tested us; you have tried us as silver is tried.... we went through fire and through water; yet you have brought us out to a spacious place.  
(Ps 66:10, 12)

---

<sup>805</sup> Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 118.

<sup>806</sup> However, the annual covenant renewal ceremony of the Yahad was held during *Shavu'ot*. Cf. §2.3.

When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm you; when you walk through fire you shall not be burned, and the flame shall not consume you. (Isa 43:2)

It is also seen in the New Testament (1 Pet 1:6–7). These passages share a sense of transformation, or re-orientation. Israel is tested by trials and comes out the other side to a place of abundance. John brings together the motifs of water and spirit as metaphors of cleansing, purification, and transformation. He cleanses with water, which produces transformation through repentance and forgiveness of sins. Another (the Gospels tell us that this is Jesus) will cleanse with the Holy Spirit, which also produces transformation.

Notions of purity, moral cleansing and transformation are explored in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the following sections (§§5.2.2–5.2.6). The Holy Spirit in the ministry of Jesus as agent of cleansing and transformation is highlighted and examined closely.

### 5.2.2 Water in the Gospel of Mark

As noted above, there are multiple words in the New Testament which are used to convey washing and purification. The writers move fluidly between these terms often in the same pericope. A good example of this is in the controversy story where the Pharisees challenge Jesus about his disciples not washing their hands before eating. In Mark's parenthetical remark, the Pharisees wash (νίψωνται) their hands before eating, immerse (βαπτίσωνται) themselves when they come home from the market, and immerse (βαπτισμοῦς) the cups, pots, and kettles (Mark 7:3–4).<sup>807</sup> To immerse here is

---

<sup>807</sup> Some translations read the immersion of objects or food brought from the market (NRSV), rather than the immersion of the Pharisees themselves (RSV, NIV). However, most commentaries understand the verb in the middle sense rather than active and do not supply a direct object. Cf.: C. S. Mann, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 27 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986), 310; Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 439, 442; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 218, 221; Collins, *Mark*, 339, 348, cf. n. 65; Darrell L. Bock, *Mark*, NCBC (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 219.

to cleanse in the sense of ritual purification. This particular pericope has been erroneously read as Jesus rejecting the laws of ritual purity in favour of moral purity when he states that “there is nothing outside a person that by going in can defile, but the things that come out are what defile” (Mark 7:15). Yair Furstenberg helps clarify the logion by positing two systems of impurity.<sup>808</sup> The first phrase referring to what goes into the body is governed by Pharisaic purity laws, while the second phrase regarding what comes out of the body is governed by Levitical purity laws. Furstenberg states that “no biblical source actually suggests that contamination can spread through ingestion.”<sup>809</sup> He argues that it is only in later rabbinic purity laws that things which are consumed can defile a person.<sup>810</sup> The rabbinic law is a codification of popular widespread purity amongst Jews of the late Second Temple era, exemplified by a Pharisaic practice of handwashing and eating common food in purity. This is also seen at Qumran where the members of the Yaḥad immerse themselves before meals (cf. §§3.1.1, 3.3.1). Additionally, Josephus attests to the practice of immersing before meals among the Essenes —whom the Yaḥad may or may not be identified with— (*J.W.* 2.129–130). Furstenberg further argues that the practice of handwashing is not a development from biblical purity; rather it derives from the Greco-Roman custom of handwashing.<sup>811</sup> In Leviticus, only things which come out of the body such as seminal discharges, blood, and saliva can defile a person. Rather than abrogating the purity

---

Cf. Neusner, “The Fellowship,” 125–142 for a discussion of washing before fellowship meals. Note also the Yaḥad custom of immersing before meals (cf. §§3.1.1, 3.3.1). In support of washing objects cf. Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, WBC 34A (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989), 360, 365.

<sup>808</sup> Yair Furstenberg, “Defilement Penetrating the Body: A New Understanding of Contamination in Mark 7.15,” *NTS* 54, no. 2 (2008): 176–200. Cf. Daniel Boyarin, *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ* (New York: The New Press, 2012), 106–128; John VanMaaren, “Does Mark’s Jesus Abrogate Torah? Jesus’ Purity Logion and its Illustration in Mark 7:15–23,” *JJMJS* 4 (2017): 21–41. Contra Thomas Kazen, “A Perhaps Less Halakic Jesus and Purity: On Prophetic Criticism, Halakic Innovation, and Rabbinic Anachronism,” *JSHJ* 14, no. 2 (2016): 120–136.

<sup>809</sup> Furstenberg, “Defilement,” 195.

<sup>810</sup> Eating ordinary food in a state of purity was also a practice among Jews of the Diaspora and the Yaḥad.

<sup>811</sup> Furstenberg, “Defilement,” 119–120.

laws, Jesus is in fact supporting the Levitical law and challenging the newer innovative practice of the Pharisees. Similarly, contrary to appearances and most of scholarship, Mark's statement that "thus he declared all foods clean (καθαρίζων)" (Mark 7:19c) is not annulling kosher laws.<sup>812</sup> Daniel Boyarin makes a compelling argument that Mark's statement is referring to kosher foods, not all food.<sup>813</sup> Boyarin distinguishes between kosher dietary laws and purity laws. He states that "the system of purity and impurity laws and the system of dietary laws are two different systems within the Torah's rules for eating, and Mark and Jesus knew the difference."<sup>814</sup> Indeed for the Pharisees, kosher foods could become impure by coming into contact with an impure person or substance. This is why the Pharisees washed their hands before eating, particularly after coming back from the market. This practice prevented any accidental contamination of kosher foods. This is the innovation that Jesus is challenging in this pericope; he is refuting the notion that kosher foods could become contaminated by unwashed hands. John VanMaaren adds that it is not conceivable that the disciples were eating non-kosher foods, therefore Mark 7:19c must refer to kosher foods.<sup>815</sup>

In Jesus' private teaching with his disciples, he restates that it is not what goes into the person which defiles as it does not enter the heart, but the stomach. Mark's parenthetical comment of Jesus declaring all foods clean (καθαρίζων) interrupts the flow of Jesus teaching.<sup>816</sup> Without it, the connection to the heart and what comes out of it is clearer and stronger. "For it is from within, from the human heart, that evil

---

<sup>812</sup> Pace Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26*, 378–379; Marcus, *Mark 1–8*, 457–458; Donahue and Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark*, 229; Collins, *Mark*, 356.

<sup>813</sup> Boyarin, *Jewish Gospels*, 112–121. Cf. James G. Crossley, *Date of Mark's Gospel: Insight from the Law in Earliest Christianity*, JSNTSup 266 (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 191–193; Wahlen, *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits*, 78; VanMaaren, "Does Mark's Jesus Abrogate Torah?," 21–41.

<sup>814</sup> Boyarin, *Jewish Gospels*, 113.

<sup>815</sup> VanMaaren, "Does Mark's Jesus Abrogate Torah?," 38.

<sup>816</sup> As this occurrence of καθαρίζων is in the context of Jesus teaching on moral impurities, it is included in the category of moral cleansing.

intentions come: fornication, theft, murder, adultery, avarice, wickedness, deceit, licentiousness, envy, slander, pride, folly. All these evil things come from within, and they defile a person” (Mark 7:21–23). The inclusion of moral impurity is not an innovation of Jesus. In fact, Jesus’ list closely resembles the list of transgressions in Lev 19:11–18.

<b>Mark 7:21–22</b>	<b>Leviticus 19</b>
Fornication	20, 29
Theft	11, 13
Adultery	20
Avarice	9–10, 35–36
Wickedness	9–17, 20, 29, 31, 33, 35
Deceit	11–13, 35–36
Licentiousness	20, 29
Slander	16

The connection of moral and ritual purity is also attested in the Psalms,<sup>817</sup> the Prophets,<sup>818</sup> and the Scrolls, especially in the Community Rule (1QS III, 3–11).<sup>819</sup> John the Baptist also requires moral purification before ritual purification (Matt 3:7–8; Luke 3:7–14). The Markan Jesus challenges the scribes and Pharisees for focusing on their innovation of the purity laws at the expense of the moral holiness code as seen in Lev 19. Reading this pericope through the lens of competing views of Jewish law, rather than abrogating Jewish law, makes sense of the otherwise internal inconsistency of Jesus castigating the Pharisees for innovation and then doing the same himself.

<sup>817</sup> Ps 51; 18:12; 19:12; 24:4; 73:17.

<sup>818</sup> Isa 1:16–17; 4:4; Jer 4:14; 33:8; Ezek 24:13; 36:25–27.

<sup>819</sup> Cf. §§3.3; 3.4.2.

Joan Taylor and Federico Adinolfi argue that Mark's Jesus is very concerned with purity and fulfils the Baptist's prophecy by immersing/cleansing in the Holy Spirit. In effect the "Spirit acts like water, as it cleanses the leper (1:40–45) or douses the flames of Simon's mother-in-law, for she is burning (πυρέσσουσα) (1:30)... Only the Holy Spirit could take into the community of the pure and holy those who were afflicted by disabilities, diseases, and demons."<sup>820</sup> There are three miracles where Jesus comes in contact with ritual impurity: the leper 1:41; the haemorrhaging woman 5:27–29, and the corpse of Jairus's daughter 5:41. In each case Jesus heals and cleanses through the Holy Spirit. Jesus seems to have some sort of immunity to the impurity he comes in contact with. Instead of the impurity flowing from the afflicted to Jesus, cleansing by the Holy Spirit flows from Jesus to the individual.<sup>821</sup> As argued previously (§§4.2.1; 4.3.4.1), the baptism in the Holy Spirit did not wait until the day of Pentecost (Acts 2), or even at his ascension (John 20:22). As Morna Hooker states,

Behind all our traditions we can discern the powerful symbolism of a baptism with water that was intended to be a dramatic representation of a baptism with the Holy Spirit, bringing forgiveness of sins, renewal, and judgement. If we want to see how this baptism with the Holy Spirit was effected, we need look no further than to the ministry of Jesus himself.<sup>822</sup>

Indeed, the entire ministry of Jesus can be viewed as a baptism in the Holy Spirit. Jesus immerses those who are sick and possessed by unclean spirits in the Holy Spirit. The Spirit cleanses them of their illness, both moral and physical. The infilling of the Holy Spirit forces out the unclean spirits. The Spirit cleanses and transforms them. Seen in

---

<sup>820</sup> Taylor and Adinolfi, "John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist," 277.

<sup>821</sup> Taylor and Adinolfi, "John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist," 272–273.

<sup>822</sup> Hooker, "John's Baptism", 40.

this light, the occurrences of cleansing by the Spirit are dramatically increased in the Gospel of Mark.<sup>823</sup>

There is one additional passage to look at which is not included in the analysis. This is because it is a difficult text which seems nonsensical. As it stands and is translated it does not seem to have anything to do with cleansing: “For everyone will be salted (ἀλισθήσεται) with fire (πυρὶ)” (Mark 9:49). How is one salted with fire? T. J. Baarda presupposes an Aramaic oral tradition behind the Greek text and an equivalency of the Greek ἀλίζειν and the Aramaic ܠܒܬ. He then suggests that there may have been a mishearing of the Aramaic:

I think of a confusion of derivative forms of the root *tbl* and of the root *ʔbl*. Might not an original *miʔbel* ‘baptised’ have been misheard as *mittabbal* or *m<sup>e</sup>tabbal* ‘seasoned, salted’ —or perhaps *yʔbel* as *yittabbal*— so that the translator targumized the Aramaic word with ἀλισθήσεται, where he had to translate βαπτισθήσεται? The wording πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ βαπτισθήσεται is far from senseless. We find parallels in Matt. iii. 11 and Luke iii. 16.<sup>824</sup>

Baarda’s reading is an attractive solution, especially with the connection to baptism of fire in Matthew and Luke. Additionally, purification by fire recalls Mal 3:2–3 where the refiner’s fire purifies the descendants of Levi. This reading also makes sense of the γάρ in Mark 9:49 and connects it to the previous verses. However, it does not help with the resulting abrupt introduction of salt in v. 50.

A close reading of Mark reveals that cleansing in this gospel is far more nuanced than it first appears. The dual cleansing by water and Spirit is found beyond the boundaries of John’s baptism and extends to the ministry of Jesus in the casting out of unclean spirits, healings and raising people from the dead. There is even the

---

<sup>823</sup> There are eighteen stories of healing and/or casting out of unclean spirits. Adding these to the count of occurrences of cleansing by the Spirit in Mark, would significantly adjust the analysis. However, it would skew the data as that principle would by necessity have to be applied across all the gospels.

<sup>824</sup> T. J. Baarda, “Mark IX. 49,” *NTS* 5, no. 4 (1959): 318–321, here 319.

possibility of a reference to baptism by fire, connecting to the Matthean and Lukan triple baptism by water, Spirit, and fire.

### 5.2.3 Water in the Gospel of Matthew

In Matthew's gospel there is a cluster of occurrences of the verb καθαρίζω<sup>825</sup> in relation to cleansing lepers, and βαπτίζω<sup>826</sup> in relation to baptism as found in the Gospel of Mark and discussed above. There are a few occurrences in Matthew (and Luke) in the context of baptism which do not occur in Mark and are worth noting. John the Baptist prophecies that the more powerful one will baptise with the Holy Spirit and fire. This connects with Matthew's surrounding material which warns of a fiery judgement for those who do not bear fruit worthy of repentance (Matt 3:10, 12). Baptism in fire should be read as the final eschatological judgement. Certainly Matthew appears to like this particular image of separation of good and evil with the evil being thrown into the fire as he returns to it a number of times: trees that do not bear good fruit (Matt 7:19), weeds (Matt 13:40), causes of sin and evildoers (Matt 13:41–42), and the evil [people] (Matt 13:49–50; 25:41) are thrown into the fire.<sup>827</sup> However, fire in connection with baptism and the Holy Spirit may also refer to purification. Matthew uses another cleansing verb, διακαθαρίζω —to cleanse thoroughly, in the next verse: “His winnowing fork is in his hand, and he will clear (διακαθαρίει) his threshing floor and will gather his wheat into the granary; but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire” (Matt 3:12). While purifying here may refer to a purging of evil persons, it may also refer to purifying evil from within the individual as seen in Mal 3:3, “he will sit as a refiner (מְצַרֵּף) and purifier (וּמְטַהֵר) of silver, and he will purify (וְטָהַר) the descendants

---

<sup>825</sup> Matt 8:2–3; 10:8; 11:15.

<sup>826</sup> Matt 3:6–16, 21:25; 28:19.

<sup>827</sup> Cf. Matt 18:8–9 (common to all three synoptic gospels).

of Levi and refine (זקק) them like gold and silver, until they present offerings to the LORD in righteousness. This is also seen in the Community Rule:

Then God will purify (ברר) by his truth all the works of man and purge (זקק) for himself the sons of man. He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from the veins of his flesh. He will purify (טהר) him by the Holy Spirit from all ungodly acts and sprinkle upon him the Spirit of Truth like waters of purification, (to purify him) from all the abominations of falsehood and from being polluted by a spirit of impurity (1QS IV, 20–22).

Whichever interpretation is in view, it is clear that John is referring to moral cleansing by Jesus through the means of the Holy Spirit. Thus, baptism in Matthew is both ritual and moral, requires repentance beforehand, and is effected by water, the Spirit, and fire. Matthew's interest in preparation for the coming judgment connects John's message of repentance to Jesus at the beginning of his ministry when Matthew has Jesus repeat word for word the Baptist's proclamation: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven has come near" (Matt 3:2, 4:17).<sup>828</sup>

In addition to the controversy story involving handwashing (Mark 7:1–23; Matt 15:1–20), there is another passage which deals with inner and outer purity in Matthew: "Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because you clean (καθαρίζετε) the outside of the cup and the plate, but inside they are full of extortion and intemperance. Blind Pharisee, first clean (καθάρισον) the inside of the cup in order that its outside may also come to be clean" (Matt. 23:25-26).<sup>829</sup> Neusner notes that there is a *halakhic* dispute regarding the purity of different parts of a cup between the houses of Shammai and Hillel behind this metaphor of Jesus.<sup>830</sup> The Hillelites held that the inside of the cup

---

<sup>828</sup> While Mark's Jesus says similar words as he begins his ministry, "The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God has come near; repent, and believe in the good news" (Mark 1:15), the Markan John does not utter any such warning.

<sup>829</sup> This logion is also present in Luke in a narrative setting (Luke 11:38–41) and will be discussed below.

<sup>830</sup> Jacob Neusner, "First Cleanse the Inside: The 'Halakhic' Background of a Controversy-saying," *NTS* 22, no. 4 (1976): 486–495.

could not be contaminated by the outside of the cup, neither could it be purified by cleansing the outside of the cup. However, the outside of the cup could become unclean from the impurity of the inside of the cup. The direction of impurity only went from inside to the outside. In contrast, the Shammaites hold that the inner and outer parts of the cup have no effect on the other; there was no flow of impurity in either direction. Jesus challenges the Shammaite position and declares that the inside will contaminate the outside, therefore it must be cleansed first. He uses this debate to make a moral point. Cleansing the outside of a person will do no good unless the inside is cleansed of greed and self-indulgence. As discussed (cf. §§2.2.3; 3.3.1), this was central to the Yaḥad who also required repentance before ritual immersion.

There is one other occurrence of moral cleansing of interest in Matthew. Famously, Pilate washes (ἀπονίπτω) his hands of any wrongdoing in the death of Jesus and declares, “I am innocent of this man’s blood” (Matt 27:24). Ulrich Luz suggests that Deut 21:1–9 is the Jewish ritual behind this purifying rite of Pilate.<sup>831</sup> Donald Hagner sees it possible that the ritual could have both a Hellenistic and Jewish background and advocates for its historical accuracy.<sup>832</sup> However, the washing of Pilate’s hands is only present in Matthew and is likely a narrative device connecting Pilate with Judas who claims that he has “sinned by betraying innocent blood” (Matt 24:4).<sup>833</sup>

There is a higher occurrence of moral cleansing in comparison with all body cleansing in Matthew than Mark as demonstrated in the analysis (cf. §5.0.1). This is

---

<sup>831</sup> Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21–28: A Commentary*, trans. James E. Crouch, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 500.

<sup>832</sup> Donald Alfred Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, WBC 33B (Dallas: Word, 1995), 826–827.

<sup>833</sup> Hagner, *Matthew 14–28*, 826 notes that Pilate washing his hands is also found in the Gospel of Peter 1, but that it is probably dependant on Matthew.

accounted for by the absence of Jesus using baptism as a metaphor of his death as seen in Mark (10:38–39),<sup>834</sup> and for the additional material on contrasting inner and outer purity in Matthew (23:25–26). Matthew’s focus on preparing for the judgment at the eschaton results in an emphasis on moral cleansing and may point to the fulfilment of the prophecy of baptism in the Holy Spirit and fire beyond the horizon of the gospel to the eschaton. Matthew is also very concerned with the separation of good and evil, identifying the good with those who have been purified. Purification identifies those who will enter the kingdom of heaven.

#### 5.2.4 Water in the Gospel of Luke

The majority of pericopae in which there are occurrences of moral cleansing present in Luke have been dealt with in the above sections on Mark and Matthew. Luke has additional material in Luke 7:24–35 where Jesus is talking to the crowd about John the Baptist and his baptism, and another story of cleansing the ten lepers (Luke 17:11–19). However, they add nothing new to this discussion focused on water.

There is one passage where reading “cleanse” makes sense of an otherwise incomprehensible sentence. Where Matthew has, “first clean the inside of the cup, so that the outside also may become clean” (Matt 23:26), Luke has, “so give for alms those things that are within; and see, everything will be clean for you” (Luke 11:41).

Introducing the notion of giving alms in a discussion of cleansing is at best disjointed and at worst nonsense. Wellhausen suggests that there is a misreading of the Aramaic כִּבֵּן (cleanses) for זָכוּ (give alms). As he notes, the verbs are graphically similar.<sup>835</sup> It

---

<sup>834</sup> The four occurrences of the verb βαπτίζω in the context of a metaphor for death in Mark are the only occurrences of the verb which are not concerned with moral cleansing.

