

## Attitudes towards Sexuality in Qumran and Related Literature – and the New Testament\*

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Investigation of attitudes towards sexuality in Qumran and related literature shows that the myth of the Watchers served as an aetiology of wrongdoing, but not of sexual wrongdoing in particular as one might have expected, nor as its paradigm. Inter-marriage was a major concern, although conflicts over sexual wrongdoing which feature in early sectarian writings disappear in what appear to be later ones. Extensions to holy space and time produce greater restrictions on sexual relations, but without disparaging them in proper space and time. Eschatology which leaves no space for sex created challenges for defending its place in the interim.

**Keywords:** sexuality, Qumran, Dead Sea Scrolls, Watchers, celibacy, sex

The aim of this study is to discuss four particular aspects of research into attitudes towards sexuality in Qumran and related literature and to comment briefly on their potential relevance for understanding the theme in the NT. The term, ‘sexuality’, is used in a broad sense to cover matters pertaining to sexuality, rather than the more defined sense of sexual theory or sexual orientation. ‘Qumran and related literature’, should, strictly speaking, encompass not only sectarian and non-sectarian writings found at Qumran, but also the Hebrew scriptures. The focus here is on the former inasmuch as they have formed part of the first two years of the present author’s five-year research program, which is to investigate attitudes towards sexuality in Judaism and Christianity in the Hellenistic Greco-Roman era.<sup>1</sup> The present study does not include Tobit and Sirach, but, on the other hand, includes works of which only fragments are found at Qumran, such as *Jubilees* and early Enoch literature. Accordingly, the discussion both reaches conclusions and raises questions which require further research.<sup>2</sup>

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2 Detailed exegetical discussion underlying the observations here are to be found in William Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes Towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch*

### 1. The Myth of the Watchers

Within the collection known to us as *1 Enoch* we find the *Book of the Watchers*, chs. 1–36, and within that early Enochic work, we find in chapters 6–11 an account of the myth of the Watchers, followed in chs. 12–16 by an account of Enoch’s encounter with the Watchers in the heavenly world. Known to us independently in what appears to be a cut down version in Gen 6, the myth of the Watchers has a long and complex history which is beyond the current task to pursue, but which leaves us an account in *1 Enoch* 6–11 still showing considerable unevenness.<sup>3</sup> Homogenised, it tells of two descents (8.1–2; 6.1–6; 7.1; 9.6, 7–9), later reflected in the two descents of stars in the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 86.1–2, 3–6). Asael descends and teaches metallurgy to human beings, including the skill to make weapons of war, but also ornaments and cosmetics, with which women could enhance their attractiveness (8.1–2). Asael’s descent and instruction was contrary to divine will and was the beginning of chaos (9.6; 10.4–8). As the myth developed later, he becomes the main villain (13.1; cf. already 10.8) and is equated with Azazel (so *The Parables of Enoch*; *1 Enoch* 54.5; 44.4; 4QAgEsCreat B/4Q180 1 7–8). In chs. 6–11, however, he also belongs to the troop of 200 Watchers who came down in a second descent under the leadership of Shemihazah (6.7).

The Watchers come with a clear intent, responding to the beauty of human women (6.1–2). They engage in sexual intercourse with the women, but also pass on secrets to them about spells and sorcery (7.1; 8.3). In doing so they crossed a boundary of species and defiled themselves, an aspect heightened in its significance in chs. 12–16, which identifies many of them as having been priests in the heavenly temple (12.4; 15.3; cf. 9.1). The defilement with women’s blood, as it puts it (15.4; cf. also 10.11; 7.1), will have focused not on particular flows of blood such as menstrual or virginal blood, but human blood in an absolute sense.<sup>4</sup>

The effects were catastrophic. The women became pregnant and gave birth to Nephilim, understood as giants, and these proceeded to create chaos on earth, engaging in warfare, devouring the earth’s resources, drinking blood, spreading wickedness and violence among human beings (7.2–5), and finding their end in mutual self-destruction (10.9). Perhaps, as Nickelsburg conjectured, the chaos in the decades following Alexander’s demise inspired the sense of helplessness

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*Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), and William Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality: Attitudes Towards Sexuality in Sectarian and Related Literature at Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming).

3 See the reviews of research in Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 39–52; Archie T. Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1–4 in Early Jewish Literature* (WUNT 2.198; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 29–37; George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36, 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) 165–72.

4 On this see Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 12–15.

which their deeds evoked.<sup>5</sup> Their mutual self-destruction was divinely initiated. Then, according to chs. 12–16, from their corpses emerged what would later be called the bastard spirits, let loose in the world like viruses to afflict humanity (15.8–12).

The Watchers' deed, seen as a gross act of sexual immorality, changed history forever. It also provided a monotheistic faith with a creative explanation for all kinds of ills, moral and medical, and created a framework of thought according to which hope lay in the future when God would finally round up the evil spirits and execute judgment on the imprisoned angels (10.12–15; 16.1). The myth exercised wide influence. The fragmentary *Book of the Giants* depends on it. In *Jubilees* it comes at the halfway point of its history (4.33; 5.1),<sup>6</sup> though its theism modifies the outcome to ensure a greater sense of divine control and hope for humanity: with Mastema the number of demons is negotiated down to 10%, but they still afflict humans with diseases (10.1–11). Noah is taught antidotes against them (10.12–14), and, significantly, they also become leaders of the Gentile nations (15.31–32). The *Epistle of Enoch* dissents even further, insisting that people's wrongdoing is their own fault; it was not sent to earth from above (98.4).

The *Genesis Apocryphon* appears to devote its first two columns to the myth, its fragmentary remains still enabling us to recognise reference to the angels' imprisonment and dread of judgment (0.5–13), the mutual destruction of the giants (0.15), the divulgence of forbidden knowledge (1.2, 11), and apparently a version of the myth shared by *Jubilees* (1.26–27). For both depict only one descent, and that, on a divine commission (*Jub.* 4.15; 7.21), so that the turn to sin occurred not in heaven but on earth, and both delete the negative role of women (cf. *1 Enoch* 8.1–2; 16:3). Lamech feared that Noah was the fruit of a liaison of Bitenosh with a Watcher, but, as in *1 Enoch* 106–107, is assured this is not so (2.1–26; 5.2–8). The *Damascus Document* makes the Watchers' deed the first in a history of failures through sexual wrongdoing (2.18; cf. 2.17–3.12a) in order to confront its opponents with their false interpretations in this area.<sup>7</sup> One of the *Thanksgiving Hymns* speaks in dread of the plight of the imprisoned Watchers (1QH<sup>a</sup>/xviii.34b–36; cf. also xxiv.15 and fr. 2 ii + 6.6). A number of documents found at Qumran allude to the myth and use it to frame their anthropology and eschatology and inform their exorcisms.<sup>8</sup>

5 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 170.

6 On this see Helge S. Kvanvig, 'Jubilees – Read as a Narrative', *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 75–83 (77).

7 See Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 98–107.

8 4QInstr<sup>a</sup>/4Q416 1 10–12; 4QAgnesCreat /4Q180 1 7–8; 4Q181 2 1–2; 4QNoah ar/4Q534 1 ii + 2 15–16; 4QcommGen A/4Q252 1 i; 4QShir<sup>a</sup>/4Q510 1 4–6 = 4QShir<sup>b</sup>/4Q511 10 1–2; 4QShir<sup>b</sup>/4Q511 2 ii.3; 35 7; 48, 49 + 51 2–3; and 182; 4QIncantation/4Q444 1–4 i + 5 3; 11QapocPs/11Q11 5.6.

For all the shocking and grotesque act of the Watchers' sexual wrongdoing, however, and the extensiveness of its influence, there is a surprising lack of interest in using or developing it aetiologically to address issues of sexuality. The giants do not imitate their fathers by engaging in sexual wrongdoing, not even where in their depiction as violent warmongers one might have expected it, for instance in sexual violence. Similarly the bastard spirits show no particular bent towards sexual wrongdoing. When the Watchers head the list of sexual wrongdoers in the *Damascus Document* (2.16–18), they are simply number one in the list of sexual failures, not their cause. *Jubilees* has Noah cite their deed (7.22–23), but only as a warning about judgment. Thereafter it plays no role. This is consistently the case in all the material considered which the myth inspired. It is not used as an explanation for the generation of sexual wrongdoing.

So, my first conclusion is negative: the myth did not inspire writers to focus on sexual wrongdoing, as one might have expected. This also makes it somewhat questionable that the myth itself functioned in this way paradigmatically, as some have speculated. It could have been code, for instance, for attacking those priests who married Samaritans,<sup>9</sup> or who later married Gentiles<sup>10</sup> or outside their priestly families.<sup>11</sup> If there is a concern about intermarriage behind the myth, it is more likely to relate to marrying presumably Gentile women who will have been seen as the bearers of forbidden knowledge (*1 Enoch* 16.3),<sup>12</sup> and then it would apply to all, not just to priests. However, nothing of this nature is said or reflected in later use of the myth in the material considered. Similarly it could have been used to attack others who abandoned their natural order to engage in acts of homosexuality or bestiality, but nowhere there is this in evidence.

There are echoes of the myth in the NT. Jude 6 cites 'the angels who did not keep their own position, but left their proper dwelling' and whom God 'has kept

9 So Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *Prophets of Old and the Day of the End: Zechariah, the Book of Watchers and Apocalyptic* (OTS 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996) 198–203.

10 So David Winston Suter, 'Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch', *HUCA* 50 (1979) 115–35; David Winston Suter, 'Revisiting "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest"', *The Origins of Enochic Judaism: Proceedings of the First Enoch Seminar, University of Michigan, Sesto Fiorentino, Italy, June 19–23, 2001* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Henoch 24; Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 2002) 137–42; cf. also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 230–2.

11 See Martha Himmelfarb, 'Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time of the Maccabean Revolt', *JSQ* 6 (1999) 1–24 (12). Himmelfarb considers intermarriage between priests and people as also the target of *4QMMT* and *Aramaic Levi Document* (3–12), but see the discussion of the latter in Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 101–3, 106–11; and of the former, in Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 53–90.

12 In this regard, see Siam Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11: Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary with Reference to Ancient Near Eastern and Biblical Antecedents* (AOAT 322; Münster: Ugarit, 2005) 23–6, who underlines the concern with divination, while not linking it specifically to the issue of intermarriage.

in eternal chains in deepest darkness for the judgment of the great day', dependent on the form of the myth in *1 Enoch*. It serves as an example to assure hearers that God's judgment will fall on the author's opponents, and stands beside the wilderness generation and Sodom and Gomorrah, whose sexual sins Jude highlights.<sup>13</sup> Unlike in the *Damascus Document*, the charges of sexual wrongdoing against the opponents appear to be no more than disparaging rhetoric.<sup>14</sup> Jude even cites *1 Enoch* 1.14, interpreting it now of Jesus' coming to exercise judgment (Jude 15–16). *2 Peter* similarly aligns the Watchers' deed with Noah's generation and Sodom and Gomorrah (2 Pet 2.4–8a), as illustrations to assure future judgment particularly against 'those who indulge their flesh in depraved lust, and who despise authority' (2.10), which here, too, reflects disparaging rhetoric.<sup>15</sup> The tradition in 1 Pet 3.19–20 also reflects the myth in having Jesus preach to the imprisoned spirits, though no content is intimated.<sup>16</sup> It may also have influenced the depiction of the 144,000 of Rev 14.4 as those who, unlike the Watchers, had not defiled themselves with women,<sup>17</sup> but had apparently already in this life chosen the celibate life of angels.<sup>18</sup>