<sup>835</sup> Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (Berlin: Reimer, 1905), 36–37. Cf. Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and the Acts*, 3rd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 2. Contra Gustaf Dalman, *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-biblical*

would be very easy to misread a *dalet* for a *zayin*. If the verb is כָּבַד, then the sentence makes sense internally and within its wider context:

While he was speaking, a Pharisee invited him to dine with him; so he went in and took his place at the table. The Pharisee was amazed to see that he did not first wash (ἐβαπτίσθη) before dinner. Then the Lord said to him, “Now you Pharisees clean (καθαρίζετε) the outside of the cup and of the dish, but inside you are full of greed and wickedness. You fools! Did not the one who made the outside make the inside also? So *cleans* (καθάρισατε) *those things that are within*; and see, everything will be clean (καθαρά) for you.” (Luke 11:37–41)

This emendation brings Luke closer to the Matthean version and connects to vv 38–39 and the controversy story in Mark 7:1–23. Roger Booth has also noted that in contrast to Mark and Matthew which use the verb *νίπτω* (to wash some part of the person), Luke uses *βαπτίζω* (to immerse, to dip) when referring to washing before dinner.<sup>836</sup> Luke may be referring to the practice of complete immersion before meals as seen in Mark 7:4, in the Yaḥad (1QS V, 9) and Josephus (*J.W.* 2.129–130).

As previously discussed (§4.4), the notion of cleansing by the Holy Spirit is attested in a rare textual variant which replaces the request for the kingdom in the Lukan Lord’s Prayer. This variant reads, “May your Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us,”<sup>837</sup> which clearly assigns the act of cleansing from sin to the Holy Spirit. Gregory of Nyssa argues this when identifying the operation of each person of the Trinity in regard to sin: “the Father forgives sins, the Son takes away the sins of the world, and the Holy Spirit cleanses from the stains of sin those in whom he dwells.”<sup>838</sup>

---

*Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language*, trans. D. M. Kay (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), 62–63; Roger P. Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7* JSNTSup 13 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1986), 227, n. 3.

<sup>836</sup> Booth, *Jesus and the Laws of Purity*, 23–24.

<sup>837</sup> MS 700, Egerton MS 2610 f184v – 11th century [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton\\_ms\\_2610\\_f141r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=egerton_ms_2610_f141r).

<sup>838</sup> Gregory of Nyssa and Graef, *Lord’s Prayer*, 56.

He further states that, “the proper power and virtue of the Holy Spirit is precisely to cleanse sin.”<sup>839</sup>

While cleansing in Luke closely follows Matthew and Mark, with a strong connection to moral cleansing, the gospel does not have the same emphasis of preparation for the coming judgement as seen in Matthew. Luke fulfils the prophecy of one to baptise in the Holy Spirit and fire in his second volume where there is a dramatic increase in occurrences of moral cleansing and connections with the divine Spirit.

### 5.2.5 Water in the Acts of the Apostles

As a history of the Jesus movement, there are many stories of baptism in both water and Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles. As F. F. Bruce notes, the statement of Jesus, “John baptised with water, but you will be baptised with the Holy Spirit” (Acts 1:5) sets up an expectation that Spirit baptism would replace water baptism. However, those joining the movement continued to be baptised in water and, “their water baptism ... was accompanied (not replaced) by the baptism in the Spirit.”<sup>840</sup> Leaney uses the example of the Qumran community to argue that the “reason why water-baptism is still necessary [for Jesus followers] is that it retains the lesser function of cleansing ceremonially from sin and acting as a psychological aid to repentance without which forgiveness is impossible; for it was one of the most interesting advances in thought shown by the men of Qumran that for them moral sin defiled no less than ritual transgression.”<sup>841</sup> Cleansing by water for ritual and moral purification was so integral to the early Jewish believers that it became the primary initiating rite into the community of Jesus followers (Acts 2:38–41; 8:12–17, 34–38; 9:17–18; 10:44–48; 16:15, 30–33;

---

<sup>839</sup> Gregory of Nyssa and Graef, *Lord's Prayer*, 53.

<sup>840</sup> Bruce, “Luke's Presentation,” 20.

<sup>841</sup> A. R. C. Leaney, “The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls,” in *John and Qumran*, ed. J. H. Charlesworth (London: Chapman, 1972), 38–61, here 51–52.

18:8, 25; 19:1–3; 22:16). There are examples where baptism is not mentioned for new believers in Paul’s missionary trips, however, this may be due to the increased pace of the narrative.<sup>842</sup> Luke is concerned with the rapid recounting of Paul’s journeys and does not pause to provide the details of an initiation rite which has already been established.<sup>843</sup> The conversion of the three thousand on the day of Pentecost sets the pattern, “repent, and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ so that your sins may be forgiven; and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit” (Acts 2:38). Dunn notes that this verse relates “the three most important elements in conversion-initiation: repentance, water-baptism, and the gift of the Spirit.”<sup>844</sup> It is worth noting that Peter uses the liquid metaphor of pouring out the Spirit three times in his sermon just prior to this mass conversion (Acts 2:17, 18, 33).

As set out by John the Baptist and confirmed by Peter and Paul, repentance and baptism are conjoined (Acts 2:38; 11:16–18; 13:24; 19:4). Additionally, while the Alexandrian text reads “On hearing this, they were baptised in the name of the Lord Jesus” (Acts 19:5), the Western text adds “Christ for the forgiveness of sins (Χριστου εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων).<sup>845</sup> One is cleansed of their sins as seen in Psalm 51 (cf. §3.2.4) and Acts 22:16. Yates argues that Acts 10 and 11 demonstrate that, “the original disciples, and Peter in particular, think of the Spirit as the divine agent” and baptism with the Holy Spirit refers to being “purified or cleansed by the divine action.”<sup>846</sup> The Spirit is poured out on the gentiles (Acts 10:45), they are baptised with the Holy Spirit, and given the repentance which leads to life (Acts 11:16–18). Dunn maintains that the

---

<sup>842</sup> Acts 13; 14:1, 21; 17:2–4, 10–15, 34; 19:18.

<sup>843</sup> That baptism can be assumed if not detailed cf. Heb 6:2 where baptism is mentioned within a list of things taught to new believers.

<sup>844</sup> Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 91.

<sup>845</sup> Ɱ<sup>38vid</sup> D 257 383 614 1799 2147 2412 sy<sup>h\*\*</sup> Chrys.

<sup>846</sup> Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*, 40.

Spirit cleanses from sin when he states that, “God’s giving of the Holy Spirit is equivalent to his cleansing of their hearts; these two are one – two ways of describing the same thing. God gave the Spirit to cleanse their hearts” (Acts 15:8–9).<sup>847</sup> Frederick Bruner argues that, “God gives his Spirit not after but through the cleansing of hearts by faith” and that it is evident “through the parallel simultaneous or coincident aorist participles (*dous... tē pistei katharisas*).”<sup>848</sup>

Throughout Acts, cleansing occurs through baptism in water and the divine Spirit. While cleansing of sins is often effected by water baptism, there are explicit occurrences (Acts 15:8–9) and implicit hints of cleansing by the Spirit (Acts 2:38; 8:15–17; 8:36–39 (Western text); Acts 9:17–18; 10:37–38, 44–48; 11:15–18; 19:1–7). Luke’s second volume makes it very clear that baptism in the name of Jesus Christ is an identifying marker of those who belong to Christ and the community of his followers.

#### 5.2.6 Water in the Gospel and Epistles of John

The Fourth Gospel does not record the actual event of Jesus’ baptism, nor the direct juxtaposition of John baptising in water with one to come who will baptise in the Holy Spirit, as seen in the Synoptics. Instead, John the baptiser states three times that he baptises with water (John 1:26, 30, 33), and each instance is a stronger Christological statement with the last concluding with the phrase, “He on whom you see the Spirit descend and remain is the one who baptises with the Holy Spirit” (John 1:33).

The first statement of baptism in water states that there is one coming after who John is not worthy to untie the thong of his sandal (John 1:26). This statement is in answer to the priests and Levites who asked why John was baptising if he was neither

---

<sup>847</sup> Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 81–82.

<sup>848</sup> Frederick Dale Bruner, *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 200.

the messiah, nor Elijah, nor the prophet (John 1:25). The majority of scholars agree that there is no attestation in the Hebrew Bible and early Judaism where baptism is connected to a messianic or prophetic person and view this question of the priests and Levites, as portrayed by the Evangelist, to be challenging John's authority to perform an eschatological act which has no known precedent.<sup>849</sup> John the Baptist has taken a normative ritual purification and infused it with eschatological meaning and moral cleansing. However, Brownlee has argued for a reading of 1QIsa 52:14–15 which changes the reading from “marred” (מְשֻׁחָת) to “anointed” (מְשֻׁחָתִי) and “startled” (יָזַח) to “sprinkle” (נָזַח).<sup>850</sup> He states that, “the reading ‘anoint’ makes the difficult word ‘sprinkle’ of the subsequent verse intelligible. For the anointing of the Servant would indicate his consecration for the priestly office so that he could ‘sprinkle’ others.”<sup>851</sup> Brownlee further argues that Targum Jonathan supports this reading by the addition of מְשֻׁחָתִי in Isa 52:13, “Behold, my servant, the Messiah.”<sup>852</sup> Certainly, this association fits within the objective of the Evangelist to portray Jesus as the anointed one, the Messiah. John the Baptist denies that he is either the Messiah or the prophet and immediately points to the one coming after him.

In the second instance, the Baptist provides more details of the one who is to come stating that he (John) “came baptising with water for this reason, that he (the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world) might be revealed to Israel” (John

---

<sup>849</sup> Brown, *John 1*, 51; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978), 174; Ernst Haenchen, Robert W. Funk, and Ulrich Busse, *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 1-6*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 145; George R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, WBC 36 (Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987), 24; D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John*, Pillar New Testament Commentary (Leicester: IVP; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 145; Keener, *John*, 442. Contra Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*, trans. George Raymond Beasley-Murray (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 88.

<sup>850</sup> William H. Brownlee, “The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I,” *BASOR*, no. 132 (1953): 8–15.

<sup>851</sup> Brownlee, “The Servant of the Lord,” 10.

<sup>852</sup> Brownlee, “The Servant of the Lord,” 11.

1:31). This referral to Isa 53:5–8 may add weight to Brownlee’s argument regarding Isa 52:13–15. The Evangelist indeed may have known of a Jewish expectation of a Messiah who would cleanse his people. Unlike the synoptics, the Fourth Gospel does not connect repentance and forgiveness of sins with John’s water baptism, but with the Lamb of God.

In the third instance, John states that God sent him to baptise with water and revealed to him that the one on whom John sees the Spirit of God descend and remain will baptise with the Holy Spirit (John 1:32–33). Thus, the first instance sets up Jesus as the Messiah who will baptise (sprinkle) fulfilling Isa 52:13–15; the second instance reveals that Jesus is the suffering servant who will take on the sins of the world fulfilling Isa 53; and the third instance reveals the means by which Jesus will fulfil these prophecies, by baptising with the Holy Spirit. If Jesus is the one who takes away the sins of the world, then he does that by cleansing with the Holy Spirit. Note that the Spirit does not simply descend on Jesus but remains (ἔμεινεν) on him. The Fourth Gospel is at pains to convey that the anointing of Jesus by the Spirit was not an occasional or temporary experience, but a permanent state. Jesus must possess the Spirit (or perhaps be possessed *by* the Spirit) in order to cleanse *with* the Spirit.

The Fourth Gospel associates water and Spirit with new life in the story of Jesus and Nicodemus. Jesus tells Nicodemus that no one can see the kingdom of God unless they are born of water and Spirit. While a popular interpretation of this passage reads water as the water of the womb and contrasts human birth with new birth in the Spirit, this ignores the conjunction “and” (καί) between water and Spirit. This is not a contrasting statement, but a connecting one. Given that the Evangelist has already connected water and Spirit in baptism, it seems logical to assume that this is in view here. William Fowler and Michael Strickland argue that Jesus is speaking of a “single

birth with two aspects (or a blend of two ideas) rather than two separate births.”<sup>853</sup> They further argue that Ezek 36:25–27 is in the background here.<sup>854</sup> Beasley-Murray also argues that the “conjunction of water and Spirit in eschatological hope is deeply rooted in the Jewish consciousness, as is attested by Ezek 36:25–27 and various apocalyptic writings (e.g., Jub. 1:23; Pss. Sol. 18:6; Test. Jud. 24:3).”<sup>855</sup> As demonstrated (§§3.2–3.4), this is also attested in Ps 51; Isa 4:4; 1QS III, 4–9; IV, 20–22; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; VIII, 28–30; 4Q381 46a+b 5b–8; the Plea for Deliverance; 4Q393 1ii–2, 2–7; 4Q504 1–2 R v, 15–16; and the Prayer of Levi. There is a strong Jewish expectation of cleansing by water and Spirit which is in the background for John here. Leaney argues that for the author of the Fourth Gospel, “water as cleanser is a powerful symbol of the spirit.... Hence water is "living water" and wells up to give life (Jn 4:14) and rivers of it (expressly identified with the spirit) flow from the believer (7:38f.).”<sup>856</sup> The association of living water and the Holy Spirit is also found in Gen Rab 70:9 (on Gen 29:2–3) where the drawing of water from a well is interpreted as drawing the holy spirit.<sup>857</sup> John’s strong association of water and Spirit conflates the two when speaking of creating life or baptism/ cleansing.

In the story of Jesus washing the feet of his disciples, Jesus moves from hygienic body cleansing to alluding to moral cleansing (John 13:5–16). This is characteristic of the Jewish tendency to word play. Simon is told that he can have no part or share in Jesus if he doesn’t allow Jesus to wash him. Simon, perhaps thinking

---

<sup>853</sup> William G. Fowler and Michael Strickland, *The Influence of Ezekiel in the Fourth Gospel*, BibInt 167 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 105.

<sup>854</sup> Fowler and Strickland, *Influence of Ezekiel*, 107–108, esp. n. 20. Cf. Barrett, *St. John*, 208; Linda L. Belleville, “‘Born of Water and Spirit’: John 3:5,” *TJ* 1, no. 2 (1980): 125–141, esp. 134–141; Peter Cotterell, “The Nicodemus Conversation: A Fresh Appraisal,” *ExpTim* 96, no. 8 (1985): 237–242, esp. 240–241.

<sup>855</sup> Beasley-Murray, *John*, 49.

<sup>856</sup> Leaney, “Johannine Paraclete”, 52. Cf. Hooker, “John’s Baptism”, 37. For a discussion of the waters which flow from the believer cf. Levison, *Filled with the Spirit*, 372–378.

<sup>857</sup> Cf. y. Sukkah 5:1,3.

that Jesus is only referring to the cleansing of the body, asks for his hands and head to be washed too. Jesus' response would seem to confirm that only hygienic washing is in view, but he pivots and says, "you are clean, though not all of you" (John 13:10). John's narrator clarifies that Jesus is speaking of the one who will betray him, confirming that moral purity is now the subject. However, Jesus pivots again to hygienic cleansing as he commands the disciples to wash each other's feet. His concern here is to emphasize that his disciples must be servants to each other and not to seek to be the master. Although this could be construed as a moral issue, it seems highly unlikely that John would imply that the disciples should or even could wash or cleanse each other of moral impurity.

In another play on words, Jesus tells his disciples that the Father will remove (αἶρει) and prune (καθαίρει) the branch so as to produce more fruit, and that they have already been cleansed (καθαροί) by his word (John 15:2–3). The paronomasia of αἶρει and καθαίρει indicates that Greek is the original language.<sup>858</sup> Additionally, καθαίρει is not commonly used for viticulture,<sup>859</sup> therefore the choice of this word indicates that it is deliberately used to play off αἶρει and καθαροί and highlight the meaning of the allegory. Here it is God the Father, and Jesus (by his word, not the Spirit) who cleanse or purify the disciples so that they bear good fruit.

The Fourth Gospel contains a contradictory reference to Jesus himself baptising others in water (John 3:22–26; 4:1–2). The retraction, "although it was not Jesus himself but his disciples who baptised," is thought by most scholars to be an interpolation.<sup>860</sup> Haenchen notes that, "the word 'although' (καίτοιγε) which is

---

<sup>858</sup> Raymond E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John XIII-XXI*, AB 29B (New York: Doubleday, 1970), 660; Barrett, *St. John*, 473.

<sup>859</sup> Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 136, esp. n. 1. Contra Barrett, *St. John*, 473.

<sup>860</sup> C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 285–286; Brown, *John 1*, 164; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *The Gospel According to St. John Vol 1:*

otherwise unknown to John, appears here.”<sup>861</sup> It seems that John’s disciples were concerned that Jesus and his disciples were baptising more people than they were, thus setting up the theory of competition between the disciples of John and Jesus. Murphy-O’Connor also supports the possibility that Jesus was baptising in water.<sup>862</sup> In one ingenious, but highly speculative, thread of his argument, Murphy-O’Connor suggests that the Ephesian disciples (Acts 18:24–19:7) were actually disciples of Jesus, and although they were baptised into John’s baptism, it was administered by Jesus. Afterward, these disciples lost contact with him when he moved from Judea to Galilee. He argues that this hypothesis provides a simpler and more satisfactory solution than others, “namely, that some of those baptised by John subsequently became disciples of Jesus in Galilee, but for some reason missed out on Easter and particularly the gift of the Spirit at Pentecost.”<sup>863</sup>

That Jesus himself is baptising more disciples than John is attested again in John 4:1. Without the interpolation, the sentence would read thus: “Now when Jesus learned that the Pharisees had heard, ‘Jesus is making and baptising more disciples than John,’ he left Judea and started back to Galilee.” This would seem to indicate that Jesus left because of pressure from the Pharisees. The Fourth Gospel has informed the reader that Jesus will baptise in the Holy Spirit, but the implication here is that it is baptism in water that Jesus is performing. This sets up some tension in the Gospel. While it is not implausible that Jesus could baptise in water, even if this was not specified earlier, if Jesus is baptising at all, then he also ought to be baptising in the Holy Spirit as

---

*Chapters 1–4*, trans. Kevin Smyth, HThKNT (London: Burns & Oates; New York: Herder & Herder, 1968), 422; Barrett, *St. John*, 230; Haenchen, Funk, and Busse, *John vol. 1*, 218; Beasley-Murray, *John*, 58.

<sup>861</sup> Haenchen, Funk, and Busse, *John vol. 1*, 218.

<sup>862</sup> Murphy-O’Connor, “John the Baptist and Jesus,” 359–374. Cf. Webb, “John the Baptist and His Relationship to Jesus,” 179–229.

<sup>863</sup> Murphy-O’Connor, “John the Baptist and Jesus,” 367, here n. 36.

predicted earlier. However, it is inconceivable in the theology of the Fourth Gospel for Jesus to give the Holy Spirit before his resurrection (John 7:39). Barret argues that John is referring to the *giving* of the Spirit in a “characteristically Christian manner,” viz. “the Spirit was a gift of the new age ... in John's idiom this is expressed by saying that after Christ's return to the Father, Father and Son send the Holy Spirit (14:16, 26; 15:26).<sup>864</sup> Perhaps this is the distinction between the Holy Spirit being the means of baptism and the object of baptism. Jesus could baptise *with* the Spirit during his earthly ministry, but he could only *give* the Spirit as a permanent bestowal after his resurrection. If Jesus baptised in the Holy Spirit in his earthly ministry in the Gospel of Mark (healing people through the cleansing of the Spirit), then maybe this is what happens in the Fourth Gospel as well. As noted above, John equates living water with the Spirit (John 3:5; 7:38–39). Wilbert Howard views this as a possibility and states that, “if we combine Nicodemus’s words in ii. 2 with our Lord’s words in iii. 5, we may find a possible indication that the ministry of Jesus is regarded as a baptism with holy spirit.”<sup>865</sup> Indeed, the story of the blind man healed by washing in the pool of Siloam is only attested in John and is the only healing story with the exception of leprosy that involves cleansing in all four Gospels. Dodd uses a similar progression of thought and argues that “we therefore conclude that the evangelist's intention is to link the ideas of ὕδωρ and πνεῦμα through the idea of baptism, and in particular baptism by Jesus ... in contrast to John's baptism.”<sup>866</sup> Dodd further argues that the whole story of Jesus’ ministry (John 2–12), “results in the appearance in chs. xiii–xvii of a small body of men ‘cleansed’ by Christ's word and united to Him.”<sup>867</sup> This reading provides a solution to the problem of there being no Spirit yet (John 7:39); particularly if a variant is preferred

---

<sup>864</sup> Barrett, *St. John*, 329.