Arguably the anthropological and eschatological framework which the myth enabled lived on in early Christian understanding of the present and future kingdom of God and exorcism (Matt 12.28; Luke 17.21), and in its notions of judgment, including judgment of angels (Matt 25.41; 1 Cor 6.3). Possibly Paul's linkage between angels and women in urging that they not remove their veils is to be understood against the myth's image of potentially lusting angels (1 Cor 11.10),<sup>19</sup> perhaps more likely than that he fears imperial spies concerned with so-called 'new women'.<sup>20</sup> Nowhere, however, do traces of the myth indicate belief that the event generated sexual wrongdoing in particular.

13 See Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC 50; Waco: Word, 1983) 54–6; Anton Vögtle, *Der Judasbrief; Der Zweite Petrusbrief* (EKK 22; Düsseldorf: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1994) 40–2.

14 Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 54, comments: 'Jude's intention in stressing here the peculiar sexual offences of both the Watchers and the Sodomites is probably to highlight the shocking character of the false teachers violation of God-given order'.

15 See Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter*, 248–50, 255–7.

16 See Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996) 252–62; J. Ramsay Michaels, *1 Peter* (WBC 49; Waco: Word, 1988) 207–9.

17 See D. C. Olson, "'Those who have not defiled themselves with women': Revelation 14.4 and the Book of Enoch', *CBQ* 59 (1997) 492–510.

18 On this see William Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005) 210–12.

19 See William Loader, *The Septuagint, Sexuality, and the New Testament: Case Studies on the Impact of the LXX in Philo and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 102.

20 See the detailed case for this interpretation in Bruce Winter, *Roman Wives, Roman Widows: The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003) esp. 77–96.

## 2. Intermarriage and Incest

While it is questionable whether the Watcher myth in the *Book of the Watchers* encodes a warning against intermarriage with Gentiles, there can be no doubt that this theme is a major concern in *Jubilees*. There in the angel's retelling of Genesis stories sexual wrongdoing is a regular theme.<sup>21</sup> Concern with intermarriage is rooted not only in its view of Israel's need to remain separate as a holy and priestly people from the beginning of creation (2.19–22),<sup>22</sup> but also in the concern that it leads to bad moral influence, especially in areas of sexuality. Thus Rebecca warns Jacob not to marry Canaanite women because they are sexually wanton and evil (25.1, 7; 27.8). From Noah to Abraham to Isaac and Rebecca, to Jacob, the message is the same.

While there are traces of earlier concerns expressed in Exod 34 and Deut 7 that such marriages lead to idolatry, Abraham's family of origin being a case in point (11.9, 11–24; 12.1–8), the primary concern is sexual wrongdoing. When Judah marries a Canaanite wife, the consequences are chaotic, leading ultimately to the scandal of Judah and Tamar (41.1–21; 34.20). The story of Dinah's abduction (30.1–4) becomes the basis for the author launching an assault on intermarriage in which prohibitions originally applied to priests in Lev 21 are applied to all Israelites, forbidding all intermarriage, even insisting on the dissolution of all existing mixed marriages which are seen as a defilement of the people and the temple (30.5–23). *Jubilees* equates such marriages to passing one's children to Molech (30.10; cf. Lev 18.21). Levi's vengeance for Dinah needs no excuse, indeed receives Jacob's blessing, for all who fight such practices are, like Phinehas and Abraham, friends of God (30.23; cf. Gen 49.5–7 and 34.30).

The story of Dinah features also in the *Aramaic Levi Document*. It, too, celebrates Levi's actions (12.6 / 78), and similarly appears to apply prohibitions originally related to priestly marriage not only to priests, still its primary focus, but to all.<sup>23</sup> It may even lay blame on Dinah whom it appears to depict as defiling her family (1.1 / 1c).<sup>24</sup> Isaac's advice to Jacob not to marry a Canaanite is advice for all

21 See the extensive discussion of the theme in Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 155–96, 298–301.

22 So James C. VanderKam, 'The Origins and Purposes of the Book of Jubilees', *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997) 3–24 (18–19); similarly James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), where he also notes: 'Impurity is also associated with improper marriages and illicit sexual relations' (125).

23 4QLevi<sup>b</sup> ar/4Q213a 3–4 / 3a; 6.3–4 / 16–17; and see the discussion in Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 91–103, 107–8.

24 On this see Henryk Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 106–7; Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 88–9.

(6.3–4 / 16–17; cf. Gen 28.1). Concern with intermarriage of priests in particular with Gentiles continues as a theme in the related documents, the *Testament of Qahat* (4Q542 1 i.5–6a, 9) and the *Visions of Amram*, where Amram emphasises his refusal to take a Canaanite wife (4Q543 4 2–4 = 4Q544 1 7–9 = 4Q547 1–2 iii 6–9a). It continues in the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* (4Q390 2 i.10). Some see it also in *4QMMT*, but narrowed to concern about intermarriage between priests and people.<sup>25</sup>