<sup>865</sup> Wilbert F. Howard, *Christianity According to St. John* (London: Duckworth, 1943), 73.

<sup>866</sup> Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 311.

<sup>867</sup> Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, 353.

which supports this interpretation and reads “for as yet the Holy Spirit had not been given.”<sup>868</sup>

In the First Epistle of John, Jesus cleanses sin and all unrighteousness from those who walk in the light not by water or the Spirit, but with his blood (1 John 1:7, 9).<sup>869</sup> These are the only occurrences of the verb καθαρίζω in the Epistles of John. It is noteworthy that both are concerned with moral cleansing. There is a parallel with the Yāhad where the sons of righteousness walk in the light but are not immune from sin. Indeed, the Angel of Deceit causes the sons of light to stumble, but even so, God and his Angel of Truth help them, and the Holy Spirit purifies them from all sin in the eschaton (1QS IV, 20–IV, 22).<sup>870</sup>

Additionally, there is one occurrence of the verb ἀγνίζω (to purify) and it also is concerned with moral purification, “And all who have this hope in him purify (ἀγνίζεῖ) themselves, just as he is pure.... You know that he was revealed to take away sins, and in him there is no sin” (1 John 3:3, 5). While this refers to persons purifying themselves, Brown argues that this is to be understood as taking advantage of cleansing from sin through Jesus as seen in 1 John 1:7, 9; 2:2 and the context of 1 John 3:5.<sup>871</sup>

While the Gospel of John refers to cleansing by water and Spirit, the First Epistle has Jesus cleansing by his blood. In both, cleansing, whether by water, Spirit, or blood is a marker which identifies the one cleansed with God, the people of God, and the things above. In the Gospel: (1) at the baptism of Jesus the Spirit descends on him from heaven like a dove, and it remains on him (John 1:33); (2) one must be born of

---

<sup>868</sup> “πνεῦμα ἅγιον δεδομένον” B e q sy<sup>h</sup>\*\* (Eus).

<sup>869</sup> Cf. Heb 9:22.

<sup>870</sup> This is not to say that there is any dependency of the writer of the Epistle on Qumran Literature.

<sup>871</sup> Brown, *The Epistles of John*, 398. Contra Strecker, *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John*, 91–92. Strecker reads “purify themselves” as they are to “keep themselves free from sin.”

water and Spirit to enter the kingdom of God (John 3:5); (3) Simon is told that he can have no part or share in Jesus if he doesn't allow Jesus to wash him (John 13:5–16); and (4) one must be pruned and bear fruit to remain in Christ (John 15:2–3). In the First Epistle: (1) those who walk in the light will have fellowship with God and with one another because the blood of Jesus cleanses them from sin (1 John 1:5–7); and (2) those who avail themselves of the cleansing of Jesus are children of God (1 John 3:1–7). Cleansing in John's Gospel is represented in various metaphors and by different means. In contrast, only Jesus cleanses, and only by his blood in the Epistle. It is noteworthy that the only two references to cleansing in the Epistle also directly connect cleansing by the blood of Jesus with fellowship or kinship with God. The aspect of baptism and cleansing being a marker of self and group identity is also seen in the Pauline Epistles.

### **5.3 Water in the Pauline Epistles**

As noted in Acts, there is little mention of the baptism of new believers in Paul's missionary journeys. The same is true of the Pauline Epistles. In fact, there is no account of a baptism of new believers in the Epistles. There are a few references to baptism where Paul recalls that he has baptised very few people in a response to a Corinthian quarrel in regard to who they belong to (1 Cor 1:10–17). Paul emphatically states that they were all baptised in the name of Christ and belong to Christ, not to himself, or Apollos or Cephas. This would seem to indicate that there was special status given to the administrator of the rite, at least at Corinth. Paul denies such status belongs to the administrator and further declares that he was sent to proclaim the gospel, not to baptise. While this may seem to diminish the importance of baptism, Paul's other references to baptism demonstrate the centrality of the rite in his theology and the early

church. In 1 Cor 12 Paul returns to the topic of unity among the believers and states that, “in the one Spirit we were all baptised (ἐβαπτίσθημεν) into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink (ἐποτίσθημεν) of one Spirit” (1 Cor 12:13). This time, Paul emphasizes that they are baptised in the Spirit rather than the name of Christ. In the wider context of this passage, the Spirit is both the means and object of baptism. Gordon Fee notes that the dative ἐν with the verb to baptise never implies agency, but rather the element “in which” one is baptised.<sup>872</sup> In a Semitic parallelism Paul uses an unusual liquid metaphor for the Spirit in this statement. The believers drink (ἐποτίσθημεν) of one Spirit which would be paired to baptism in the first part of the verse. In the only passage where ποτίζω and πνεῦμα are together, the meaning of ποτίζω is “pour out” or “irrigate” or “soak” (Isa 29:10 LXX). Schnackenburg suggests the meaning of deluged, drenched, or permeated with the Spirit.<sup>873</sup>

While Paul speaks in 1 Cor 12:13 of baptised (ἐβαπτίσθημεν) and drenched (ἐποτίσθημεν), in 1 Cor 6:11 the Corinthians are washed (ἀπελούσασθε), sanctified (ἡγιασθητε), and justified (ἐδικαιώθητε) “in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God” (1 Cor 6:11). The Spirit is clearly the means of this thorough cleansing and purification. While some scholars view “washed” as an allusion to baptism,<sup>874</sup> others make a distinction between the baptismal event and the washing as

---

<sup>872</sup> Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 606.

<sup>873</sup> Rudolf Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul: A Study in Pauline Theology* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964), 85; George R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), 170; Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 131; Geoffrey J. Cuming, “ἐποτίσθημεν (1 Corinthians 12:13),” *NTS* 27, no. 2 (1981): 283–285.

<sup>874</sup> Beasley-Murray, *Baptism*, 162–167; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 2nd ed., BNTC (London: Black, 1971), 141–143; Hans Conzelmann and James Warren Dunkly, *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, trans. James W. Leitch, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 107; Fitzmyer, *First Corinthians*, 258; J. Brian Tucker, *Reading 1 Corinthians*, Cascade Companions (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2017), 76–77.

part of the transformation enacted by the Holy Spirit.<sup>875</sup> Why make those distinctions? The notion of separation of baptism from sanctifying in the secondary literature may be due to the practice of infant baptism and subsequent confirmation. While this practice became the norm in the late fourth-century CE, it was not the case in the first-century CE.<sup>876</sup> However, one need not throw the baby out with the bath water here. Paul does not make any distinctions; the Spirit is the means of cleansing and sanctification (transformation) in baptism and throughout the subsequent lives of the Corinthians. Brian Tucker argues that Paul uses an early baptismal formula to reinforce their identity with the early Christ-movement against those outside the community because “identity formation is embedded in rituals.”<sup>877</sup>

Paul’s unique phrases “in Christ” (ἐν Χριστῶν) and “into Christ” (εἰς Χριστῶν), connect baptism with Christ’s death and resurrection (Col 2:12–13; Rom 6:3–14). Carl Holladay states that “by being immersed in water, Paul insists, we reenact Christ’s death.”<sup>878</sup> While the immersion in water is a real event, dying is metaphorical; the death of the former self, so that a new creation can be born. The individual is freed from sin which no longer controls them. They are no longer slaves to impurity but are now slaves to righteousness for sanctification (ἀγιασμόν) (Rom 6:19). As in Ezek 36:25–27, they are cleansed, the heart of stone is removed and is replaced with a heart of flesh, and they are able to follow God’s laws. This is also seen in the compositions of the Yahad, particularly in the Hodayot where the hymnist has a very negative anthropology. Humanity is born a “furnace of iniquity, and a structure of sin” (1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 24) and the

---

<sup>875</sup> Dunn, *Baptism in the Holy Spirit*, 120–122; Thiselton, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 453–454; Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, 271. For a nuanced view cf. David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, BECNT (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 215–216.

<sup>876</sup> Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*, 362–379 esp. 379.

<sup>877</sup> Tucker, *1 Corinthians*, 76–77, here 77.

<sup>878</sup> Carl R. Holladay, “Baptism in the New Testament and Its Cultural Milieu: A Response to Everett Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*,” *J ECS* 20, no. 3 (2012): 343–369, here 356. Cf. W. F. Flemington, *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism* (London: SPCK, 1948), 61–53, 121–122.

divine Spirit cleanses and transforms the individual so that they can join the community and walk in God's straight paths (1QH<sup>a</sup> XI, 20–24; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII, 32–33; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 13–17, cf. §2.2.4). While both the member of the Yāḥād and the new Christ follower become new creations, purified, and transformed through ritual immersion and the divine Spirit, the former joins the community, and the latter joins Christ and only by extension the community. In both cases, the individual and group identity is formed through the cleansing and transformation of the divine Spirit. For Paul, baptism into Christ also identifies the individual as a child of God. It matters not whether Jew or Greek, all become sons of Abraham (Gal 3:26–29).

The letter to Titus, considered by the majority of scholars as pseudepigraphical, contains two references to cleansing.<sup>879</sup> In the first, Jesus Christ purifies (καθαρίση) for himself a people of his own (Titus 2:14). In this instance it is Christ who does the cleansing rather than the Spirit. However, the cleansing is still creating a new identity for those who follow him. Just a few verses later, the writer connects the rebirth and renewal in baptism to the Holy Spirit (Titus 3:5–7). Further, the Spirit is poured out richly (πλουσίως) through Jesus Christ. Jesus is baptising in the Spirit here. The phrase “poured out richly” recalls the force of the word ἐποτίσθημεν (1 Cor 12:13), to be drenched with the Spirit. And again, the end result is to create a new identity, to become heirs, children of God.

Identification with true followers of Christ is effected through sanctification (ἀγιασμῶ) by the Spirit against those who are under the influence of Satan and refuse to love the truth (2 Thess 2:13). The true followers will obtain the glory of Jesus Christ

---

<sup>879</sup> Cf. Martin Dibelius and Hans Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, trans. Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 1–10; George W. Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle, England: Paternoster Press, 1992), 4–56.

while the unbelievers will be condemned. This is also seen in the *Yahad* where those under the influence of Belial are condemned in no uncertain terms (1QS II, 5–17), while those who are cleansed by the holy spirit in God’s truth are brought into the community and given a new identity. Although phrased differently, there are some tantalizing similarities in a digression in Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians (2 Cor 6:14–7:1).<sup>880</sup> Paul draws a sharp boundary between believers and unbelievers whom he associates with Beliar. He then quotes a catena of Hebrew scriptures which speak to being a people called by God to be separate from others, to walk with God, and to be the children of God (Lev 26:11–12; Ezek 37:23, 26–27; Zech 2:10–11; Isa 52:11; Ezek 20:41; Isa 43:6).<sup>881</sup> He finishes this digression by admonishing the Corinthians to cleanse (καθαρίσωμεν) themselves from every defilement of body and spirit (2 Cor 7:1). Here it is self-cleansing rather than cleansing by Christ or the Spirit. This is particularly noteworthy as it is God who does the cleansing in one of the possible sources (Ezek 37:23) for 2 Cor 6:16. This is not a reference to baptism, but the ongoing purification which is required to maintain perfect holiness.

The connection between baptism and identity formation is also present in Ephesians. The writer of the letter instructs the Ephesians to be united in the Spirit and states that, “there is one body and one Spirit, just as you were called to the one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all” (Eph 4:4–6). This passage contains the elements of group identity seen above, baptism, the Spirit, and children of God.

---

<sup>880</sup> In defence of 6:14–7:1 being a digression rather than an interpolation cf. Keener, *1–2 Corinthians*, 192.

<sup>881</sup> For a discussion of further possible allusions cf. Keener, *1–2 Corinthians*, 195–196.

One critical thread which weaves through the Pauline Epistles is that the baptised are one in Christ. They are marked as Christ followers by their baptism and united with fellow Christ followers through it. This baptism is transformative, those who are baptised are new creations.

#### **5.4 Water in Hebrews, 1 & 2 Peter, and James**

The letter to the Hebrews has a significant number of occurrences of cleansing verbs; half refer to ritual cleansing in the context of the Temple cult and half are connected with the notion of moral cleansing.<sup>882</sup> However, this simple classification misses one of the main devices of the letter, namely, ritual purification and the Temple cult are used as a foil for moral purification through the death (read sacrifice here) of Christ. David Moffitt persuasively situates Hebrews within early Jewish ritualistic processes but further notes that “Hebrews uses the language of sin, impurity, redemption, and forgiveness in ways that do not suggest a sharp divide between sin and ritual impurity.”<sup>883</sup> The writer of Hebrews makes extensive use of the Hebrew Bible. As William Lane says, “Hebrews is impregnated with the OT.... He presupposes both an essential unity and a development between the old and new economies of redemption.”<sup>884</sup> The writer compares the sanctification (ἀγιάζει) and purification (καθαρότητα) obtained through the sprinkling of the ashes of a heifer (Heb 9:13) and the blood of sacrifices (Heb 9:22) with purification effected through the blood of Christ who offered himself as a sacrifice through the divine Spirit (Heb 9:14; 10:10).<sup>885</sup> Thus, Christ and the Spirit are united in the purification of the Hebrews. While the sacrifices

---

<sup>882</sup> Cf. §4.3.4.2.

<sup>883</sup> David M. Moffitt, *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*, NovTSup 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 265.

<sup>884</sup> Lane, *Hebrews 1–8*, cxv–cxvi.

<sup>885</sup> There is one instance in Hebrews which does not specify that Christ purifies or cleanses from sin *through* his blood or sacrifice (Heb 1:3).

in the Temple were repeated year after year, they were not able to make the people perfect, cleansing them once for all (Heb 10:1–2). In contrast the sacrifice of Christ sanctifies once for all (Heb 10:10) and makes his people perfect by a single offering (Heb 10:14).<sup>886</sup> For the writer of Hebrews, the Holy Spirit is a witness to this (rather than the agent of sanctification) by illuminating the scripture, namely, Jer 31:33–34 which places the sacrifice of Christ and the cleansing of his people in the eschaton. This is fulfilment of the long-expected time when God’s people will be perfected, “I will put my laws in their hearts, and I will write them on their minds” (Heb 10:16 quoting Jer 31:33). However, contrary to the Treatise of the Two Spirits, where the perfection of the Yḥād is the final cleansing (1QS IV, 20–23), the end is not yet for the Hebrews. The writer uses this once for all sacrifice as a device to encourage his audience to approach God, “with a true heart in full assurance of faith, with our hearts sprinkled (ῥεραντισμένοι) clean from an evil conscience and our bodies washed (λελουσμένοι) with pure (καθαρῶ) water” (Heb 10:22).<sup>887</sup> Lane argues that the, “perfect tenses of the participles (ῥεραντισμένοι ... καὶ λελουσμένοι, “have been sprinkled ... and have been washed”) refer to actions which are accomplished and enduring facts; they stress conditions of approach to God which Christians already enjoy.”<sup>888</sup> The washing of bodies in pure water is a reference to baptism. If they persist in sin, they make a mockery of Christ’s sacrifice, and it becomes null and void for them (Heb 10:26). Persisting in sin connotes a deliberate act and recalls Num 15:22–31 which distinguishes between those who unintentionally fail to observe God’s laws and those who deliberately sin. The former is forgiven through cultic sacrifices, while the latter is forever cut off. Christ is the final, once for all cultic sacrifice, therefore those who

---

<sup>886</sup> Lane, *Hebrews 9–13*, 265–267.

<sup>887</sup> Lane, *Hebrews 9–13*, 286–286.

<sup>888</sup> Lane, *Hebrews 9–13*, 287.

stumble have their forgiveness assured. The separation of those who have a true heart and those who do not is reminiscent of the first columns of the Community Rule. Those who do not submit to the cleansing of the Holy Spirit in their community are cursed and cut-off from the community. While those who do submit are purified and are made to walk perfectly in all God's ways (1 QS I–III, cf §2.3).

All five occurrences of cleansing verbs in the letters attributed to Peter concern moral cleansing. The first uses the cultic language found in Hebrews of the sprinkling (ῥαντισμὸν) of the blood of Christ and states that the recipients of the letter have been sanctified (ἀγιασμῶ) by the Spirit to be obedient to Jesus Christ (1 Pet 1:2). In other words, they are cleansed by Christ and are transformed by the Spirit so that they can be obedient. While the traditional reading appears to indicate that the individual sanctifies themselves in the second occurrence of cleansing verbs, “Now that you have purified your souls by your obedience to the truth” (1 Pet 1:22), a number of variants add, “by the Spirit (δια πνευματος).”<sup>889</sup> The advantage of this reading is that it refers back to v. 2 which specifically states that the individual is sanctified by the Spirit to be obedient and avoids the idea that they can cleanse themselves or make themselves obedient without the transforming work of the Spirit.<sup>890</sup> In addition, the Greek text provides the adjective “pure” (καθαρᾶς) before “heart” which emphasizes the purification of the soul in the first phrase of v. 22.<sup>891</sup> The purification of the soul-heart produces genuine love for one another.<sup>892</sup> The writer states that baptism is not for the removal of dirt, but for moral cleansing, an appeal to God for a good conscience (1 Pet 3:21). He adds an unusual

---

<sup>889</sup> P 5. 307. 442. 642. 1175. 1448<sup>c</sup>. 1611. 1735 Byz I<sup>vid</sup> vg<sup>ms</sup>; Prisc Spec.

<sup>890</sup> Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 135.

<sup>891</sup> The NRSV does not translate the adjective καθαρᾶς.

<sup>892</sup> Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 137; Duane F. Watson and Terrance Callan, *First and Second Peter*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 39.

phrase to this formula, namely, “through the resurrection of Jesus Christ.” In a similar way to Paul, the author is also using baptism as a metaphor for the death and resurrection of Jesus. Just a few verses earlier he tells his audience that Christ suffered for sins once for all and was put to death but made alive. The writer goes on to say that just as Christ suffered in the flesh, so should they. They are to live their lives no longer by human desires but by the will of God (1 Pet 4:2). This is reminiscent of Paul’s notions of dying to self (Rom 6:3–14).

The author of the second letter of Peter begins by declaring that what has been received from Christ—everything needed for life and godliness; and what has been promised—will be instrumental in avoiding the corruption of the world (2 Pet 1:3–4). An exhortation to faithful living to secure entry into the eternal kingdom of Jesus Christ follows. This is evidenced by a list of virtues, each one connected to the previous, “goodness with knowledge, and knowledge with self-control, and self-control with endurance,” etc. (2 Pet 1:5–7). Duane Watson and Terrance Callan argue that this “effectively introduces the twofold theme of the letter: Christ’s gifts will be completed at his second coming; one shows gratitude for them by a life of virtue, which is also necessary for one to receive their completion.”<sup>893</sup> Anyone who lacks these virtues is blind and near-sighted; they have forgotten the cleansing (καθαρισμοῦ) of their sins (2 Pet 1:9). This is likely a reference to their baptism and the moral purification inherent in that event. The author of this letter is not as explicit as the author of the letter to the Hebrews where those who have forgotten their baptism make it null and void. However, the audience is left in no doubt as the judgement in store for the false teachers and those who have “left the straight road and have gone astray ... For it would have been better for them never to have known the way of righteousness than, after knowing it, to turn

---

<sup>893</sup> Watson and Callan, *First and Second Peter*, 149.

back from the holy commandment that was passed on to them” (2 Pet 2:15, 21). In both cases the cleansing of sins is not a permanent state; it does not complete the transformation so that the individual is able to walk in straight paths. Rather, they are exhorted to honour their baptism and Christ’s sacrifice by living a virtuous life.