It seems much more likely, however, that *4QMMT* reflects the broader concern with marriage to Gentiles by both priests and people.<sup>26</sup> It refuses their sacrifices, because that, it argues, would be the equivalent of engaging in illicit sexual relations, since Gentiles have no place in the covenant (B 8–9). So they certainly have no place in marriage. It uses Deut 23 to insist that there can be no place for Ammonites or Moabites joining the people through marriage, not just for ten generations, but never (B 39–49). Similarly it abhors the defilement of Israel's seed and especially the holy seed of the priesthood through such mixing (B 75–82). And again, probably targeting the practice of marrying captive wives, it insists that this amounts to bringing an abomination into one's house, for which David and Solomon provide adequate evidence (C 4–9, 25–26). Here, too, we find an allusion to Phinehas and Abraham, the friends of God, whose acts of faith counted as righteousness before God (C 31–32; cf. Gen 15.6; Ps 106.31), an expression used quite differently by Paul. The concern with intermarriage to Gentiles finds echoes also in the *Genesis Apocryphon* in Noah's model behaviour in arranging the marriages of his offspring and in his vision which worries about mingling trees which should remain separate (6.8–10; 12.9–12; 14.16–17).<sup>27</sup>

Most of this literature where these concerns are expressed is recognised as being either non-sectarian or early sectarian. The concerns have their roots especially in the post-exilic period. The strictures of Ezra 9 and Neh 12 are formative and leave verbal traces. While not identified as an issue in the accounts of 1 and 2 Maccabees,<sup>28</sup> the extensiveness of the concern probably reflects a real danger at a time when such marriages became an option, including through captive wives (see 1 Macc 5.23, 51; 8.10; cf. 2 Macc 5.24).

It is interesting in this regard to note that intermarriage does not feature as a prohibition in the *Temple Scroll* except for the king (11QT<sup>a</sup>/11Q19 56.18). It, too,

25 So E. Qimron in E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 172; Himmelfarb, 'Levi, Phinehas', 6–10.

26 See Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 53–90.

27 Further possible allusions to forbidding intermarriage of both priests and people with Gentiles include: *4QHalakhah A*/4Q251 17; *4QMiscellaneous Rules*/4Q265 whose citation of Mal 2.10 in 3.1–2 may indicate that the warning against intermarriage in Mal 2.11–12 is implied; *4QCatena<sup>a</sup>*/4Q177 with its allusion to Deut 7.15 in 1–4; *4QapocrJosh<sup>a</sup>*/4Q378 10.1–2; and *4QDibHam<sup>a</sup>*/4Q504 xvi.12–20.

28 On this see Himmelfarb, 'Levi, Phinehas', 17–22, who notes the silence about the issue at the time of the Maccabean revolt.



addresses captive wives, citing Deut 21.10–14, but then makes a significant addition to increase the waiting time before they can eat priestly food, thus expressing hesitation but still accepting such marriages (63.10–15; cf. 2.12–15). Indeed this document thus appears to contemplate marriage of priests to Gentiles. The same may also be true of the *Damascus Document*, if, as appears possible, it alludes to laws concerning the captive wife in Deut 21.10–14 (4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 4.19), and if, as Wassen suggests, the issue of sexual intercourse with menstruants arose with non-Jewish spouses.<sup>29</sup> Even without these possible references, it is striking that the *Damascus Document*, which makes so much of sexual wrongdoing as an issue of contention between its group and others, never makes intermarriage an issue.<sup>30</sup> This is also the case with other documents widely recognised as sectarian.

Other issues which we do find directly addressed by the *Damascus Document*, such as incest,<sup>31</sup> also rarely make an appearance later. Incest may be the charge against a certain Hananiah in 4Q477, but otherwise in its general sense we find references to incest in the earlier works, *1/4QInstruction* (4QInstr<sup>d</sup>/4Q418 101 ii.5) and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* (4Q387 fr. A; 4Q383 fr. A; cf. also *Pss. Sol.* 8.9–11). The *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* seems closely related to *Jubilees* where incest receives special emphasis as the angel expounds Reuben's and Judah's sins (*Jub.* 33.9–20; 41.23–26).<sup>32</sup> The prohibition of marrying nieces, forbidden but apparently not contentious in the *Temple Scroll* (66.15–16; cf. Lev 18.13), and assumed as illegitimate in *Jubilees*,<sup>33</sup> has clearly become so in 4QHalakhah A/4Q251 and the *Damascus Document* (5.7–11).

This is part, in turn, of a wider phenomenon in the sectarian material. On the one hand, issues of sexuality regularly feature in the earlier material, and often in the context of conflict about some who seek to alter the Law. This is especially so in the *Damascus Document* where it is the main issue in contention, but also in

29 Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (SBL Academia Biblica 21; Atlanta: SBL, 2005) 120.

30 There are some places where it may be implied, but each is uncertain. They include the warning about unsuitable partners in 4QD<sup>f</sup>/4Q271 3 9–10 (alluding to Deut 22.10–11 about mixing animal species and fibres); the 'history' of sexual wrongdoing in 2.16b–3.12a which designates Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob as 'friends of God' linked elsewhere with Phinehas and intermarriage (cf. *Jub.* 19.9; 30.20; Ps 106.31), refers to the wilderness generation, and possibly alludes to relations with Moabites and Midianites and may see it as an aspect of the kings' wrongdoing (2.9–10).

31 In relation to marrying nieces: CD 5.7b–11a; 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 2 ii.16); and generally: in the lists of 6.14–7.4b and 8.3–9.

32 Cf. also 4QcommGen A/4Q252; 4QNarrative A/4Q458; 4QNarrative A/4Q458 17.

33 *Jubilees* revises the Genesis accounts to remove traces of niece marriages in the cases of Seth and Azura (4.11), Abram and Sarai (12.9; cf. Gen 11.29; 12.20); and Milcah (19.10). Strikingly, *Aramaic Levi Document*, the *Testament of Qahat*, and the *Visions of Amram* have no scruples about reporting the marriage of Miriam, Amram's daughter, to his brother, and Amram himself to his aunt, Jochabed.