There are only two occurrences of cleansing verbs in James, and they are paired together in one verse concerning moral cleansing. “Cleanse (καθαρίσατε) your hands, you sinners, and purify (ἀγνίσατε) your hearts, you double-minded” (Jas 4:5). Here the individual is commanded to cleanse themselves. Psalm 24 may be in the background here.<sup>894</sup> In response to the question, “who shall stand in his holy place?” (Ps 24:3) the psalmist gives the answer, “those who have clean hands and pure hearts, who do not lift up their souls to what is false, and do not swear deceitfully” (Ps 24:4). The surrounding context is a collection of admonitions; a list of things to do (“Submit yourselves therefore to God. Resist the devil, and he will flee from you,” Jas 2:7) and to avoid (“Do not speak evil against one another,” Jas 2:11). For James, orthopraxy is more important than orthodoxy; actions speak louder than words. The individual must take action, their righteousness is not a passive state (Jas 2:14–26).

Hebrews and Epistles of Peter have a common theme, namely, those who do not remember their baptism and continue to sin will be cut off. Their baptism and the cleansing of sins marks them as followers of Christ, but they must act in accordance with that, or they will lose their identity as the children of God. For James, who does not mention baptism, the cleansing of hands (actions) and hearts is required to maintain righteousness.

---

<sup>894</sup> Martin Dibelius and Heinrich Greeven, *James: A Commentary on the Epistle of James*, trans. Michael A. Williams, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975), 226; Peter H. Davids, *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 166; Edgar V. McKnight and Christopher Lee Church, *Hebrews-James*, SHBC 28 (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2004), 388.

## 5.5 Concluding Remarks

The analysis of cleansing verbs demonstrates that the writers of the New Testament compositions were very concerned with moral cleansing. Indeed, a substantial majority of occurrences of body cleansing refer to moral cleansing (64%). In part, this is due to John's baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins as shown in §5.2.1.3. John calls Israel to repent and prepare for the eschaton. This is intricately tied to his rite of immersion as it was for the Yahad (cf. (§§2.2.3–4; 3.2.3–3.2.4). Baptism however is not the only occurrence of moral cleansing in the gospels. Discussions on ritual purity, clean and unclean food, and pruning branches are used by Jesus to emphasize moral purity. As argued in §§5.2.2–4, Jesus is not replacing ritual purity with moral purity. Indeed, he is arguing from the Hebrew scriptures to make his point as demonstrated in the discussion of Mark 7 (cf. §5.2.2). Moral cleansing in the epistles shifts slightly to transforming and sanctifying. The Pauline Epistles in particular are concerned with new life and new creation as a result of baptism (1 Cor 6:11; Col 2:12–13; Rom 6:3–14, 19; Titus 2:14; 3:5–7; 2 Thess 2:13). The writers of Hebrews, 1 and 2 Peter, and James are concerned that those baptised continue to live a righteous life; they have been morally cleansed and must live accordingly.

The analysis here also revealed an important anomaly. Despite an overall increase in occurrences of moral cleansing and the divine Spirit compared with the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran discoveries, New Testament writings connects a divine Spirit with moral cleansing significantly less than either of the other two. This unexpected result was confirmed when analysing these occurrences within each composition or group of compositions and some light was shed on the mystery.<sup>895</sup> The

---

<sup>895</sup> Cf. §5.0.1 for the full results.

most noteworthy result is that despite moral cleansing comprising over half of the occurrences of cleansing in the Johannine corpus (55%), only 6% of these moral cleansing occurrences were paired with a divine Spirit. In fact, there is only one instance and that occurs in the narrative of John's baptism (John 1:19–35). As discussed in §5.2.6, the Evangelist contrasts John's baptism of water and Jesus' baptism in the Spirit in Christological terms. John makes three statements about the coming one. The first sets up Jesus as the Messiah who will sprinkle, fulfilling Isa 52:13–15 where “marred” is read as “anointed” and “startled” is read as “sprinkled” (as per Brownlee's reading of 1QIsa), and with the addition of Messiah in Isa 52:13 in Targum Jonathan. The second statement reveals that Jesus is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world, fulfilling Isa 53. The third statement reveals the means by which Jesus will fulfil these prophecies, viz. by baptising with the Holy Spirit. Thus, Jesus the Messiah will cleanse the sins of the world by baptising in the Holy Spirit. Yet, the Spirit is not paired with moral cleansing again in the Fourth Gospel. A close reading of the Johannine texts reveals a couple of interesting factors. As there are only three occurrences in 1 John, it is sufficient to note in passing that in this composition cleansing is effected by the blood of Jesus rather than the Spirit. There are a few contributing factors to the extremely low percentage of moral cleansing pairing with a Spirit in the Gospel of John: (1) the Evangelist's version of the Baptist's statement regarding water and Spirit baptism emphasizes that John baptised in water three times vs. the synoptics which mention John baptising in water just once; (2) The verb “baptise” is used six times in relation to Jesus and his disciples baptising (inferring water). The narrative of Jesus baptising is unique to the Fourth Gospel and accounts for almost half of all occurrences of the verb baptise. As the Spirit is not mentioned in this narrative, the percentage of moral cleansing paired with the Spirit is dramatically

reduced; (3) another factor which may be at play is in the Fourth Gospel, the Spirit (or Paraclete) cannot be given until Christ's death and resurrection. John is careful to avoid any indication that the Spirit was given before this time. However, this would be conflating two understandings of baptism in the Spirit, i.e., cleansing in the Spirit as seen in the Synoptic Gospels with receiving the gift of the Spirit as seen in Acts and the Pauline Epistles.

The postponement in Spirit baptism is also seen in the Gospel of Luke where the Spirit is given on the Day of Pentecost and in Matthew where baptism in the Spirit occurs as the disciples share the gospel to all nations (Matt 28:19). The absence of any explicit fulfilment of the promise of baptism in the Spirit in Mark prompts a close reading which then offers a different interpretation. Most, if not all, scholars agree that Jesus performs his miracles through the power of the Holy Spirit. However, very few view this as baptising or cleansing with the Holy Spirit. Yates, Brown, Taylor, and Adinolfi argue that Jesus is baptising in the Spirit throughout his earthly ministry.<sup>896</sup> This reading relies on making a distinction between the Spirit being the means (i.e., the cleansing agent), versus the object (i.e., receiving the Spirit as a permanent endowment) of baptism. In Acts and much of the Pauline Epistles, the Spirit is the object, the gift of baptism. However, Acts 10, 11, and 1 Cor 6:12 demonstrate that the Holy Spirit cleanses and is the means of baptism, not only the object or gift. As is often the case with the divine Spirit, narrow classifications are impossible. It is never a case of either/or, but yes/and. If the gift of the Spirit does not occur until Christ has been resurrected, it does not preclude the Spirit from being the means of cleansing in baptism

---

<sup>896</sup> Yates, "The Form of Mark 1:8b."; Yates, *The Spirit and the Kingdom*, esp. 9–46; Brown, *Miracles and the Critical Mind*, 300–310; Taylor and Adinolfi, "John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist." Cf. §§4.2.1; 4.3.4.1; 5.2.2.

in Jesus' earthly ministry of healing and exorcism. Nor for that matter does it preclude the possibility that John baptised in both water and Spirit.

Statistics are a useful tool and one benefit they bring is to highlight anomalies which merit further investigation. This examination has led to a different interpretation of baptism in the Spirit, especially considering the Yahad's understanding of the role of the Holy Spirit in their purification rites and subsequent transformation. The cleansing of the Holy Spirit is central to both the Yahad and the Jesus followers.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

The starting point for this thesis is the pairing of water and Spirit in John the Baptist's statement found in some form in all four gospels and Acts (Matt 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33; Acts 1:5; 11:16). John baptises in water, but another will baptise in the Holy Spirit. This prompts a few initial questions regarding the nature of baptisms in water and the Holy Spirit, and if they are related or different. Additionally, what is the background for John's baptism in water and is there is an antecedent for the notion of baptism in the Spirit. This thesis challenges a number of assumptions underlying a traditional Christian reading of John the Baptist, and water and Spirit baptism. Namely: (1) John's baptism is an initiation rite; (2) John has no other role or importance other than being the forerunner of Jesus; (3) John only baptises in water, an inferior baptism, while Jesus baptises in the Holy Spirit, a superior baptism; (4) after the last of the exilic prophets the divine Spirit departed from the Jewish people until John the Baptist; and (5) baptism in the Spirit is equated with the Day of Pentecost experience and receiving the Spirit as a gift.

These assumptions about baptism in water and Spirit have been reassessed in light of the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran literature, where water and spirit are often paired, to open up new avenues of understanding. The research to answer the initial thesis questions led to the shores of the Dead Sea, the scrolls found there, and the archaeological remains of the community associated with the Yaḥad compositions. The Scrolls provide critical information on Second Temple Judaism which, we have seen, offers insights into narratives about John the Baptist. This is particularly so regarding the spirit, which is closely connected to cleansing from sin. A number of scholars have noted the similarities between the covenant renewal ceremony described in 1QS III, 3–9

and John's baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins, with some noting the presence of the Holy Spirit in both.<sup>897</sup> Some scholars have done comprehensive studies on purity in the Hebrew scriptures and Scrolls.<sup>898</sup> Others have investigated the divine spirit in the Scrolls.<sup>899</sup> However, there is a paucity of studies which give sustained and focused attention to the aspect of moral cleansing by both water and Spirit in the writings of the Second Temple era. This study seeks to fill that gap and to illuminate John's statement of water and Spirit baptism by setting him in the context of ritual purification and an expectation of an eschatological cleansing by a divine Spirit.

---

<sup>897</sup> Kraeling, *John the Baptist*; Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of the Ancient Scrolls," 71–90; Dahl, "The Origin of Baptism," 36–52; Robinson, "Baptism of John," 175–192; H. H. Rowley, "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect," in *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, 1893–1958*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 218–229; David Flusser, "Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect," in *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls, in Memory of E L Sukenik*, ed. Chaim Rabin, Yigael Yadin, and Jacob Licht (Jerusalem: Hekhal Ha-Sefer, 1961), 209–239; Gnilka, "Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe," 185–207; Pryke, "John the Baptist," 483–496; Wink, *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*; Charles H. H. Scobie, "John the Baptist," in *The Scrolls and Christianity*, ed. Matthew Black, Theological Collections 11 (London: SPCK, 1969), 58–69; Thyen, "βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν", 131–168; George R. Beasley-Murray, *Baptism in the New Testament* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1972); Smith, "Jewish Proselyte Baptism," 13–32; Reicke, "The Historical Setting of John's Baptism," 209–224; Ernst, *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte*; Betz, "Was John the Baptist an Essene?," 18–25; Webb, *John the Baptizer and Prophet*; Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: ein Sachbuch* (Freiburg im Br: Herder, 1994); Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Origin of Christian Baptism," in *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism, JsJSup 50* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 219–238; Taylor, *Immerser*; Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*; Fitzmyer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*; Chilton, "John the Purifier," 247–267; Evans, "The Baptism of John", 45–71; Charlesworth, "John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls", 8–35; Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church*; Stanley E. Porter, "Was John the Baptist a Member of the Qumran Community? Once More," in *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts, TENTS 10 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 283–313; Ben Witherington, III, *John the Baptist*, ed. Joel B. Green, 2nd ed., DJG (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013); Ithamar Gruenwald, "The Baptism of Jesus in Light of Jewish Ritual Practice," *Neot 50*, no. 2 (2016): 301–325; Baumgarten, "Baptism of John", 399–414; Marcus, *John the Baptist*; Benjamin J. Snyder, "Ritual Purity and the Origin of John's βάπτισμα μετανοίας" (PhD Thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, 2019).

<sup>898</sup> Neusner, "The Idea of Purity," 15–26; Newton, *The Concept of Purity*; Harrington, *Impurity Systems*; Hyam Maccoby, *Ritual and Morality. The Ritual Purity System and its Place in Judaism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*; Regev, "Pure Individualism," 176–202; Lawrence, *Washing in Water*; Haber, "They Shall Purify Themselves"; Furstenberg, "Initiation," 365–394; Thomas Kazen, *Impurity and Purification in Early Judaism and the Jesus Tradition* (Atlanta: SBL, 2021).

<sup>899</sup> Bruce, "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts," 49–55; Deasley, "The Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 45–73; Knibb, *The Qumran Community*; Levison, *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*; Puech, "L'esprit saint à Qumrân," 283–297; Newsom, "Flesh, Spirit", 339–354; Tigchelaar, "Historical Origins", 167–240; Frey, "Notion of the Spirit", 83–102; Levison, *The Holy Spirit Before Christianity*.

Although water and spirit are most often paired in that order (Matt 3:11; Mark 1:8; Luke 3:16; John 1:33; 3:5), this thesis begins with an investigation into conceptions of a divine spirit in the Qumran discoveries to see if some light could be shed on how John's audience understood Spirit and what baptism with the Spirit would mean to them. Four activities of the spirit are identified and frame the outline of Chapter 2. Analysis of the spirit in the Qumran discoveries reveals that water and spirit are often paired in passages concerned with moral cleansing. These associations then bring a heightened sensitivity to the examination of water in the context of cleansing in Chapter 3. Notions of moral cleansing by the divine spirit are rooted in the Hebrew Bible, particularly Psalm 51 and Ezekiel 36. Echoes of these texts reverberate throughout Second Temple literature, but most especially within the texts composed or valued by the Yahad. Statistical analysis proved to be an efficient way in which to see trends that could then be examined exegetically and comparatively between different compositions where spirit, water, and purity were at play. Occurrences of moral cleansing are isolated and cross referenced with the divine spirit. This analysis reveals some very significant results demonstrating that the divine spirit is central to moral cleansing and transformation in the Yahad. The same methods were applied to spirit and water in the New Testament with unexpected results; namely, while the frequency of references to the Spirit are notably higher than either the Hebrew scriptures or the Qumran discoveries, connecting the Spirit with moral cleansing is significantly less.

Metaphors of water and Spirit are used in connection with creation as seen in Gen 1 where the spirit hovers over the water. It is noteworthy that the first occurrence of the word used by the Rabbis for the ritual purification bath, or *miqveh* (מִקְוֵה), is in Gen 1:10 where God gathers the water into seas; thus, purification is connected back to creation. Other compositions refer to the spirit or breath (רוח) of God giving life at

creation (Ps 33:6; 104:29; Isa 42:5). The association of living water and the holy spirit is also found in Gen Rab 70:9 (on Gen 29:2–3) where the drawing of water from a well is interpreted as drawing the holy spirit.<sup>900</sup> As demonstrated in §§4.3.5 and 5.2.5, water and spirit are paired together with creation in the Fourth Gospel when Jesus describes a second birth or re-creation when he proclaims that only those “born (γεννηθῆ) of water and Spirit” (John 3:5) can enter the kingdom of God. Furthermore, living water gives life to the believer (John 4:1–30) and is used in this sense as an analogy for the future gift of the Spirit in John 7:37–39. The spring of water, as an analogy of the Spirit, provided by Jesus (John 4:14; 7:38) brings renewal and life.<sup>901</sup>

Liquid metaphors of Spirit are frequent in the Hebrew Bible, Second Temple literature, and New Testament compositions.<sup>902</sup> The Spirit is poured over an individual to reveal knowledge and wisdom (Prov 1:29; Sir 39:6; 1 Enoch 91:1; Acts 2:33). Water and spirit are poured onto dry ground, it becomes fruitful, and Israel is blessed (Isa 29:10; 32:15). God will pour out his spirit upon Israel when he gathers them back together in the eschaton (Ezek 39:29; Joel 2:28–29, cf. Acts 2:17–18; Zech 12:10–13:1). There is imagery of abundance in these texts; water and spirit both bring verdant life into desert places. The use of liquid metaphors of the Spirit which produce life is also seen in the New Testament. The Spirit is poured out on the gentiles, they are immersed in water and are given repentance which leads to life (Acts 10:45–11:18). God’s love is poured into hearts through the Holy Spirit which transforms suffering into hope (Rom 5:5). Titus combines metaphors of water with liquid metaphors of the Spirit in the context of salvation, new life, and eternal life:

---

<sup>900</sup> Cf. y. Sukkah 5:1,3.

<sup>901</sup> Hooker, “John’s Baptism”, 37.

<sup>902</sup> Isa 29:10; 32:15; 44:3; Ezek 39:29; Joel 2:28–29; Zech 12:10; Prov 1:29; Sir 39:6; Enoch 91:1; T. Jud. 24:2–3; T. Benj. 9:4; 4Q504 1–2 R v 11–16a; Acts 2:17–18, 33; 10:45; Rom 5:5; Titus 3:6.

But when the goodness and loving kindness of God our Saviour appeared, he saved us, not because of any works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the water of rebirth and renewal by the Holy Spirit. This Spirit he poured out on us richly through Jesus Christ our Saviour, so that, having been justified by his grace, we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life. (Titus 3:4–7)

The Spirit is poured out richly, resulting in abundant renewed life and eternal life in the eschaton. Paul uses another liquid metaphor for the Spirit which also conveys abundance, “in the one Spirit we were all baptised (ἐβαπτίσθημεν) into one body ... and we were all made to drink (ἐποτίσθημεν) of one Spirit” (1 Cor 12:13). As demonstrated in §5.3, ποτίζω is better translated as “deluged” or “drenched”. The Jesus follower is immersed in and drenched with the Spirit.

The image of water or blood being sprinkled for purification in the Hebrew Bible is adapted to depict the divine spirit as the agent of cleansing in the compositions of the *Yahad*. God will purify by the holy spirit and will sprinkle the spirit of truth like waters of purification (1QS IV, 21). The sprinkling of the holy spirit purifies the heart (1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38), atones for guilt (1QH<sup>a</sup> XXIII, 29b, 33), and strengthens, viz. transforms (1QH<sup>a</sup> XV, 9–10). It is noteworthy that the writers of the New Testament do not make use of the imagery of sprinkling the Spirit for purification. Pure water or blood (whether of temple sacrifice or Jesus) is sprinkled for purification (Heb 10:22; 12:24; 1 Pet 1:2). However, in the last example, Peter combines sanctification, i.e., moral cleansing, by the Spirit with the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus.

The weight of evidence presented in this thesis (esp. Chs. 3, 5), demonstrates that metaphors and metonymies of water symbolizing cleansing are used extensively in the context of religious concepts. Physical washing is used for ritual purification which in turn is used as the metaphor for the forgiveness and removal of immoral attitudes and

actions. Examining the divine spirit in the Hebrew scriptures and Qumran discoveries reveals that cleansing is a primary activity of the spirit. While drawing on cultic language of ritual purification, cleansing by the spirit is always moral in nature. Ps 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 are exemplars of the language of ritual purification being used for moral cleansing in association with the spirit. As shown in Chapter 3, Psalm 51 is intricately connected with the ideas of cleansing from sin and transformation by a divine spirit as found especially in Ezekiel 36. These two passages can be compared in the following ways:

- 1) the cleansing from sin (Ps 51:2, 7, 10; Ezek 36:25);
- 2) a gift of a new heart and new spirit (Ps 51:10; Ezek 36:26);
- 3) the willing spirit in Ps 51:12 with the guidance of the divine spirit to follow the laws of God in Ezek 36:27.

The motifs of cleansing and transformation in these passages resonate in later Jewish writings. This study breaks new ground in intertextual studies by broadening the search to looking for similarities in ideology whether exact words or phrases are present or not. Thereby, allusions or echoes of Ps 51 and Ezek 36:25–27 in Second Temple literature are identified, which previous studies, using a more restrictive definition of allusion, have not previously found.<sup>903</sup> The evidence presented in §§3.2–3.4 clearly shows an increase in the concern for moral cleansing in the Second Temple era. Additionally, water and spirit are often paired in the context of eschatological cleansing and hope, viz. 1QS III, 4–9; 1QS IV, 21–22; 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV, 38; 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 28–30; 4Q381 46a+b 5b–8;

---

<sup>903</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*; Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*, 5; Tanzer, *Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot*, 255–275; Tzoref, *The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule*, 203–234.

4Q381 69 6; 4Q393 1ii-2, 2-7; 4Q504 1-2 v, 15-vi, 3; Plea for Deliverance (11Q5 XIX); Jub. 1:20-24; Prayer of Levi; Pss.Sol 18:5-9; T. Jud. 24:2-3. Critically, for the Yahad, the divine spirit is the means of moral cleansing, while water is the means of ritual cleansing; they are paired together. This clearly demonstrates that cleansing by the divine spirit is central to this Jewish community.

The New Testament is also very concerned with moral cleansing. As argued in §5.2.1, and is seen in the Gospels and Acts, while John's baptism by water is a rite of purification, it is also a baptism of repentance for the forgiveness of sins. In this way, it is very similar to the covenant renewal ceremony of the Yahad. As such, Ps 51 and Ezek 36:25-27 are exerting influence on the way in which this is formulated and understood. In particular the eschatological hope of renewal through the Spirit of the Lord as evidenced in Ezekiel is seen to be significant. Although the Baptist does not cite Ezekiel, the themes of moral cleansing, the divine Spirit, and transformation are present within a context of the eschaton. Before the death and resurrection of Jesus, the Gospel writers divide baptism in water and baptism in the Spirit, attributing cleansing of sins to baptism in water. However, after the resurrection, the two baptisms are brought together, and moral cleansing is also attributed to the Spirit.

Peter's speech on the Day of Pentecost contains the same themes of eschatological moral cleansing, the divine Spirit, and transformation. He quotes Joel, "In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh" (Acts 2:17), thereby setting the context of the eschaton. Furthermore, Luke narrates that those who welcomed his message to repent and be baptised in water, so that their sins may be forgiven, will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38). Paul also uses these themes from Ezek 36:25-27 in his letter to the Corinthians; they are washed (cleansed), sanctified (made holy, i.e., cleansed *and* transformed), and justified (in preparation for

the coming day of judgement) “in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God” (1 Cor 6:11). In other passages, Jesus followers are sanctified (ἁγιασμῶ) by the Spirit (2 Thess 2:13; 1 Pet 1:2).

Including variant texts in this study has provided further evidence for the association of Spirit with cleansing within the early Jesus movement. In the Western text, the Holy Spirit falls on the Ethiopian as he is immersed in water (Acts 8:26–39).<sup>904</sup> The variant texts of Luke 11:2, MSS 700 (11<sup>th</sup> century), and 162 (12<sup>th</sup> century) replace “may your kingdom come” with “may your Holy Spirit come (upon us) and cleanse us.” There are much earlier witnesses to the variant from Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa, and Maximus the Confessor which demonstrate that the notion of cleansing by the Holy Spirit was at the very least carried forward from the texts examined in this study and may even be original to Luke (cf. §4.4).

This study has demonstrated that water and spirit are often paired together in metaphors of cleansing and transformation, especially in an eschatological context. This suggests that the concept is ingrained in the Jewish psyche to such an extent that John’s audience understood his statement that another would baptise in the Holy Spirit as a fulfilment of the eschatological hope of purification, restoration, and renewal. They anticipated that they would be cleansed, purified, and transformed by water and the Spirit into a people capable of following God’s commandments.

---

<sup>904</sup> “πνευμα ἁγιον επεπесεν επι τον ευνουχον, αγγελος δε κυριου ηρπασεν τον Φιλιππον” A<sup>c</sup> 323, 453, 945, 1739, 1891, 2818 l (p w syh\*\*) mae.

## Bibliography

- Abegg, Martin G. "Ben Sira Manuscript B VIII Recto, Transcription and Translation." 2008. Accessed June 30, 2020.  
<https://www.bensira.org/navigator.php?Manuscript=B&PageNum=15>.
- Achtmeier, Paul J. *1 Peter: A Commentary on First Peter*. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996.
- Adinolfi, Federico. "Jesus and the Aims of John: Abandoning the Quest for the Underivable Jesus." In *From Jesus to Christian Origins: Second Annual Meeting of Bertinoro (1-4 October, 2015)*, edited by Adriana Destro. JAOC 16. 201–222. Turnhout: Brepols, 2019.
- Adler, Yonatan. "Along Ethnic Lines: The Case for Stepped Pools and Chalk Vessels as Markers of Jewish Purity Observance." In *Negotiating Identities: Conflict, Conversion, and Consolidation in Early Judaism and Christianity (200 BCE–600 CE)* edited by Karin Hedner Zetterholm, Anders Runesson, Magnus Zetterholm and Cecilia Wassén. ConBOT. Lanham, MD: Lexington/Fortress, Forthcoming.
- . "The Archaeology of Purity: Archaeological Evidence for the Observance of Ritual Purity in Erez-Israel from the Hasmonean Period until the End of the Talmudic Era (164 B.C.E.–400 C.E.)." Bar-Ilan University, 2011.
- . "Between Priestly Cult and Common Culture: The Material Evidence of Ritual Purity Observance in Early Roman Jerusalem Reassessed." *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 7, no. 2 (2016): 228–248.
- . "The Imperial Cult Meets Judaism: The Stepped Pools Adjacent to the Augusteum at Samaria-Sebaste." *JEMAHS* 9, no. 4 (2021): 395–414.
- . "On the Origins of Tevilah (Ritual Immersion)." In *TheTorah.com* (2017).  
<https://thetorah.com/on-the-origins-of-tevilah-ritual-immersion/>.
- . "Tosefta Shabbat 1:14 – "Come and See the Extent to Which Purity Had Spread" An Archaeological Perspective on the Historical Background to a Late Tannaitic Passage." In *Talmuda de-Eretz Israel Archaeology and the Rabbis in Late Antique Palestine*, edited by Steven Fine and Aaron Koller. SJ 73. 63–82. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- . "Toward an "Archaeology of Halakhah": Prospects and Pitfalls of Reading Early Jewish Ritual Law into the Ancient Material Record." *Archaeology and Text* 1 (2017): 27–38.
- Aitken, James K. "The Language of the Septuagint and Jewish–Greek Identity." In *Understanding the Times: New Testament Studies in the 21st Century: Essays in Honor of D.A. Carson on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* edited by Andreas J. Köstenberger and Robert W. Yarbrough, 120–134. Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 2011.
- Aland, Kurt, and Barbara Aland. *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism*. Translated by Erroll F. Rhodes. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995.
- Alexander, Philip S., and Géza Vermès. *Qumran Cave 4 Serek Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts*. DJD 26. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Allen, Leslie C. *Ezekiel 20–48*. WBC 29. Waco, TX: Word, 1990.
- Alon, Gedalyahu. "The Bounds of the Laws of Levitical Cleanness." Translated by Israel Abrahams. In *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish*

- History in the Times of the Second Temple and Talmud*, 190–234. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977.
- Anderson, Paul N. “John and Qumran: Discovery and Interpretation over Sixty Years.” In *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, edited by Mary L Coloe and Tom Thatcher. EJL 32. 15–50. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011.
- Arnold, Russell C. D. “The Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran, and Ritual Studies.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages and Cultures*, edited by Armin Lange, Emanuel Tov and Matthias Weigold. VTSup 40. 547–562. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- . *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*. STDJ 60. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- “Aseneth.” In *The Pseudepigrapha (English)*, edited by Crag A. EvansOakTree Software, Inc., 2009.
- Askin, Lindsey A. *Scribal Culture in Ben Sira*. JSJSup 184. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- Attridge, Harold W. *Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989.
- Aune, David E. *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983.
- Baarda, T. J. “Mark IX. 49.” *NTS* 5, no. 4 (July 1959): 318–321.
- Baer, Heinrich von. *Der Heilige Geist in den Lukasschriften*. BWA(N)T 3. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1926.
- Baillet, M. *Qumran Grotte 4 III: 4Q482-4Q520*. DJD 7 Oxford: Clarendon press, 1982.
- Baldi, Donato, and Bellarmino Bagatti. *Saint Jean-Baptiste dans les souvenirs de sa patrie*. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1980.
- Barrett, C. K. *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*. BNTC 2nd ed. London: Black, 1971.
- . *The Gospel According to St. John: An Introduction with Commentary and Notes on the Greek Text*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978.
- . *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*. London: SPCK, 1966. 1947.
- Bauckham, Richard. *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993.
- . “The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam, 105–115. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000.
- Baumgarten, Albert I. “John and Jesus in Josephus: A Prelude to the Parting of the Ways.” In *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus*, edited by Lori Baron, Jill Hicks-Keeton, Matthew Thiessen and Joel Marcus. ECL 24. 41–63. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019.
- . “John the Baptist: The Absinthe of the Divine Feast?”. *JSHJ* 19 (2021): 47–61.
- . “Rescuing John the Baptist.” In *Apocryphal and Esoteric Sources in the Development of Judaism and Christianity: The Eastern Mediterranean, The Near East, and Beyond*, edited by Igor Dorfmann-Lazarev. TSEC 21. 352–367. Leiden: Brill, 2021.
- Baumgarten, Albert I. . “The Baptism of John in a Second Temple Jewish Context.” In *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, edited by J. Harold Ellens, Isaac W. Oliver, Jason von Ehrenkrook, James Waddell and Jason M. Zurawski. DCLS 38. 399–414. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

- Baumgarten, Joseph M. “The Law and Spirit of Purity at Qumran.” In *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 2, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 93–105. Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- . “The Purification Liturgies.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, 200–212. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- . “The Purification Rituals in DJD 7.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. STDJ 10. 199–209. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- . “Use of  $\text{מִן הַיָּם}$  for General Purification.” In *Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997*, edited by Galen Marquis, Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam, 481–485. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in Cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000.
- Baumgarten, Joseph M., Torleif Elgvin, Esther Eshel, Erik Larson, Manfred R. Lehmann, Stephen J. Pfann, and Lawrence H Schiffman. *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*. DJD 35. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- Baur, Ferdinand Christian. *Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, His Life and Work, His Epistles and His Doctrine. A Contribution to a Critical History of Primitive Christianity*. Vol. 2 2nd ed. London: Williams and Norgate, 1875.
- Beasley-Murray, George R. *Baptism in the New Testament*. Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997. 1962.
- . *Baptism in the New Testament*. Exeter: Paternoster, 1972.
- . *John*. WBC 36. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1987.
- Beentjes, Pancratius Cornelis. *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*. VTSup 68. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Belleville, Linda L. “‘Born of Water and Spirit’: John 3:5.” *TJ* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1980): 125–141.
- Ben-Dov, Jonathan. “Family Relations and the Economic-Metaphysical Message of *Instruction*.” *JSP* 30, no. 2 (2020): 87–100.
- Bermejo-Rubio, Fernando. “John the Baptist and Jesus of Nazareth, Two Rivals?: The Never Ending Story.” Paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online 2021.
- . “Why is John the Baptist Used as a Foil for Jesus?: Leaps of Faith and Oblique Anti-Judaism in Contemporary Scholarship.” *JSHJ* 11, no. 2 (2013): 170–196.
- Best, Ernest. *A Commentary on The First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*. BNTC 2nd ed. London: Black, 1977.
- Betz, Otto. *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*. WUNT 6. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1960.
- . “Was John the Baptist an Essene?”. *BRev* 6, no. 6 (1990): 18–25.
- Black, Matthew. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and the Acts*. 3rd ed. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Block, Daniel I. *Beyond the River Chebar: Historical, Literary, and Theological Studies on the Book of Ezekiel*. Cambridge: James Clark & Co, 2014.
- . *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*. NICOT Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Böcher, Otto. “Wasser und Geist.” In *Verborum veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Gustav Stählin, Otto Böcher and Klaus Haacker, 197–209. Wuppertal: Theologischer Verlag Brockhaus, 1970.
- Bock, Darrell L. *Acts*. BECNT 5. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007.
- . *Mark*. NCBC New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

- Boismard, Marie-Émile. "The First Epistle of John and the Writings of Qumran." In *John and Qumran*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 156–165. London: Chapman, 1972.
- Booth, Roger P. *Jesus and the Laws of Purity: Tradition History and Legal History in Mark 7* JSNTSup 13. Sheffield: JSOT, 1986.
- Bosma, Carl J. "Prayer, the Holy Spirit and Jubilee in the Life of Jesus and the Church." In *The Spirit Is Moving: New Pathways in Pneumatology: Studies Presented to Professor Cornelis Van Der Kooi on the Occasion of His Retirement*, edited by Cornelis van der Kooi, Gijsbert van den Brink, Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman and Maarten Wisse. SRT 38. 309–330. Leiden: Brill, 2019.
- Bousset, Wilhelm. *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus*. Translated by John E. Steely. Nashville: Abingdon, 1970. 1913.
- Boyarin, Daniel. *The Jewish Gospels: The Story of the Jewish Christ*. New York: The New Press, 2012.
- Braude, William G. *The Midrash on Psalms Vol. 1*. YJS 13. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Brooke, George J. "The Visualisation of the Sacred at Qumran." In *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, edited by Joel S. Baden, Hindy Najman and Eibert Tigchelaar. JSJSup 175. 225–40. Leiden: Brill, 2017.
- Broshi, Magen, Esther Eshel, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Erik Larson, Carol Newsom, Lawrence H Schiffman, Mark Smith, et al. *Qumran Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*. DJD 19. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- Brown, Colin. *Miracles and the Critical Mind*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Exeter: Paternoster, 1984.
- . "What Was John the Baptist Doing?." *BBR* 7 (1997): 37–49.
- Brown, Raymond E. *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*. AB New updated ed. New York: Doubleday, 1993.
- . *The Epistles of John: Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary*. AB 30. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982.
- . *The Gospel According to John XIII-XXI*. AB 29B. New York: Doubleday, 1970.
- . *The Gospel According to John: I–XII*. AB 29A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966.
- Brownlee, William H. "John the Baptist in the New Light of the Ancient Scrolls." *Interpretation* 9, no. 1 (1955): 71–90.
- . "The Servant of the Lord in the Qumran Scrolls I." *BASOR*, no. 132 (Dec. 1953): 8–15.
- . *Whence the Gospel According to John*. John and Qumran Edited by James H. Charlesworth. London: Chapman, 1972.
- Brownlee, William Hugh. "The Ceremony of Crossing the Jordan in the Annual Covenanting at Qumran." In *Von Kanaan bis Kerala: Festschrift für J.P.M. van der Ploeg*, 295–302. Kevelaer, Germany: Butzon und Bercker, 1982.
- Bruce, F. F. *1 & 2 Thessalonians*. WBC 45. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1982.
- . *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. NICNT Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- . "Holy Spirit in the Qumran Texts." *ALUOS*, no. VI (1969): 49–55.
- . "Luke's Presentation of the Spirit in Acts." *CTR* 5 (1990): 15–29.
- Bruner, Frederick Dale. *A Theology of the Holy Spirit: The Pentecostal Experience and the New Testament Witness*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970.

- Büchsel, Friedrich. *Der Geist Gottes im Neuen Testament*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. Translated by George Raymond Beasley-Murray. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971.
- . *The Johannine Epistles: A Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*. Translated by R. Philip O'Hara, Lane C. McGaughey and Robert W. Funk. Hermeneia Repr. ed. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978.
- Bultmann, Rudolf Karl. *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 9th. ed. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984.
- Burchard, Christoph. *Joseph and Aseneth*. The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Vol. 2, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- Burrows, Millar. *Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery, v 1: The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary, v 2 Manual of Discipline*. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950.
- . *The Dead Sea Scrolls: With Translations by the Author*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1956.
- Carruth, Shawn, and Albrecht Garsky. *The Database of the International Q Project. Q 11:2b-4*. Documenta Q Leuven: Peeters, 1996.
- Carson, D. A. *The Gospel According to John*. Pillar New Testament Commentary. Leicester: IVP; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991.
- . *Showing the Spirit: A Theological Exposition of 1 Corinthians 12–14*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2019. 1987.
- Charlesworth, James H. "A Caveat on Textual Transmission and the Meaning of Abba: A Study of the Lord's Prayer." In *The Lord's Prayer and Other Prayer Texts from the Greco-Roman Era*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, Mark Harding and Mark Christopher Kiley, 1–14. Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994.
- . *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. PTSDSSP 1. Tübingen; Louisville: Mohr Siebeck; Westminster John Knox, 1994.
- . "Foreword." In *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by James H. Charlesworth and Raymond E. Brown, xiii–xvi. New York: Crossroad, 1990.
- . "The Fourth Evangelist and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Assessing Trends over Nearly Sixty Years." In *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, edited by Mary L Coloe and Tom Thatcher. EJM 32. 161–182. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011.
- . "John the Baptizer and the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 3, The Scrolls and Christian Origins.*, 8-35. Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- . "Prayer of Manasseh." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha Vol. 2*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, 625–637. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- . "A Study in Shared Symbolism and Language: The Qumran Community and The Johannine Community." In *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 3, The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 97–152. Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- Charlesworth, James H., and Joseph M. Baumgarten. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*. PTSDSSP 2. Tübingen; Louisville: Mohr Siebeck; Westminster John Knox, 1995.

- Chase, Frederic Henry. *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church*. TS 1.3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891.
- Chazon, Esther G. "Is Divrei Ha-Me'orot a Sectarian Prayer." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, edited by Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport. STDJ 10. 3–17. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- . "Liturgical function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection." In *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, edited by Daniel K. Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald W. Parry and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. STJD 91. 135–152. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Chilton, Bruce D. "John the Purifier: His Immersion and His Death." *HvTSt* 57, no. 1–2 (2001): 247–267.
- . *Judaic Approaches to the Gospels*. International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism 2. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994.
- . "Yohanan the Purifier and His Immersion." *TJT* 14, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 197–212.
- Cho, Youngmo. *Spirit and Kingdom in the Writings of Luke and Paul: An Attempt to Reconcile These Concepts*. Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2005.
- Christiansen, Ellen Juhl. "The Consciousness of Belonging to God's Covenant and What It Entails According to the Damascus Document and the Community Rule." In *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments*, edited by Frederick H Cryer and Thomas L Thompson. JSOTSup 290. 69–97. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998.
- . *The Covenant in Judaism and Paul: A Study in Ritual Boundaries as Identity Markers*. AGJU 27. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Cohen, Shaye J. D. *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah*. LEC 7. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987.
- Collins, Adela Yarbro. *Mark: A Commentary*. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2007.
- . "The Origin of Christian Baptism." In *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*. *JsJSup* 50. 219–238. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Collins, John J. *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993.
- . "Sibylline Oracles." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 317–472. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983.
- Conzelmann, Hans. *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*. Translated by James Limburg, A. Thomas Kraabel and Donald H. Juel. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987.
- . *The Theology of St. Luke*. Translated by Geoffrey Buswell. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982. 1961.
- Conzelmann, Hans, and James Warren Dunkly. *1 Corinthians: A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*. Translated by James W. Leitch. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975.
- Cotterell, Peter. "The Nicodemus Conversation: A Fresh Appraisal." *ExpTim* 96, no. 8 (1985): 237–242.
- Craffert, Pieter F. "Digging up Common Judaism in Galilee: Miqva'ot at Sepphoris as a Test Case." *Neotestamentica* 34, no. 1 (2000): 39–55.
- Craigie, Peter C., Page H. Kelley, and Joel F. Drinkard. *Jeremiah 1-25*. WBC 26. Dallas: Word, 1991.

- Creed, John Martin. *The Gospel According to St. Luke: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*. London: Macmillan, 1930.
- Cross, Frank Moore. *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*. New York: Doubleday, 1958.
- . *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Crossley, James G. *Date of Mark's Gospel: Insight from the Law in Earliest Christianity*. JSNTSup 266. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Cuming, Geoffrey J. “ἐπιτίσθημεν (1 Corinthians 12:13).” *NTS* 27, no. 2 (1981): 283–285.
- Cuneo, Terence D. *Ritualized Faith: Essays on the Philosophy of Liturgy*. Oxford Studies in Analytic Theology Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Dahl, Nils Alstrup. “The Origin of Baptism.” In *Interpretationes ad Vetus Testamentum pertinentes Sigmundo Mowinckel septuagenario missae*, edited by Nils Alstrup Dahl and Arvid S. Kapelrud, 36–52. Oslo: Land og Kirke, 1955.
- Daise, Michael A. “Processual Modality in Qumran Ritual: Introduction into the Counsel of the Yachad in 1QS.” *ASE* 30, no. 2 (2013): 303–315.
- . “The Temporal Relationship Between the Covenant Renewal Rite and the Initiation Process in 1QS.” In *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*, edited by Michael Thomas Davis and Brent A. Strawn, 150–160. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007.
- Dalglisch, E. R. *Psalms Fifty-one In the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism*. Leiden: Brill, 1962.
- Dalman, Gustaf. *The Words of Jesus Considered in the Light of Post-biblical Jewish Writings and the Aramaic Language*. Translated by D. M. Kay. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909.
- Danker, Frederick W. *Jesus and the New Age According to St. Luke: A Commentary on the Third Gospel*. St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1972.
- Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Davids, Peter H. *The Epistle of James: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982.
- Davies, W. D., and Dale C. Allison, Jr. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew, 1–7*. ICC Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988.
- de Jonge, Marinus. “Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi.” In *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Esther G. Chazon, Michael E. Stone and Avital Pinnick. STDJ 31. 71–89. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- . *The Psalms of Solomon*. Outside the Old Testament 4. Edited by Marinus De Jonge. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-language Edition*. Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/Word Alliance, 1996.
- Deasley, Alex R. G. “The Holy Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 21, no. 1–2 (Spring 1986): 45–73.
- Deines, Roland. “The Holy Spirit in Matthew’s Gospel.” In *The Earliest Perceptions of Jesus in Context Essays in Honour of John Nolland on His 70th Birthday*, edited by Aaron White, Craig Evans and David Wenham, 213–235. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2018.