4QMMT, and even leaves a trace in the *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* in response to whom, it warns, some seek to alter the statutes (1 15). On the other hand, in the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, the *Pesharim*, and to a lesser degree, the *Community Rule*, which also mention conflict with a group of false interpreters, often using the same terms such as the 'seekers of smooth things' and also making charges of changing the law (1QH<sup>a</sup> vi.15; xii.5–22; 1QS/1Q28 11.1–2; cf. CD 4.13–5.12), we find no indication that the substance of the conflict has anything to do with issues of sexuality. Rather, the conflict is expressed in the form of one group bedevilling the other, *ad hominem* disqualification and abuse. It makes sense to see these documents as reflecting a time and place where the conflict had escalated, as conflicts frequently do, to the point where matters of substance have been subordinated to mutual disqualification.

This means that most of the issues of contention surrounding laws about sexuality occur in the earlier documents. While traces of the language of those conflicts sometimes appear in later sectarian documents, such as allusions to the 'eyes of lust' (1QS/1Q28 1.6; 1QpHab 5.7b–8a), these now belong among lists of sins from which the faithful have turned aside in the past. The *Thanksgiving Hymns*, which often depict such conflict, never mention issues of sexual wrongdoing.

One might have expected the issue of intermarriage to Gentiles to have become a major issue in early Christianity, especially for any who had imbibed the spirit of *Jubilees*. This is surprisingly not the case. Paul may draw freely on such traditions or their favourite texts in 2 Cor 6.14–7.1, but is probably employing them metaphorically to urge isolation of his opponents.<sup>34</sup> He is the only one to address the comparable issue of marriage to non-believers and does so in 1 Cor 7 with great sensitivity, leaving any initiative for divorce with the non-believing partner (7.10–16). His discussion shows no sign that the issue had been previously contentious, or if he does, reflects the positive side of the argument which hypothesised sanctified status for the marriage and its offspring.<sup>35</sup>

Some see Matthew's reworking of the pericope on divorce as sanctioning divorce by Gentiles who lived in incestuous marriages,<sup>36</sup> but this seems unlikely, especially since in such cases what is required is not divorce, but recognition that the marriage never was valid.<sup>37</sup> I am not convinced, therefore, that the word

34 So Christian Wolff, *Der zweite Brief des Paulus an die Korinther* (THNT 8; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1989) 148; cf. Murray J. Harris, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005) 20–1.

35 See Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition*, 169–71.

36 So Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Palestinian Evidence', *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2d ed. 1998) 79–111 (88–9); Francis J. Moloney, 'Matthew 19:3–12 and Celibacy', "A Hard Saying": *The Gospel and Culture* (Collegeville: Liturgical, 2001) 35–52 (38–9).

37 So David Instone-Brewer, *Divorce and Remarriage in the Bible: The Social and Literary Context* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 157–8.

πορνεία here means incest. According to Mark 6.18, Antipas's incest, by marrying his step brother's wife, was the butt of John's strict rebuke (presumably supported by Jesus). Paul addresses an instance in Corinth (1 Cor 5.1), but otherwise incest is not a prominent issue.

### 3. Sexuality in Space and Time

The *Temple Scroll* envisages a new temple of enormous proportions to serve the people in the time before God alone creates the final temple. Its provisions do not go beyond the framework of thought already established in the biblical laws, except that it extends the space, multiplies the barriers, enhances the strictness, homogenises the purity provisions and gives special emphasis to seminal impurity. Thus, not only does it provide for a separate court for women, children and proselytes after the third generation (39.7–9; 40.5–6), who are all also excluded from the Passover (17.8–9; similarly *Jub.* 49.17), it also extends to the entire city the provisions which forbid entry into the temple of those unclean through seminal emission and thus effectively bans sexual intercourse in the city (45.6–12).<sup>38</sup> For whatever length of time, men and women living there would need to be celibate, as, of course, would anyone being in the temple precincts. The latter is part of the reason why reading 'the city of the temple' as meaning only the temple precincts seems unlikely. Rather, we see an expansion of the realm of holiness to include the city, which corresponds also to what we find in the *Damascus Document* (CD 12.1b–2a).

*Jubilees* depicts the Garden of Eden as a sanctuary (3.12; 4.26; 8.19) and so also as a place of celibacy. Adam and Eve abstain from sexual intercourse in the garden. *Jubilees* also witnesses an extension in relation to time: there is to be no sexual intercourse on the sabbath (50.8; cf. 2.25–26), and is followed in this by the *Damascus Document* (CD 11.5; 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 2 i.18–19; 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 7 i.12–13 / 4QD<sup>b</sup>/4Q267 9 vi.4–5). *Jubilees*' eschatology envisages that all shall be as infants, presumably pre-puberty and so not sexually active (23.28). Speculation might join these pieces together to create an image of an age to come, perhaps a return to Eden, in which there would be neither marrying nor being given in marriage, a view later preserved in the Jesus tradition (Mark 12.25).

But this is not what we find in the other documents considered. No others speak of a perpetual infancy. Instead, in a wide range of texts we read of a promise of abundance, to which belongs abundant offspring.<sup>39</sup> The *Damascus Document* speaks of people living for a thousand generations, a way of imaging

<sup>38</sup> See Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 10–28.