- Delobel, Joël. "Extra-Canonical Sayings of Jesus: Marcion and Some 'Non-received' Logia." In *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century: Origins, Recensions, Text, and Transmission*, edited by Barbara Aland and William Lawrence Petersen. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 3. 105–116. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1989.
- . "The Lord's Prayer in the Textual Tradition. A Critique of Recent Theories and Their View on Marcion's Role." In *The New Testament in Early Christianity = La réception des écrits néotestamentaires dans le Christianisme primitif*, edited by Jean-Marie Sevrin and Barbara Aland. BETL 86. 293–309. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1989.
- Dibelius, Martin. *Die urchristliche Überlieferung von Johannes dem Täufer*. FRLANT 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911.
- Dibelius, Martin, and Hans Conzelmann. *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*. Translated by Philip Buttolph and Adela Yarbro. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977.
- Dibelius, Martin, and Heinrich Greeven. *James: A Commentary on the Epistle of James*. Translated by Michael A. Williams. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975.
- Dillon, Richard J. "A Narrative Analysis of the Baptist's Nativity in Luke 1." *CBQ* 79, no. 2 (2017): 240–260.
- Dodd, C. H. *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- . *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.
- Donahue, John R., and Daniel J. Harrington. *The Gospel of Mark*. SP 2. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005.
- Drawnel, Henryk. *An Aramaic Wisdom Text From Qumran: A New Interpretation Of The Levi Document*. JSJSup 86. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Duhaime, Jean. "Instruction sur les deux esprits et les interpolations dualistes a Qumrân (1QS III, 13-IV, 26)." *RB* 84, no. 4 (1977): 566-594.
- Dunn, James D. G. *The Acts of the Apostles*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016.
- . *Baptism in the Holy Spirit: A Re-Examination of the New Testament Teaching on the Gift of the Spirit*. SBT 15. London: SCM, 1970.
- . "'The Lord, the Giver of Life': The Gift of the Spirit as Both Life-giving and Empowering." In *The Spirit and Christ in the New Testament and Christian Theology: Essays in Honor of Max Turner*, edited by Max Turner, I. Howard Marshall, Volker Rabens and Cornelis Bennema, 1–17. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.
- . *Romans 1–8*. WBC 38A. Dallas: Word, 1988.
- . *Romans 9–16*. WBC 38B. Dallas: Word, 1988.
- . "Spirit-and-Fire Baptism." *NovT* 14, no. 2 (1972): 81–92.
- . "Spirit and Kingdom." *ExpTim* 82, no. 2 (1970): 36–40.
- . *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- Dupont-Sommer, André. *The Essene Writings From Qumran*. Translated by Géza Vermès. New York: Meridian Books, 1962.
- Eichrodt, Walther. *Ezekiel: A Commentary*. OTL London: SCM, 1970.
- Ellis, E. Earle. *The Gospel of Luke*. The Century Bible, New Edition London: Nelson, 1966.
- Engberg-Pedersen, Troels. "A Stoic Understanding of Pneuma in Paul." In *Philosophy at the Roots of Christianity*, edited by Troels Engberg-Pedersen, Henrik Tronier,

- Gitte Buch-Hansen and Stefan Nordgaard Svendsen. Working Papers 2. 101–123. Copenhagen: Faculty of Theology, University of Copenhagen, 2006.
- Epp, Eldon Jay. “It’s All about Variants: A Variant-Conscious Approach to New Testament Textual Criticism.” *HTR* 100, no. 3 (2007): 275–308.
- Ernst, Josef. *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*. RNT Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1977.
- . *Johannes der Täufer: Interpretation, Geschichte, Wirkungsgeschichte*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989.
- Eshel, Esther. “4QRitual of Purification A.” In *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, edited by Joseph M. Baumgarten. DJD 35. 135–154. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- . “4QRitual of Purification A.” Chap. bd., tav. : illustrations In *Qumran Cave 4 XXV: Halakhic Texts*, edited by Joseph M. Baumgarten. DJD 35. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- . “Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period.” In *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Esther Chazon, G., Ruth Clements and Avital Pinnick. STDJ 48. 69–88. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Eshel, Esther, Esther G. Chazon, and John Strugnell. *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts*. DJD 29. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- Evans, Christopher Francis. *Saint Luke*. TPINTC London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990.
- Evans, Craig A. “The Baptism of John in Typological Context.” In *Dimensions of Baptism: Biblical and Theological Studies*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Anthony R. Cross. JSNTSup 234. 45–71. London: Sheffield Academic, 2002.
- Fabry, Heinz-Josef. רות. TDOT Edited by G. Johannes Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren and Heinz-Josef Fabry. 16 vols. Vol. 13, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Falk, Daniel K. “4QCommunal Confession.” In *Qumran Cave 4 XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts Part 2*. DJD 29. 45–61. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- . *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 27. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Fee, Gordon D. *The First and Second Letters to the Thessalonians*. NICNT Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- . *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. NICNT Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987.
- . *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*. NICNT Rev. ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2014.
- . *God’s Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Ferguson, Everett. *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology, and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins*. SDSSRL Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- . *First Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AYB 32. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.
- . *The Gospel According to Luke X-XXIV: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. AYB 28A. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- . “Qumran Literature and the Johannine Writings.” In *Life in Abundance: Studies of John’s Gospel in Tribute to Raymond E. Brown, S.S.*, edited by Raymond E. Brown and John R. Donahue, 117–133. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2005.
- Flemington, W. F. *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism*. London: SPCK, 1948.
- Flint, Peter W. *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*. STDJ 17. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

- Flusser, David. "Baptism of John and the Dead Sea Sect." In *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls, in Memory of E L Sukenik*, edited by Chaim Rabin, Yigael Yadin and Jacob Licht, 209–239. Jerusalem: Hekhal Ha-Sefer, 1961.
- . "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity." In *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin. *ScrHier* 4. 215–266. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965.
- . *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Qumran and Apocalypticism*. Translated by Azzan Yadin. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Jerusalem, Israel: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2007.
- . "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran, Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, edited by Michael E. Stone. *JWSTP* 2. 551–577. Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- . "Qumrân and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers." *IEJ* 16, no. 3 (1966): 194–205.
- Flusser, David, and R. Steven Notley. *Jesus*. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 1997.
- Förster, Niclas. "Jesus der Täufer und die Reinwaschung der Jünger." *NTS* 64, no. 4 (2018): 455–472.
- Foster, Paul. "Echoes without Resonance: Critiquing Certain Aspects of Recent Scholarly Trends in the Study of the Jewish Scriptures in the New Testament." *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 38, no. 1 (2015): 96–111.
- Fowler, William G., and Michael Strickland. *The Influence of Ezekiel in the Fourth Gospel*. *BibInt* 167. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Fox, Michael V. *Proverbs 10–31: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AYB 188. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Fraade, Steven D. *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages*. *JSJSup* 147. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Freudenberger, Rudolf. "Zum Text der zweiten Vaterunserbitte." *New Testament Studies* 15, no. 4 (1969): 419–432.
- Frey, Jörg. "Flesh and Spirit in the Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Pauline Usage." In *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought*, edited by C. Hempel, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger. *BETL*, 367–404. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002.
- . "How Did the Spirit Become a Person?." In *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Jörg Frey and John R. Levison. *Ekstasis* 5. 343–372. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- . "The Notion of 'Flesh' in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage." In *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo, 1998: Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet*, edited by Daniel K. Falk, Florentino García Martínez and Eileen M. Schuller. *STDJ* 35. 197–226. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- . "The Notion of the Spirit in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Texts of the Early Jesus Movement." In *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, edited by Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister and Michael Segal. *STDJ* 127. 83–102. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

- . “Paul’s View of the Spirit in the Light of Qumran.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, edited by Jean-Sebastien Rey. STDJ 102. 237–260. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Frey, Jörg, and John R. Levison. “The Origins of Early Christian Pneumatology: On the Rediscovery and Reshaping of the History of Religions Quest.” In *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Jörg Frey and John R. Levison. Ekstasis 5. 1–38. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- Frisch, Alexandria, and Lawrence H. Schiffman. “The Body in Qumran Literature: Flesh and Spirit, Purity and Impurity in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *DSD* 23 (2016): 155–182.
- Furstenberg, Yair. “Defilement Penetrating the Body: A New Understanding of Contamination in Mark 7.15.” *NTS* 54, no. 2 (2008): 176–200.
- . “Initiation and the Ritual Purification from Sin: Between Qumran and the Apostolic Tradition.” *DSD* 23, no. 3 (2016): 365–394.
- Galor, Katharina. “Plastered Pools: A New Perspective.” In *Khirbet Qumrân et ‘Ain Feshka II*, edited by Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Jan Gunneweg. NTOA / SUNT, 291–320. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.
- García Martínez, Florentino. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.
- . “The Problem of Purity: The Qumran Solution.” In *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 139–57. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Gardner, Thomas J., and Terry M. Anderson. *Criminal Law*. 13th ed. Boston, MA: Cengage Learning, 2018.
- Garland, David E. *1 Corinthians*. BECNT Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003.
- Gärtner, Bertil E. *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism*. SNTSMS 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- Gaster, Theodor Herzl. *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1957.
- Gilders, William K. “The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees.” In *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, edited by Gabriele Boccaccini, Giovanni Ibba, Jason von Ehrenkrook, James Alan Waddell and Jason Zurawski, 178–192. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- Gillingham, Susan E. *Psalms Through the Centuries Volume 2: A Reception History Commentary on Psalms 1–72*. Wiley Blackwell Bible Commentaries Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2018.
- Gnilka, Joachim. “Die essenischen Tauchbäder und die Johannestaufe.” *RevQ* 3, no. 2 (10) (1961): 185–207.
- Goff, Matthew J. *4QInstruction*. WLAW 2. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2013.
- . “Being Fleshly or Spiritual: Anthropological Reflection and Exegesis of Genesis 1–3 in 4QInstruction and First Corinthians.” In *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, edited by Benjamin Bertho and Claire Clivaz. WUNT 284. 41–59. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- . “Genesis 1-3 and Conceptions of Humankind in 4Q Instruction, Philo and Paul.” In *Early Christian Literature and Intertextuality. Volume 2: Exegetical*

- Studies*, edited by Craig A. Evans and Danny Zacharias. SSEJC 15. 114–125. London: T&T Clark, 2009.
- . “Looking for Sapiential Dualism at Qumran.” In *Dualism in Qumran*, edited by Géza G. Xeravits. LSTS 76. 20–38. London: T&T Clark, 2010.
- Goodman, Martin. “The Qumran Sectarians and the Temple in Jerusalem.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context*, edited by Charlotte Hempel. STDJ 90. 263–273. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Grässer, Erich. *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den Synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte*. BZNW 22. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1957.
- Greenspahn, Frederick E. “Why Prophecy Ceased.” *JBL* 108, no. 1 (Spr 1989): 37–49.
- Greeven, Heinrich. *Gebet und Eschatologie im Neuen Testament*. NTF: Beiträge zur Sprache und Geschichte der urchristlichen Frömmigkeit 3.1. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1931.
- Gregory of Nyssa, Saint, and John F. Callahan. *Gregorii Nysseni De oratione dominica, De Beatitudinibus*. Gregorii Nysseni opera; v. 7 pt. 2 Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.
- Gregory of Nyssa, Saint, and Hilda C. Graef. *The Lord’s Prayer. The Beatitudes*. Ancient Christian Writers; the Works of the Fathers in Translation 18. New York: Newman Press, 1954.
- Gruenwald, Ithamar. “The Baptism of Jesus in Light of Jewish Ritual Practice.” *Neot* 50, no. 2 (2016): 301–325.
- Guelich, Robert A. *Mark 1-8:26*. WBC 34A. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1989.
- Gunkel, Hermann. *The Influence of the Holy Spirit: The Popular View of the Apostolic Age and the Teaching of the Apostle Paul: A Biblical-Theological Study*. Translated by Roy A Harrisville and Philip A. Quanbeck II. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979. 1888.
- Haas, C., and M. de Jonge. *A Translator’s Handbook on the Letters of John*. Helps for Translators 13. New York: United Bible Societies, 1972.
- Haber, Susan. “*They Shall Purify Themselves*”: *Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*. EJL 24. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008.
- Haenchen, Ernst. *The Acts of the Apostles, a Commentary*. Translated by Bernard Noble, Gerald Shinn and R. McL. Wilson. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971. 1965 (German).
- Haenchen, Ernst, Robert W. Funk, and Ulrich Busse. *John 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of John, Chapters 1-6*. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- Hagner, Donald Alfred. *Matthew 1–13*. WBC 33A. Dallas: Word, 1993.
- . *Matthew 14–28*. WBC 33B. Dallas: Word, 1995.
- Hamilton, Victor P. *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17*. NICOT Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Harnack, Adolf von. *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott: Eine Monographie zur Geschichte der Grundlegung der katholischen Kirche*. TUGAL 45. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1921.
- . *Marcion: The Gospel of the Alien God*. Translated by John E. Steely and Lyle D. Bierma. Durham, NC: Labyrinth, 1990.
- . “Über einige Worte Jesu, die nicht in den kanonischen Evangelien stehen, nebst einem Anhang über die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vater-Unsers.” *SPAW* (1904): 170–207.
- Harrington, Hannah K. “Accessing Holiness via Ritual Ablutions in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature.” In *Sacrifice, Cult, and Atonement in Early Judaism and Christianity*, edited by Henrietta L. Wiley and Christian A. Eberhart, 71–95. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017.

- . “Holiness and Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” *DSD* 8, no. 2 (2001): 124–135.
- . *The Impurity Systems of Qumran and the Rabbis: Biblical Foundations*. SBLDS 143. Atlanta: SBL Press, 1993.
- . “Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls—Current Issues.” *CurBR* 4, no. 3 (2006): 397–428.
- . *The Purity Texts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 5. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- . “Ritual Purity.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)*, edited by Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref. STDJ 93. 329–347. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Hatina, Thomas R. “John 20,22 in Its Eschatological Context: Promise or Fulfillment?” *Biblica* 74, no. 2 (1993): 196–219.
- Hauck, Friedrich. *Das Evangelium des Lukas (Synoptiker II)*. THKNT 3. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1934.
- Haya-Prats, Gonzalo. *L’Esprit, force de l’Église: sa nature et son activité d’après les Actes des apôtres*. LD 81. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975.
- Hays, Richard B. *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016.
- . *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- . *First Corinthians*. IBC Louisville: John Knox, 1997.
- Head, Peter. “Acts and the Problem of its Texts.” In *The Book of Acts in its Ancient Literary Setting*, edited by Bruce William Winter and Andrew D. Clarke, 415–444. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1993.
- Heelas, Paul. “Introduction: Indigenous Psychologies.” In *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*, 3–18. London: Academic Press, 1981.
- . “The Model Applied: Anthropology and Indigenous Psychologies.” In *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*, 39–63. London: Academic Press, 1981.
- Heinemann, Joseph. *Prayer in the Talmud*. SJ 9. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977.
- Hempel, Charlotte. *The Community Rule from Qumran: A Commentary*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- . “The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond.” In *Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, edited by Timothy H. Lim, 187–196. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.
- . *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- . “The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community.” In *Dualism in Qumran*, edited by Géza G. Xeravits. LSTS 76. 102–120. London: T&T Clark, 2010.
- Hendel, Ronald. “The Rainbow in Ancient Context.” In *TheTorah.com* (2016). <https://thetorah.com/article/the-rainbow-in-ancient-context>.
- Henze, Matthias. *Mind The Gap: How the Jewish Writings between the Old and New Testament Help Us Understand Jesus*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2017.
- Himmelfarb, Martha. “Impurity and Sin in 4QD, 1QS, and 4Q512.” *DSD* 8, no. 1 (2001): 9–37.
- Hinde, Robert A. *Towards Understanding Relationships*. EMSP 18. London: Academic Press, 1979.

- Holladay, Carl R. "Baptism in the New Testament and Its Cultural Milieu: A Response to Everett Ferguson, Baptism in the Early Church." *JECS* 20, no. 3 (2012): 343–369.
- Holladay, William Lee, and Paul D. Hanson. *Jeremiah 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, Chapters 1–25*. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986.
- Holm-Nielsen, Svend. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. ATDan 2. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960.
- Holtz, Gudrun. "Purity Conceptions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: 'Ritual-Physical' and 'Moral' Purity in a Diachronic Perspective." In *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, edited by Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan. Dynamics in the History of Religion 3. 519–536. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Hooker, Morna D. *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St Mark*. BNTC London: Black, 1991.
- . "John's Baptism: A Prophetic Sign." In *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, edited by Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker and Stephen Barton, 22–40. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Horgan, Maurya P. "The Meaning of RUAḤ at Qumran." *CBQ* 54, no. 3 (1992): 544–546.
- Horn, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Das Angeld des Geistes: Studien zur paulinischen Pneumatologie*. FRLANT 154. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992.
- Horne, Milton P. *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes*. SHBC 12. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2003.
- Horton, Stanley M. *Acts: A Logion Press Commentary*. Springfield, MO: Logion Press, 2001. e-Book.
- Howard, Wilbert F. *Christianity According to St. John*. London: Duckworth, 1943.
- Hughes, Julie A. *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*. STDJ 59. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Hughes, Kyle R. *How the Spirit Became God: The Mosaic of Early Christian Pneumatology*. Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2020.
- Humbert, Jean-Baptiste, Alain Chambon, Jolanta Młynarczyk, and Roland de Vaux. *Khirbet Qumran et Ain Feshkha: Fouilles du P. Roland de Vaux. IIIA L'archéologie de Qumran*. NTOA.SA 5a. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016.
- Isaacs, Marie E. *The Concept of Spirit: A Study of Pneuma in Hellenistic Judaism and its Bearing on the New Testament*. Heythrop Monographs 1. London: Heythrop College, 1976.
- Jeremias, Joachim. *The Lord's Prayer*. Translated by John Reumann. Facet Books, Biblical Series 8. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964.
- Jervell, Jacob. *The Theology of the Acts of the Apostles*. New Testament Theology Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Jewett, Robert. *Paul's Anthropological Terms: A Study of their Use in Context Settings*. AGJU 10. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- . "The Question of the 'AppORTioned Spirit' in Paul's Letters: Romans as a Case Study." In *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, edited by Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker and Stephen Barton, 193–205. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- . *Romans: A Commentary*. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007.