<sup>39</sup> 1QS/1Q28 4.6b–8; CD 2.11b–12a; 4QpPs<sup>a</sup>/4Q171 1–10 iii.1–2a, 10–11; 4QInstr<sup>g</sup>/4Q423 3 1–5/ 1Q26 2 2–4.

endlessness rather than setting limits (CD 7.6 / 19.1–2; similarly already 1 *Enoch* 10.17–18). The Temple Scroll looks to a time of Israel multiplying (59.12). As 11*QSefer ha-Milhamah*/11Q14 1 ii.11 // 4*QSefer ha-Milhamah*/4Q285 8 8 puts it, taking up the promise of Exod 23.26, there will be no miscarriage in the time of future blessing, clearly assuming that marriage and sexual relations as a normal part of life in the future and identifying the cause. It then provides the reason: because God and the holy angels will be with them, a reason not for abstinence, but for fertility (ii.14b // 8 10–11). They envisage an embodied existence (with or without remainder; cf. *Jub.* 23.31), usually portrayed in astral, shining images, recalling Dan 12, but clearly entailing life in families, marriages, and with engagement in sexual intercourse. Nothing suggests that the frequent images of long life entail curtailment of sexual relations, as if their function were solely procreative. Good in the future matches good in the present and vice versa. This applies also to the structure of society in which the future also envisages a sanctuary where doubtless the same requirements of abstinence apply and a wider reality in which, presumably, normal human relations continue.

The reports of Philo<sup>40</sup> and Josephus<sup>41</sup> of Essenes<sup>42</sup> who disparage sexual desire and so live in celibacy do not match what we find in our documents. Behind their tendentious accounts we may well, however, have a reliable indication that celibacy was a feature of the Essenes, according to Josephus with some exceptions.<sup>43</sup> Enough overlap exists to consider an Essene connection for some of the documents. If so, then it is surprising that celibacy scarcely features. I consider the best evidence to be CD 6–7, where among the men of perfect holiness who uphold the law are some who marry and live in camps (6.14–7.4a) and others who do not (7.4b–9a / 19.1–5a). The issue is clearly one of different location. Perhaps the absence at Qumran of signs of family in buildings and cemetery<sup>44</sup> indicates a settlement of permanent or temporary celibates, living like inhabitants of the *Temple Scroll's* sacred city. Otherwise, family life is everywhere presupposed, though special assemblies, as in the *Rule of the Congregation*, call for times of abstinence like the people's approach to Sinai in Exod 19. An earlier fragment of that document in cryptic script (4Q249e) has been reconstructed to read as requiring that men turn-

40 *Prob.* 75–91; *Apologia Pro Judaeis (Hypothetica)* (cited in Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* 8.6–7); cf. also Philo *Contemp.* 1–2, 11–40, 63–90

41 *B.J.* 2.119–61; *A.J.* 18.18–22.

42 See also Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 5.17.4 (73); Hippolytus *Refutation of all Heresies* 9.18–28.

43 See the discussion in Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 369–76.

44 On this see Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002) 163–87; Sidnie White Crawford, 'Not According to Rule: Women, the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran', *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; SVT 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 127–50 (140–4).

ing twenty, already married and presumably already having had children, begin their celibacy,<sup>45</sup> but this seems scarcely credible and what may be a shortened text compared with that of 1QSa/1Q28a probably refers to illicit sexual intercourse within marriage, such as we find in 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 7 i.12–13; 4QD<sup>b</sup>/4Q267 9 vi.4–5.

There is, therefore, no clear pathway from the trajectory I speculated from *Jubilees* to early Christianity through the documents we have considered. I am no longer convinced that the celibacy traceable in them was proleptic, in anticipation of all being celibate in the world to come, as it appears to have been in parts of the Jesus tradition.<sup>46</sup> I wonder about the image of becoming like little children in early Christian eschatology (Mark 10.14; Matt 18.3; *Gos. Thom.* 22.1–4; *Gos. Eg.*; 2 Clem 12.2–6). Here I see more work to be done.

More broadly, restriction on sexuality in special places and times, a wide cultural assumption, come to expression in the midst of Paul's defence of sexual relations in marriage, when he commends abstinence for times of prayer (1 Cor 7.5; cf. *T. Naph.* 8.7).<sup>47</sup> Another interpretation of the reference to the presence of the angels in 1 Cor 11 relates it to such concerns, finding an echo of the common rationale for restriction in our documents: because the holy ones are present.<sup>48</sup>

#### 4. Sexuality and Order

Images of the future inevitably have an impact on the present, not least because they frequently reflect projections into the future of people's aspirations for the present, however inspired or otherwise. Within a demonological framework inspired by the myth of the Watchers, the future will bring the demons' demise, the final great exorcism, and, by implication, creation's restoration. Such is the eschatology of the *Book of the Watchers* and a number of documents found at Qumran.

Sometimes the fault is located in the human self, predetermined by the proportion of one's given lots of light and darkness (cf. *4QHoroscope*/4Q186). Hope

45 S. J. Pfann, 'Cryptic Texts: 249a–z, 250a–j and 313–313b', *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts* (ed. S. J. Pfann); *Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. P. S. Alexander et al., in consultation with J. VanderKam and M. Brady; DJD XXXVI; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 515–701 (559).

46 See the discussion in Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition*, 215–29.

47 On this see William Loader, 'Sexuality in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the New Testament', *Transcending Boundaries: Contemporary Readings of the New Testament: Essays in Honor of Francis J. Moloney* (ed. Rekha M. Chennattu and Mary L. Coloe; Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose 187; Rome: Las, 2005) 293–309 (294–8).

48 Cf. 1QM/1Q33 7.6; 1QSa/1Q28a 2.8b–9a; CD 15.17/4QD<sup>a</sup>/4Q266 8 i.9; 4QFlor 1.3–5; 4QMMT B 42–57; 11QT<sup>a</sup>/11Q19 45.12–14; and Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'A Feature of Qumran Angelology and the Angels of 1 Cor 11.10', Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Chapman, 1971) 187–204; Raymond F. Collins, *First Corinthians* (SacPag 7; Collegeville: Liturgical, 1999) 412.

then entails more radical change, at least according to the deterministic *Treatise on the Two Spirits*. It speaks of the rooting out of one's (apparently God-given) share of the lots of darkness (1QS/1Q28 4.20–22). Theistic determinism has ways of smoothing out such contradictions, but, paradoxically and typically, authors who espouse it insist on continuing to give instruction and exhortation as if human will can be changed and people can become the elect or cease to be so. This is also the case in *1/4QInstruction*, where some find in 4QInstr<sup>c</sup>/4Q417 1 i.16b–18a creation of two kinds of humanity,<sup>49</sup> but where in all probability we are still dealing with an existential dualism.<sup>50</sup>

The issue becomes particularly acute in the *Thanksgiving Hymns* where authors attribute the lamentable human condition, both its persistent ritual impurity and its moral propensity to sin, to the lowly substance of its creation: dust, water, and, by derivation, clay, and perhaps also in allusion to its procreation: spit and water.<sup>51</sup> More radical still, human depravity begins in the womb (xii.29–30). But then we recognise in this the rhetoric of the psalms (e.g. Ps 51.7). Language functions here as a vehicle of doxology and self-deprecation before the divine. If we pressed its logic we would end up accusing the creator and we would envisage eschatology as disembodiment. It is not very far down the track before one could attribute such creation to God's mistake, or to the fallibility of God's helpers, as in Philo, or to a depraved deity, and then declare procreation and passion, sexuality and women, to be works of evil. The rhetoric remains, however, in

49 So John J. Collins, 'In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran', *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999) 609–18 (616–17); Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 94–9; Matthew J. Goff, *Discerning Wisdom: The Sapiential Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (VTSup 116; Leiden: Brill, 2007) 34.

50 See the review of discussion in Benjamin Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 2.201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005) 132–41 and Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 312–22.

51 E.g. v.19b–22a; ix.21b–23a; xx.24–27, 31–32; similarly 1QS/1Q28 11.20b–22; and see the discussion in Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 243–54, which includes discussion of Jörg Frey, 'Flesh and Spirit in Palestinian Jewish Sapiential Tradition and in the Qumran Texts: An Inquiry into the Background of Paulinian Usage', *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought: Studies in Wisdom at Qumran and its Relationship to Sapiential Thought in the Ancient Near East, the Hebrew Bible, Ancient Judaism, and the New Testament* (ed. Charlotte Hempel, Armin Lange, and Hermann Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters–Leuven University, 2002) 367–404; Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004); and Hermann Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild in Texten der Qumrangemeinde* (SUNT 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

solution, as it were. Nowhere is human sexuality blamed. The genitals never feature negatively in the lists of lowly substances. Women are not the enemy – although the document, the *Wiles of the Wicked Woman*, certainly depicts grave dangers for men when women misdirect their passions, and never say anything like this about men.

None of the documents disparages human sexual desire, in contrast to what Philo and Josephus project onto the Essenes. *Jubilees* celebrates creation of woman as the fulfilment of Adam's desire for a companion, including a sexual companion, having seen this in the animals, and accordingly he meets his new mate in immediate sexual intimacy, and that without prospect or intent of procreation (*Jub.* 3.1–7). The positive appreciation of sexual intimacy, even within polygynous marriages, where need for intimacy with one's beloved and need for procreation through others are kept in balance, as with Jacob, Leah, and Rachel (*Jub.* 28.1–24), is a significant feature of *Jubilees*, which also places great emphasis on women's leadership, albeit within a patriarchal framework.<sup>52</sup> Similarly *Genesis Apocryphon* seems almost to enjoy its depiction of Sarai's sensual beauty, topped off by her wisdom (20.2–7), and has Bitenosh remind Lamech of their heightened pleasure in sexual intercourse, to which she attributes the conception of the wondrous baby Noah (2.9–10, 13–14). Marital love features also in the *Visions of Amram*, who asserts his faithfulness to Jochabed.<sup>53</sup> What still appears best understood as a *Marriage Liturgy* (4Q502)<sup>54</sup> also celebrates human love and sexuality.

Within the space of marriage, and not beyond or before it, the documents assume the appropriateness of sexual relations. Jacob's claim in *Jubilees* not to have engaged in sexual relations before marriage or not even to have touched a woman – and that at the age of 63! (25.4) – reflects an ideal, which we may assume was valued. The community rules of the *Damascus Document* provide for oversight of marrying, divorcing, and care of children (CD 13.16a–19; 4QD<sup>a</sup>/4Q266 9 iii.4–9). Divorce (and so the freedom to remarry) appears to be assumed, though the faithful should never marry a woman divorced for adultery (4QD<sup>f</sup>/4Q271 3 11).<sup>55</sup> That document imposes monogyny, the requirement only for the king in the *Temple Scroll* (57.15–19), on all (4.20–21). Genesis 1–3 inspires the portrait of marriage in *1/4QInstruction*, which seems also to assume monogyny, though probably as a reflection more of necessity than of rule.<sup>56</sup> Adultery is eschewed, but rarely

52 See the major study of Betsy Halpern-Amaru, *The Empowerment of Women in the Book of Jubilees* (JSJSup 60; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

53 4Q543 4 2–4 = 4Q544 1 7–9 = 4Q547 1–2 iii 6–9a.

54 So James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000) 182, 189; Baillet, *DJD* 7, 81–105; cf. Joseph M. Baumgarten, '4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?', *JJS* 34 (1983) 125–35.