- John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*. EJL 32. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011.
- Johnston, George. “‘Spirit’ and ‘Holy Spirit’ in the Qumran Literature.” In *New Testament Sidelights; Essays in Honor of Alexander Converse Purdy*, edited by Harvey K. McArthur, 27–42. Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1960.
- Josephus, Flavius, Steve Mason, and Honora Howell Chapman. *Judean War 2*. Flavius Josephus, Translation and Commentary 1B. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- Joyce, Paul. *Ezekiel: A Commentary*. LHBOTS 482. New York: T&T Clark, 2009.
- Käsemann, Ernst. *Commentary on Romans*. Translated by Geoffrey William Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- . *Leib und Leib Christi: Eine Untersuchung zur paulinischen Begrifflichkeit*. BHT 9. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1933.
- Katz, Hayah. “Biblical Purification: Was it Immersion?” In *TheTorah.com* (2014). <http://thetorah.com/biblical-purification-was-it-immersion/>.
- Kazen, Thomas. *Impurity and Purification in Early Judaism and the Jesus Tradition*. Atlanta: SBL, 2021.
- . “John’s Immersions: Ritual Purifications, but from What?” Paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online 2021.
- . “A Perhaps Less Halakic Jesus and Purity: On Prophetic Criticism, Halakic Innovation, and Rabbinic Anachronism.” *JSHJ* 14, no. 2 (2016): 120–136.
- Kazmierski, Carl R. *John the Baptist: Prophet and Evangelist*. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1996.
- Keck, Leander A. “The Law and ‘The Law of Sin and Death’ (Rom 8:1-4): Reflections on the Spirit and Ethics in Paul.” In *The Divine Helmsman: Studies on God’s Control of Human Events, Presented to Lou H. Silberman*, edited by Lou H. Silberman, James L. Crenshaw and Samuel Sandmel, 41–57. New York: KTAV, 1980.
- Keener, Craig S. *1–2 Corinthians*. NCBC Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- . *The Gospel of John: A Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003.
- . *The Spirit in the Gospels and Acts: Divine Purity and Power*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.
- Kidner, Derek. *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary*. TOTC 1. Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1967.
- Kistemaker, Simon. “The Structure of Luke’s Gospel.” *JETS* 25, no. 1 (1982): 33–39.
- Kister, Menahem. “Body and Sin: Romans and Colossians in Light of Qumranic and Rabbinic Texts.” In *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Pauline Literature*, edited by Jean-Sebastien Rey. STDJ 102. 171–207. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- . “Qumran, Jubilees, and the Jewish Dimensions of 2 Corinthians 6:14-7:1.” In *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, edited by Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister and Michael Segal. STDJ 127. 103–139. Leiden: BRILL, 2018.
- . “A Qumranic Parallel to 1 Thess 4:4? Reading and Interpretation of 4Q416 2 ii 21.” *DSD* 10 (2003): 365–370.
- Klawans, Jonathan. *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . “The Impurity of Immorality in Ancient Judaism.” *JJS* 48, no. 1 (Spr 1997): 1–16.

- . “Moral and Ritual Purity.” In *The Historical Jesus in Context*, edited by Amy-Jill Levine, Dale C Jr. Allison and John Dominic Crossan. Princeton Readings in Religions, 266–284. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- . “Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins. Oxford Handbooks, 337–402. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . “Ritual Purity, Moral Purity, and Sacrifice in Jacob Milgrom’s Leviticus.” *RelSRev* 29, no. 1 (2003): 19–28.
- Klein, Anja. “From the ‘Right Spirit’ to the ‘Spirit of Truth’: Observations on Psalms 51 and 1QS.” In *The Dynamics of Language and Exegesis at Qumran*, edited by Devorah Dimant and Reinhard Gregor Kratz. FAT II/35. 171–191. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009.
- Klein, Gottlieb. “Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vaterunsers.” *ZNW* 7 (1906): 34–50.
- Klijn, Albertus Frederik Johannes. *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text, and Commentary*. NovTSup 108. 2nd Rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Klinzing, Georg. *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*. SUNT 7. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.
- Knibb, Michael A. *The Qumran Community*. Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Knight, George W. *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Carlisle, England: Paternoster Press, 1992.
- Koch, Klaus. “Die Rolle der hymnischen Abschnitte in der Komposition des Amos-Buches.” *ZAW* 86, no. 4 (1974): 504–537.
- Konradt, Matthias. *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Commentary*. Translated by M. Eugene Boring. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2020. 2015.
- Kraeling, Carl H. *John the Baptist*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1951.
- Kraemer, Ross Shepard. *When Aseneth Met Joseph: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Kugel, James L. *A Walk Through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of Its Creation*. JSJSup 156. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Kugler, Robert A. “Making All Experience Religious: The Hegemony of Ritual at Qumran.” *JSJ* 33, no. 2 (2002): 131–152.
- Kuhn, Karl G. “Die in Palästina gefundenen Hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament.” *ZTK* 47, no. 2 (1950): 192–211.
- Kysar, Robert. *John, The Maverick Gospel*. 3rd ed. Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2007.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Lalleman, Hetty. *Jeremiah and Lamentations: An Introduction and Commentary*. TOTC 21. Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2013.
- Lambert, David A. *How Repentance Became Biblical: Judaism, Christianity, and the Interpretation of Scripture*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- . “Was the Dead Sea Sect a Penitential Movement?”. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Timothy H. Lim and John J. Collins. Oxford Handbooks, 501–513. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Lampe, G. W. H. “The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke.” In *Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot*, edited by D. E. Nineham, 159–200. Oxford: Blackwell, 1957.

- . *The Seal of the Spirit: A Study in the Doctrine of Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Fathers*. 2nd ed. London: SPCK, 1967.
- Lane, William L. *Hebrews 1–8*. WBC 47A. Waco TX: Word, 1991.
- . *Hebrews 9–13*. WBC 47B. Dallas: Word, 1991.
- Lange, Armin. “Considerations Concerning the ‘Spirit of Impurity’ in Zech 13:2.” In *Die Dämonen: die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, edited by Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger and Diethard Römheld, 254–268. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.
- . “In Diskussion mit dem Tempel: zur Auseinandersetzung zwischen Kohelet und weisheitlichen Kreisen am Jerusalemer Tempel.” In *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom*, edited by Antoon Schoors. BETL 136. 113–160. Leuven: Peeters, 1998.
- . *Weisheit und Prädestination: weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*. STDJ 18. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Lange, Armin, and Matthias Weigold. *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature*. JAJSup Vol. 5, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.
- Launderville, Dale. *Spirit and Reason: The Embodied Character of Ezekiel’s Symbolic Thinking*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- Lawrence, Jonathan David. *Washing in Water: Trajectories of Ritual Bathing in the Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Literature*. AcBib 23. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2006.
- Leaney, A. R. C. “The Johannine Paraclete and the Qumran Scrolls.” In *John and Qumran*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 38–61. London: Chapman, 1972.
- . “Lucan Text of the Lord’s Prayer (Luke 11:2-4).” *NovT* 1, no. 2 (1956): 103–111.
- . *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. NTL London: SCM, 1966.
- Leisegang, Hans. *Der Heilige Geist: Das Wesen und Werden der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis in der Philosophie und Religion der Griechen: Vol 1, Part 1: Die vorchristlichen Anschauungen und Lehren vom Pneuma und der mystisch-intuitiven Erkenntnis*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1919.
- . *Pneuma Hagion. Der Ursprung des Geistbegriffs der synoptischen Evangelien aus der griechischen Mystik*. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1922.
- Levine, Amy-Jill. *Short Stories by Jesus: The Enigmatic Parables of a Controversial Rabbi*. New York: HarperCollins, 2014.
- Levine, Amy-Jill, and Ben Witherington, III. *The Gospel of Luke*. NCBC Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- Levison, John R. “Assessing the Origins of Modern Pneumatology: The Life and Legacy of Hermann Gunkel.” In *Christian Body, Christian Self: Concepts of Early Christian Personhood*, edited by Benjamin Bertho and Claire Clivaz. WUNT 284. 313–331. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011.
- . “Did the Spirit Withdraw from Israel? An Evaluation of the Earliest Jewish Data.” *NTS* 43 (1997): 35–57.
- . *Filled with the Spirit*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
- . *The Holy Spirit Before Christianity*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019.
- . *Inspired: The Holy Spirit and the Mind of Faith*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013.
- . “The Promise of the Spirit of Life in the Book of Ezekiel.” In *Israel’s God and Rebecca’s Children: Christology and Community in Early Judaism and*

- Christianity: Essays in Honor of Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal*, edited by David B. Capes, Larry W. Hurtado and Alan F. Segal, 247–259. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2007.
- . *The Spirit in First-Century Judaism*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- . “The Two Spirits in Qumran Theology.” In *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Vol. 2, The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 169–194. Waco TX: Baylor University Press, 2006.
- Licht, Jacob. “An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD.” In *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin. ScrHier 4. 88–100. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1965.
- Lichtenberger, Hermann. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community: Photographic Multi-language Edition*. Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/Word Alliance, 1996.
- Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th, with Revised Supplement ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Lock, Andrew. “Universals in Human Conception.” In *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self*, edited by Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock, 19–36. London: Academic Press, 1981.
- Lohmeyer, Ernst. *Das Vater-unser*. ATANT 23. 3rd ed. Zürich: Zwingli Verlag, 1952.
- . *The Lord’s Prayer*. Translated by John Bowden. London: Collins, 1965.
- Lohse, Eduard. *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*. 2 ed. München: Kösel Verlag, 1971.
- Loisy, Alfred. *L’Évangile selon Luc*. Paris: Émile Nourry, 1924.
- Luz, Ulrich. *Matthew 1–7: A Commentary*. Translated by James E. Crouch. Hermeneia Rev. ed. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2007.
- . *Matthew 8–20: A Commentary*. Translated by James E. Crouch. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2001.
- . *Matthew 21–28: A Commentary*. Translated by James E. Crouch. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005.
- Lyon, Jeremy D. *Qumran Interpretation of the Genesis Flood*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick, 2015.
- Maccoby, Hyam. *Ritual and Morality. The Ritual Purity System and its Place in Judaism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Magne, Jean. “La variante du Pater de Lc 11,2.” *LTP* 44 (1988): 369–374.
- Magness, Jodi. *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. SDSSRL. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.
- Mann, C. S. *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 27. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986.
- Manson, T.W. “The Lord’s Prayer. Part 1.” *BJRL* 38, no. 1 (1956): 99–113.
- Marcus, Joel. “John the Baptist and Jesus.” In *When Judaism and Christianity Began: Essays in Memory of Anthony J. Saldarini*, edited by Anthony J. Saldarini, Alan J. Avery-Peck, Daniel J. Harrington and Jacob Neusner. JSJSup 85. 179–197. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- . *John the Baptist in History and Theology*. SPNT Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2018.
- . *Mark 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 27. New York: Doubleday, 2000.
- Marshall, I. Howard. *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC 3. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978.

- Martone, Corrado. "La figura di Giovanni Battista alla luce della letteratura qumranica: alcune considerazioni." In *Wisdom Poured Out Like Water: Studies on Jewish and Christian Antiquity in Honor of Gabriele Boccaccini*, edited by J. Harold Ellens, Isaac W. Oliver, Jason von Ehrenkrook, James Waddell and Jason M. Zurawski. DCLS 38. 476–487. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.
- Mason, Steven. "Fire, Water and Spirit: John the Baptist and the Tyranny of Canon." *SR* 21, no. 2 (1992): 163–180.
- Maximus Confessor, Saint, and George C. Berthold. *Maximus Confessor: Selected Writings*. The Classics of Western Spirituality New York: Paulist Press, 1985.
- McCauley, Robert N., and E. Thomas Lawson. *Bringing Ritual to Mind: Psychological Foundations of Cultural Forms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- McKnight, Edgar V., and Christopher Lee Church. *Hebrews-James*. SHBC 28. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2004.
- Meier, John P. "John the Baptist in Josephus: Philology and Exegesis." *JBL* 111, no. 2 (1992): 225–237.
- . *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus, Vol. 2, Mentor, Message and Miracles*. ABRL 5 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1994.
- . *Matthew*. NTM 3. Wilmington, DE: Glazier, 1980.
- Menken, Maarten J. J. *2 Thessalonians*. London: Taylor & Francis, 1994.
- Menzies, Robert P. *The Development of Early Christian Pneumatology with Special Reference to Luke-Acts*. JSNTSup 54. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991.
- . *Empowered for Witness: The Spirit in Luke-Acts*. 3rd ed. London: T&T Clark, 2004.
- Metso, Sarianna. *The Community Rule: A Critical Edition with Translation*. EJL 51. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019.
- . *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. STDJ 210. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Metzger, Bruce M. "The Lord's Prayer: Text of the Prayer." In *New 20th Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, edited by J. D. Douglas and Robert G. Clouse. Baker Reference Library 4. 520. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1991.
- . *Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament*. 3rd ed. London: United Bible Societies, 1971.
- Miller, Stuart S. *At the Intersection of Texts and Material Finds: Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Ritual Purity Among the Jews of Roman Galilee*. JAJSup 16. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015.
- . "New Directions in the Study of Ritual Purity Practices: Implications of the Sepphoris Finds." In *The Architecture, Stratigraphy, and Artifacts of the Western Summit of Sepphoris I*, edited by Eric M. Meyers, Carol L. Meyers and Benjamin D. Gordon. Duke Sepphoris Excavation Reports III. 445–475. University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2018.
- . "Stepped Pools and the Non-Existent Monolithic 'Miqveh'." In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity*, 215–234. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- . "Stepped Pools, Stone Vessels, and Other Identity Markers of "Complex Common Judaism"." *JSJ* 41, no. 2 (2010): 214–243.
- Mills, Lynn E., and Nicholas J. Moore. "One Baptism Once: The Origins of the Unrepeatability of Christian Baptism." *EC* 11, no. 2 (2020): 206–226.
- Moffitt, David M. *Atonement and the Logic of Resurrection in the Epistle to the Hebrews*. NovTSup 141. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

- Momigliano, Arnaldo. "What Flavius Josephus Did Not See." Translated by Maura Masella-Gayley. In *Essays on Ancient and Modern Judaism*, edited by Silvia Berti, 71–75. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Montague, George T. *The Holy Spirit: Growth of a Biblical Tradition*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
- Moraldi, Luigi. *I manoscritti di Qumrân*. Classici delle religioni Turin: Unione Tipografica — Editrice Torinese, 1971.
- Moses, Lincoln E. *Think and Explain with Statistics*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1986.
- Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. "John the Baptist and Jesus: History and Hypotheses." *NTS* 36, no. 3 (1990): 359–374.
- . *Keys to First Corinthians: Revisiting the Major Issues*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté." *RB* 76, no. 4 (1969): 528–549.
- Najman, Hindy. *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*. JSJSup 77. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Neusner, Jacob. "The Fellowship (חבורה) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth." *HTR* 53, no. 2 (1960): 125–142.
- . "First Cleanse the Inside: The 'Halakhic' Background of a Controversy-saying." *NTS* 22, no. 4 (1976): 486–495.
- . *From Politics to Piety: The Emergence of Pharisaic Judaism*. 2nd ed. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2003.
- . "The Idea of Purity." *JAAR* 43, no. 1 (1975): 15–26.
- . *The Idea of Purity in Ancient Judaism: the Haskell Lectures 1972–1973*. SJLA 1. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- . "The Integrity of the Rabbinic Law of Purity (Mishnah-Tractate Tohorot)." *RRJ* 9 (2006): 167–180.
- . "Mr. Sanders's Pharisees and Mine." *BBR* 2 (1992): 143–169.
- Neve, Lloyd. "Realized Eschatology in Psalm 51." *ExpTim* 80, no. 9 (1969): 264–266.
- Newsom, Carol A. "4QAdmonition on the Flood." In *Qumran Cave 4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts Part 2*. DJD 19. 85–97. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- . "Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the Hodayot." In *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, edited by Jeremy Penner, Ken M Penner and Cecilia Wassén. STDJ 98. 339–354. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012.
- . "In Search of Cultural Models for Divine Spirit and Human Bodies." *VT* 70, no. 1 (2020): 104–123.
- . "Models of the Moral Self: Hebrew Bible and Second Temple Judaism." *JBL* 131, no. 1 (2012): 5–25.
- . *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. STDJ 52. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Newton, Michael. *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul*. SNTSMS 53. Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Nickelsburg, George W. E. "Stories of Biblical and Early Post-Biblical Times." In *JWSTP*, edited by Michael E. Stone. LJPSTT 2. 33–87. Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984.
- Nir, Rivka. "Josephus' Account of John the Baptist: A Christian Interpolation?." *JSHJ* 10, no. 1 (2012): 32–62.

- Nolland, John. *Luke. 9:21–18:34*. WBC 35B. Dallas: Word, 1993.
- O’Neill, J. C. “The Lord’s Prayer.” *JSNT* 51 (1993): 3–25.
- Okuda, Michael, Denise Okuda, Doug Drexler, and Ian Fullwood. *Star Trek Encyclopedia: A Reference Guide to the Future*. New York: Harper Design, 1999.
- Onkelos, and Jonathan ben Uzziel. *The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Pentateuch: with the Fragments of the Jerusalem Targum from the Chaldee*. Translated by John Wesley Etheridge. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862.
- Oropeza, B. J. “Quotations, Allusions, and Echoes: Their Meanings in Relation to Biblical Interpretation.” In *Practicing Intertextuality: Ancient Jewish and Greco-Roman Exegetical Techniques in the New Testament*, edited by Max J. Lee and B. J. Oropeza, 17–26. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2021.
- Osten-Sacken, Peter von der. *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran*. SUNT 6. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969.
- Ott, Wilhelm. *Gebet und Heil; die Bedeutung der Gebetsparänese in der lukanischen Theologie*. SANT 12. München: Kösel-Verlag, 1965.
- Parsons, Mikeal C. *Acts*. Paideia Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Parsons, Mikeal C., and Gregory M. Barnhill. “Textual Criticism and Lukan Studies: The (Dis)Connection Between the Two.” *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 24 (2019): 1–16.
- Peters, Dorothy M. *Noah Traditions in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conversations and Controversies of Antiquity* EJL 26. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008.
- Pfann, Stephen J. “The Essene Yearly Renewal Ceremony and the Baptism of Repentance.” In *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, edited by Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich. STDJ 30. 337–52. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Pfleiderer, Otto. *Das Urchristentum, seine Schriften und Lehren*. Berlin: Reimer, 1887.
- Philip, Finny. *The Origins of Pauline Pneumatology: The Eschatological Bestowal of the Spirit upon Gentiles in Judaism and in the Early Development of Paul’s Theology*. WUNT 2.194. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Philo of Alexandria. *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*. Translated by Charles Duke Yonge. Updated ed. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993.
- Philonenko, Marc. “‘Que Ton Esprit-Saint vienne sur nous et qu’il nous purifie’ (Luc 11,2): l’arrière-plan qoumrânien d’une variante lucanienne du ‘Notre Père’.” *RHPR* 75, no. 1 (1995): 61–66.
- Pitts, Andrew W., and Seth Pollinger. “The Spirit in Second Temple Jewish Monotheism and The Origins of Early Christology.” In *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. TENTS 10. 135–176. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Plummer, Alfred. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke*. ICC 28. 5th ed. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1922.
- Popović, Mladen. “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:13–4:26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls.” In *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, edited by Joel S Baden. JSJSup, 1029–1067. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

- Porter, Stanley E. "Was John the Baptist a Member of the Qumran Community? Once More." In *Christian Origins and Hellenistic Judaism: Social and Literary Contexts for the New Testament*, edited by Stanley E. Porter and Andrew W. Pitts. TENTS 10. 283–313. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Pryke, John. "John the Baptist and the Qumran Community." *RevQ* 4, no. 4 (1964): 483–496.
- Puech, Émile. "L'esprit saint à Qumrân." *LASBF* 49 (1999): 283–297.
- . *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*. EBib 21–22. 2 vols. Paris: J Gabalda, 1993.
- Rabens, Volker. "Ethics and the Spirit in Paul (2): Religious-Ethical Empowerment through the Relational Work of the Spirit." *ExpTim* 125, no. 6 (2014): 272–281.
- . *The Holy Spirit and Ethics in Paul: Transformation and Empowering for Religious-ethical Life*. WUNT II/283. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Read-Heimerdinger, Jenny. *The Bezan Text of Acts: A Contribution of Discourse Analysis to Textual Criticism*. JSNTSup 236. London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002.
- Regev, Eyal. "Pure Individualism: The Idea of Non-Priestly Purity in Ancient Judaism." *JSJ* 31, no. 2 (2000): 176–202.
- . "The Ritual Baths Near the Temple Mount and Extra-Purification before Entering the Temple Courts." *IEJ* 55, no. 2 (2005): 194–204.
- . "Washing, Repentance, and Atonement in Early Christian Baptism and Qumranic Purification Liturgies." *Journal of the Jesus Movement in Its Jewish Setting* 3 (2016): 33–60.
- Reich, Ronny. "Miqva'ot." In *EDSS 1*, 560–63. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *Miqva'ot in the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods*. [in Hebrew] Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Pr; Israel Exploration Soc, 2013.
- Reicke, Bo. "The Historical Setting of John's Baptism." In *Jesus, the Gospels, and the Church: Essays in Honor of William R. Farmer*, edited by E. P. Sanders, 209–224. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1987.
- Reinhartz, Adele. *Befriending The Beloved Disciple: A Jewish Reading of the Gospel of John*. New York: Continuum, 2001.
- . "Introduction." In *"They Shall Purify Themselves": Essays on Purity in Early Judaism*. EJL 24. 1–6. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2008.
- Reiterer, Friedrich V. "The Influence of the Book of Exodus on Ben Sira." In *Intertextual Studies in Ben Sira and Tobit: Essays in Honor of Alexander A. Di Lella, O.F.M.*, edited by Jeremy Corley, Vincent T. M. Skemp and Alexander A. Di Lella. CBQMS 38. 100–117. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2005.
- Reitzenstein, Richard. *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen ... Dritte, erweiterte und umgearbeitete Auflage*. 3rd ed. Leipzig, Berlin: Teubner, 1927.
- Rengstorf, Karl Heinrich. *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*. NTD 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936.
- Resch, Alfred. *Aussercanonische Paralleltexzte zu den Evangelien: drittes heft Paralleltexzte zu Lucas*. TUGAL 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895.
- Rey, Jean-Sébastien. *4QInstruction: sagesse et eschatologie*. STDJ 81. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Rius-Camps, Josep, and Jenny Read-Heimerdinger. *The Message of Acts in Codex Bezae: A Comparison with the Alexandrian Tradition: Vol. 2: Acts 6.1–12.25:*

- From Judaea and Samaria to the Church in Antioch*. LNTS 302. London: T&T Clark, 2006.
- Robinson, John A. T. "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Community." *HTR* 50, no. 3 (1957): 175–192.
- Robson, James E. *Word and Spirit in Ezekiel*. LHBOTS 447. London: T&T Clark, 2006.
- Rosen-Zvi, Ishay. *Demonic Desires: 'Yetzer Hara' and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity*. Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Ross, Allen P. *A Commentary on the Psalms: 42–89*. Kregel Exegetical Library Grand Rapids: Kregel, 2013.
- Roth, Dieter T. *The Text of Marcion's Gospel*. NTTSD 49. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- . "The Text of the Lord's Prayer in Marcion's Gospel." *ZNW* 103, no. 1 (2012): 47–63.
- Rowley, H. H. "The Baptism of John and the Qumran Sect." In *New Testament Essays: Studies in Memory of Thomas Walter Manson, 1893–1958*, edited by A. J. B. Higgins, 218–229. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959.
- Sanders, E. P. *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies*. London: SCM, 1990.
- . *Judaism: Practice and Belief, 63 BCE–66 CE*. London: SCM; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1992.
- Sanders, James A. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)*. DJD 4. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
- Schafroth, Verena. "An Exegetical Exploration of 'Spirit' References in Ezekiel 36 and 37." *Journal of the European Pentecostal Theological Association* 29, no. 2 (2009): 61–77.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H. "John the Baptist and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Purity Perspectives." Paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online 2021.
- Schiffman, Lawrence H., and Chaim Potok. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- Schnabel, Eckhard J. "The Meaning of βαπτίζειν in Greek, Jewish, and Patristic Literature." *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 24 (2011): 3–40.
- Schnackenburg, Rudolf. *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul: A Study in Pauline Theology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964.
- . *The Gospel According to St. John Vol 1: Chapters 1–4*. Translated by Kevin Smyth. HThKNT London: Burns & Oates; New York: Herder & Herder, 1968.
- . *The Gospel According to St. John Vol 3: Chapters 13–21*. Translated by David Smith and G. A. Kon. HThKNT London: Burns & Oates, 1982.
- Schneider, Gerhard. "Die Bitte um das Kommen des Geistes im lukanischen Vaterunser (Lk 11,2 v.1)." In *Studien zum Text und zur Ethik des Neuen Testaments*, edited by Heinrich Greeven and Wolfgang Schrage. BZNW 47. 344–373. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986.
- Schofield, Alison. *From Qumran to the Yahad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for the Community Rule*. STDJ 77. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009.
- Schuller, Eileen M. "4Q380 and 4Q381: Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, edited by Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport. STDJ 10. 90–99. Leiden: Brill, 1992.

- . “4QNon-Canonical Psalms B.” In *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts Part I*. DJD 11. 87–172. Oxford: Clarendon, 1998.
- . “Petitionary Prayer and the Religion of Qumran.” In *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by John J. Collins and Robert A. Kugler. SDSSRL, 29–45. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Schuller, Eileen M., and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>*. EJL 36. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012.
- Schürmann, Heinz. *Das Lukasevangelium: 9:51–11:54*. HTKNT 3.2a. Freiburg: Herder, 1994.
- Schwartz, Daniel R. *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity*. WUNT 60. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992.
- Scobie, Charles H. H. “John the Baptist.” In *The Scrolls and Christianity*, edited by Matthew Black. Theological Collections 11. 58–69. London: SPCK, 1969.
- . *John the Baptist*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1964.
- Segal, Michael. *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*. JSJSup 117. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Sekki, Arthur Everett. *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*. SBLDS 110. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- Shelton, James B. “Filled with the Holy Spirit: A Redactional Motif in Luke’s Gospel.” e-Thesis, University of Stirling, 1982.
- . *Mighty in Word and Deed: The Role of the Holy Spirit in Luke-Acts*. Paperback ed. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2000.
- Shoemaker, W. R. “The Use of Ruach in the Old Testament, and of Pneuma in the New Testament: A Lexicographical Study.” *JBL* 23, no. 1 (1904): 13–67.
- Sjöberg, Erik. “Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen.” *ST* 9, no. 2 (1955): 131-136.
- . “Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum.” *ST* 4, no. 1 (1950): 45–85.
- Slater, Thomas B. *Ephesians*. SHBC 27a. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2012.
- Smalley, Stephen S. *1, 2, 3 John*. WBC 51. Milton Keynes: Word, 1991.
- . “Spirit, Kingdom and Prayer in Luke-Acts.” *NovT* 15, no. 1 (1973): 59–71.
- Smith, Barry D. “‘Spirit of Holiness’ as Eschatological Principle of Obedience.” In *Christian Beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edited by John J. Collins and Craig A. Evans. Acadia Studies in Bible and Theology, 75–99. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006.
- Smith, Derwood C. “Jewish Proselyte Baptism and the Baptism of John.” *RevQ* 25, no. 1 (1982): 13–32.
- Smith, W. Robertson. *Lectures On The Religion Of The Semites: The Fundamental Institutions*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: A&C Black, 1927.
- Snyder, Benjamin J. “John’s Immersion: In Ritual Context and Comparative Perspective.” Paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online, 2021.
- . “Ritual Purity and the Origin of John’s βάπτισμα μετανοίας.” PhD Thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, 2019.
- . *Ritual Purity and the Origin of John’s βάπτισμα μετανοίας*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, Forthcoming.
- . “Technical Term or Technical Foul?: βαπτίζω (Baptizō) and the Problem of Transliteration as Translation.” *Stone-Campbell Journal* 21, no. 1 (Spr 2018): 91–113.
- Soden, Hermann von. “Die ursprüngliche Gestalt des Vaterunsers.” *Die christliche Welt* 18, no. 10 (March 3 1904): 218–224.

- Sommer, Benjamin D. "Did Prophecy Cease? Evaluating a Reevaluation." *JBL* 115, no. 1 (Spr 1996): 31–47.
- Spencer, F. Scott. *The Portrait of Philip in Acts: A Study of Roles and Relations*. Sheffield: JSOT, 1992.
- Spirer, Herbert F., Louise Spirer, and A. J. Jaffe. *Misused Statistics*. Popular Statistics 7. 2nd Rev. and Exp. ed. New York: M. Dekker, 1998.
- Spitta, F. "Die älteste Form des Vaterunsers." In *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst Vol. 9*, 333–345. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1904.
- Stegemann, Hartmut. *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: ein Sachbuch*. Freiburg im Br: Herder, 1994.
- . *The Library of Qumran: on the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*. Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998.
- . "The Qumran Essenes -- Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times." In *The Madrid Qumran Congress*. STDJ 11. 83–166. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Stegemann, Hartmut, Eileen M. Schuller, and Carol A. Newsom. *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> with Incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a-f</sup>*. DJD 40. Edited by Emmanuel Tov. Oxford: Clarendon, 2009.
- Stone, Michael E., and Jonas C. Greenfield. "The Prayer of Levi." *JBL* 112, no. 2 (Sum 1993): 247–266.
- Strange, W. A. *The Problem of the Text of Acts*. SNTSMS 71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Strecker, Georg. *The Johannine Letters: A Commentary on 1, 2, and 3 John*. Translated by Linda M. Maloney. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996.
- Streeter, Burnett Hillman. *The Four Gospels. A Study in Origins: Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, & Dates*. 4th Rev. ed. London: Macmillan, 1930.
- Strugnell, John, Torleif Elgvin, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Daniel J. Harrington. *Qumran Cave 4. XXIV, Sapiential Texts: Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mûsar lē Mēvîn): 4Q415 ff., with a Re-edition of 1Q26*. DJD 34. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. "Conflicting Stories: The Spirit Origin of Jesus' Birth." In *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and New Testament Texts*. WUNT 335. 142–160. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2017.
- . "The Interiorization of Dualism within the Human Being in Second Temple Judaism." In *Light Against Darkness: Dualism in Ancient Mediterranean Religion and the Contemporary World*, edited by Armin Lange. JAJSup 2. 145–168. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011.
- . "'Protect Them from the Evil One' (John 17:15): Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*. EJL 32. 139–160. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2011.
- Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus*. FRLANT 87. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965.
- Swarup, Paul. *The Self-Understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community: An Eternal Planting, a House of Holiness*. LSTS 59. London: T&T Clark, 2006.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. *Isaiah 1-39: With an Introduction to Prophetic Literature*. The Forms of the Old Testament Literature 16. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996.
- Talbert, Charles H. *Reading Corinthians: A Literary and Theological Commentary*. Rev. ed. Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2002.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu. "'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert." *RevQ* 2, no. 4 (1960): 475–500.

- Tanzer, Sarah. "4QInstruction-like Composition B." In *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI: Cryptic Texts*. DJD 36. 333–346. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
- . *Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot*. A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.
- Tate, Marvin E. *Psalms 51–100*. WBC 20. Dallas: Word, 1990.
- Taylor, Joan E. "Dimensions of John the Baptist in Early Christian Art." Paper presented at the John the Baptist Conference, University of Michigan and Online, 2021.
- . *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism*. Studying the Historical Jesus Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- . "John the Baptist on the Jordan River: Localities and Their Significance." *Aram* 29 (2017): 365–383.
- Taylor, Joan E., and Federico Adinolfi. "John the Baptist and Jesus the Baptist: A Narrative Critical Approach." *JSHJ* 10, no. 3 (2012): 247–284.
- Tertullian, and Ernest Evans. *Tertullian: Adversus Marcionem*. OECT Oxford: Clarendon, 1972.
- Tertullian, and Peter Holmes. "Against Marcion." In *Complete Works of Tertullian* Hastings: Delphi Classics, 2018.
- Thiselton, Anthony C. *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGNT Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000.
- Thompson, James W. *Hebrews*. Paideia Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008.
- Thompson, Marianne Meye. "The Breath of Life: John 20:22-23 Once More." In *The Holy Spirit and Christian Origins: Essays in Honor of James D. G. Dunn*, edited by Graham N. Stanton, Bruce W. Longenecker and Stephen Barton, 69–78. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004.
- Thyen, Hartwig. "βάπτισμα μετανοίας εις ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν." In *The Future of Our Religious Past: Essays in Honour of Rudolf Bultmann*, edited by Rudolf Bultmann and James M. Robinson, 131–168. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.
- Tigheelaar, Eibert J. C. "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 Honor of Pieter Willem van der Horst*, edited by Pieter Willem van der Horst, Alberdina Houtman, Albert de Jong and Magdalena Wilhelmina Misset-van de Weg. *AJEC* 73. 347–357. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
- . "Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls." In *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Jörg Frey and John Levison. *Ekstasis* 5. 167–240. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- Toews, Casey. "Moral Purification in 1QS." *BBR* 13, no. 1 (2003 2003): 71–96.
- Tov, Emanuel. "The Relevance of Textual Theories for the Praxis of Textual Criticism." In *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam*, edited by James C. VanderKam and Eric Farrel Mason. *JSJSup* 153. 23–35. Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- . *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*. *STJD* 54. Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Tucker, J. Brian. *Reading 1 Corinthians*. Cascade Companions Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2017.
- Tuell, Steven Shawn. *Ezekiel*. NIBCOT 15. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2009.
- Turner, Max. *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts: Then and Now*. Rev. ed. Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2005. 1996.

- . “James Dunn’s Baptism in the Holy Spirit: Appreciation and Response.” *JPT* 19, no. 1 (2010): 25–31.
- . *Power from on High: The Spirit in Israel’s Restoration and Witness in Luke-Acts*. JPTSup Sheffield, England: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Tzoref, Shani. *The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule*. A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012.
- Vainstub, Daniel. “The Covenant Renewal Ceremony as the Main Function of Qumran.” *Religions* 12, no. 8 (2021): 1–26.
- VanderKam, James. *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*. [in Classical Ethiopic, English] Translated by James VanderKam. CSCO 510. Leuven: Peeters, 1989.
- . *The Book of Jubilees: Translation*. Translated by James C. VanderKam. CSCO 511. Leuven: Peeters, 1989.
- . “The Festival of Weeks and the Story of Pentecost in Acts 2.” In *From Prophecy to Testament: The Function of the Old Testament in the New* edited by Craig A. Evans, 185–205. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2004.
- VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010.
- VanderKam, James C., and Sidnie White Crawford. *Jubilees: A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018.
- VanMaaren, John. “Does Mark’s Jesus Abrogate Torah? Jesus’ Purity Logion and its Illustration in Mark 7:15–23.” *JJMJS* 4 (2017): 21–41.
- Vermès, Géza. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. Revised 7th ed. New York: Penguin Press, 2011. 1962.
- Volz, Paul. *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im Alten Testament und im anschliessenden Judentum*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1910.
- Wahlen, Clinton L. *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels*. WUNT 185. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- . *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels*. WUNT 2/185. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Waltke, Bruce K., and Cathi J. Fredricks. *Genesis: A Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2001.
- Wanamaker, Charles A. *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*. NIGTC Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990.
- Wang, Lihshing Leigh, Amber S. Watts, Rawni A. Anderson, and Todd D. Little. “Common Fallacies in Quantitative Research Methodology.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Quantitative Methods, Vol. 2: Statistical Analysis*, edited by Todd D. Little, 718–758. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Wassén, Cecilia. “Do You Have to Be Pure in a Metaphorical Temple?: Sanctuary Metaphors and Construction of Sacred Space in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Paul’s Letters.” In *Purity, Holiness, and Identity in Judaism and Christianity: Essays in Memory of Susan Haber*. WUNT 305. 55–86. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013.
- Watson, Duane F., and Terrance Callan. *First and Second Peter*. Paideia Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012.
- Webb, Robert L. “The Activity of John the Baptist’s Expected Figure at the Threshing Floor (Matthew 3:12 = Luke 3:17).” *JSNT* 14, no. 43 (1991): 103–111.
- . “John the Baptist and His Relationship to Jesus.” In *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research*, edited by Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans. NTTS 19. 179–229. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- . *John the Baptizer and Prophet: A Socio-Historical Study*. JSNTSup 62. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1991.

- Weinfeld, Moshe. "Pentecost as Festival of the Giving of the Law." *Immanuel* 8 (Spr 1978): 7–18.
- Weissenrieder, Annette. "The Infusion of the Spirit: The Meaning of ἐμφοσάω in John 20:22–23." In *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Jörg Frey and John R. Levison. Ekstasis 5. 119–151. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.
- Wellhausen, Julius. *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*. Berlin: Reimer, 1905.
- . *Evangelienkommentare*. Reprint Berlin 1904–1914 ed. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987.
- . *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel*. New York: Meridian, 1957.
- Wenham, Gordon J. *Genesis: 1–15*. WBC Waco, TX: Word, 1987.
- Wenk, Matthias. *Community-Forming Power: The Socio-Ethical Role of the Spirit in Luke-Acts*. JPTSUP Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
- Werline, Rodney A. "Reflections on Penitential Prayer: Definition and Form." In *Seeking the Favor of God: Vol 2 The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, edited by Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk and Rodney A. Werline. EJM 22. 209–225. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2007.
- Wernberg-Møller, Preben C. H. *Manual of Discipline*. STDJ 1. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1958.
- Werrett, Ian. "The Evolution of Purity at Qumran." In *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, edited by Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan. Dynamics in the History of Religion 3. 494–518. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Werrett, Ian C. *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. STDJ 72. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Wiefel, Wolfgang. *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*. THKNT 3. Rev. ed. Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1988.
- Wink, Walter. *John the Baptist in the Gospel Tradition*. SNTSMS 7. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Wintermute, O.S. "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by James H. Charlesworth, 35–142. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- Wise, Michael Owen, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. Rev. ed. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005.
- Wise, Michael Owen, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996.
- Witherington, Ben, III. *John the Baptist*. DJG Edited by Joel B. Green. 2nd ed. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2013.
- Wold, Benjamin G. *4QInstruction: Divisions and Hierarchies*. STDJ 123. Leiden: Brill, 2018.
- . *Apotropaic Prayer and the Matthean Lord's Prayer*. Das Böse, der Teufel und Dämonen – Evil, the Devil, and Demons 412. Edited by Jan Doehorn, Susanne Rudnig-Zelt and Benjamin G. Wold. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016.
- . "'Flesh' and 'Spirit' in Qumran Sapiential Literature as the Background to the Use in Pauline Epistles." *ZNW* 106, no. 2 (2015): 262–279.
- . "The Universality of Creation in 4QInstruction." *RevQ* 26, no. 2 (2013): 211–226.
- . *Women, Men and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

- Wrede, W. "Paulus." In *Das Paulusbild in der neueren Deutschen Forschung*, edited by Karl Heinrich Rengstorf and Ulrich Luck. WdF 24. 1–97. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1969.
- Wright, Benjamin G., III. "Jewish Ritual Baths--Interpreting the Digs and the Texts: Some Issues in the Social History of Second Temple Judaism." In *Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, edited by Neil Asher Silberman and David B Small. JSOTSup 237. 190–214. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997.
- Wright, David P. "Holiness in Leviticus and Beyond: Differing Perspectives." *Interpretation* 53, no. 4 (1999): 351-364.
- . "Unclean and Clean." In *ABD* 6. 729-741. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
- Wright, Robert B. "Psalms of Solomon." In *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, edited by J. H. Charlesworth, 639–670. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1985.
- . *Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*. Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies 1. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Yates, John E. "The Form of Mark 1:8b." *NTS* 4, no. 4 (1958): 334–338.
- . *The Spirit and the Kingdom*. London: SPCK, 1963.
- Zahn, Theodor. *Das Evangelium des Lucas*. Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 3. und 4. ed. Vol. 3, Leipzig: Deichert, 1920.
- Zapff, Burkard M. "Sir 38,1–15 als Beispiel der Verknüpfung von Tradition und Innovation bei Jesus Sirach." *Bib* 92, no. 3 (2011): 347-367.
- Zimmerli, Walther. *Ezekiel 1: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 1–24*. Hermeneia Minneapolis: Fortress, 1979.
- . *Ezekiel 2: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel Chapters 25–48*. Hermeneia Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983.
- Zissu, Boaz, and David Amit. "Common Judaism, Common Purity, and the Second Temple Period Judean Miqwa'ot (Ritual Immersion Baths)." In *Common Judaism: Explorations in Second-Temple Judaism*, edited by Wayne O. McCready and Adele Reinhartz, 47–62. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008.