55 See the discussion in Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 113–18.

56 See especially 4QInstr<sup>b</sup>/4Q416 2 iii.15b–iv.13.

mentioned. In *Jubilees* Joseph is the model of resistance (39.5–9). The *Damascus Document* and related texts offer elaborate advice about arranging appropriate marriage partners.<sup>57</sup>

Always the assumption is that the man rules (e.g. 4QInstr<sup>a</sup>/4Q415 9 6–11), based usually on an interpretation of the Genesis creation stories. Typically, far greater attention is given to women's potential misdemeanours than to men's, not least in determining virginity and examining allegations of adultery.<sup>58</sup> While the violent abduction of Dinah stands under judgment, enhanced with the detail that 'she was a small girl, twelve years of age' (30.2), *Jubilees* quickly shifts the focus to its other concern, intermarriage. Its interest in Reuben's sin against Bilhah is also not the violence done to her, but the incest and its prevention of Jacob ever sleeping with her again, following the provisions of Deut 24. This also determines the version which it and the *Genesis Apocryphon* give of Sarai's abduction by Pharaoh. Sexual intercourse with one's slaves is apparently still approved, certainly according to the *Temple Scroll*, and perhaps even in the *Damascus Document* in the context of monogyny.

Homosexual acts scarcely receive any attention. The *Damascus Document* lists their proscription (4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 2 ii.16b–17a / 6QD/6Q15 5 3–4).<sup>59</sup> One document appears to describe the depraved acts at Sodom and Gomorrah as sexual wrongdoing (4QUnden/4Q172 4 1, 3).<sup>60</sup> *Jubilees* depicts wickedness at the time of the Watchers' sin a number of times in terms of animate beings perverting their order (5.2, 3, 10, 19), as by implication had the Watchers, an argument which will reappear in later documents attacking homosexual acts (*T. Naph.* 3.1–5 and 4.1), but as we have noted, never makes this connection, nor does it apply it to bestiality.<sup>61</sup> In the instances cited the behavioural manifestation is violence and bloodshed not sexual wrongdoing.

Working backwards through the allusions, Paul's excursus in Rom 1.18–32 is a good example of argument against homosexual acts on the basis that it perverts

57 4QD<sup>f</sup>/4Q271 3 8–16; cf. 4QOrd<sup>a</sup>/4Q159 2–4+8 8–10a.

58 4QD<sup>f</sup>/4Q271 3 12b–16; 4QOrd<sup>a</sup>/4Q159 2–4+8 8–10a; 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 4 1–8.

59 The explicit prohibition, which is based on Lev 18.22–23, may be associated in 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 2 ii.17b–18 (cf. 6QD/6Q15 5 4) with an allusion to the warning in Lev 18.24–25 about defiling oneself by imitating the sexual practices of Canaan and being vomited out of the land. 4QRP<sup>e</sup>/4Q367 3 3–4 cites Lev 20.13 condemning homosexual acts between men as an abomination. Prohibition of cross-dressing features in 4QD<sup>f</sup>/4Q271 3 3–4, and more clearly in 4QOrd<sup>a</sup>/4Q159, based on Deut 22.5.

60 4QCatena<sup>d</sup>/4Q177 appears to allude to the story in iv.10 and may be referring to it also in 9 (par. 4QBéat/4Q525 22). 4QAgésCreat/4Q180 mentions divine concern about whether Sodom and Gomorrah's sin warranted destruction (2–4 ii.5–9; cf. Gen 18.20–21), but nothing is preserved concerning the nature of the sin. 4QDanSuz? Ar/4Q551 paraphrases the similar incident of attempted male rape in Judg 19.

61 Perhaps in omitting from the Genesis story that God first brought animals to Adam as potential companions (3.1–2; cf. Gen 2.18–19), *Jubilees* reflects this concern.



one's created nature, but none of our documents would have inspired it. It finds its inspiration elsewhere.<sup>62</sup>

Early Christian communities must have had to address abuses and inequalities. I have found nothing in the Qumran documents related to child abuse (cf. Mark 9.42).<sup>63</sup> Sexual relations with slaves in one's household must have been an issue for Christians (cf. 4QD<sup>e</sup>/4Q270 4 13–17; Lev 19.20–22), but we hear nothing in the NT texts (cf. Col 3.22–4.1; Eph 6.5–9). They appear to assume monogyny – on grounds of pragmatics or more than that? Prohibiting divorce looms large, unlike in the literature we have considered, contrary to earlier readings.<sup>64</sup> Adultery and misdirected sexual desire and behaviour are important (Matt 5.27–30; 1 Cor 6.9–20) and premarital chastity is assumed (cf. Matt 1.18–19).

There is nothing as celebratory of sexual intimacy as what we find in *Jubilees*, but use of Gen 1.27 and 2.24 in Mark 10.2–9 (Matt 19.3–9; cf. 1 Cor 6.16–17) does indicate a valuing of marital partnership including sexual union, without an indication that procreation is its sole warrant (similarly the reluctant affirmation in 1 Cor 7.1–7). Luke adds a rationale, when reworking Mark 12.25 about not marrying or giving in marriage in the age to come: he has Jesus explain that eternal life like the angels necessarily excludes the need for sexual relations (20.36). It is perhaps derived from 1 *Enoch* 15.5–7, in which the angels are told that as immortals they have no need of progeny, therefore no need for sexual relations and therefore no need of women. This also matches some philosophical views of Luke's day.<sup>65</sup> But this does not appear to be the view of Mark or Paul, whose position is closer to the documents we have considered and who see a role for sexual relations beyond procreation.

The language of dualism, especially in Paul, who, like *1/4QInstruction*, can use 'flesh' mainly, though not exclusively, to depict human depravity, bears some similarity to what we have found. It similarly does not disparage human sexuality, though it had the same potential to be read in ways that did – and later, was so read.<sup>66</sup>

The literature of the NT, on the one hand, affirms human sexuality and its expression within marriage as part of normal human life as created by God, much as do the documents we have considered. There is even some similarity in the fact that here, too, we find celibates. The major difference, on the other hand, however, lies in its eschatology, which though also understood as embodied, appears to envisage a collapse of the sacred and the secular of God's creation into a realm

62 On this see Andrie B. du Toit, 'Paul, Homosexuality and Christian Ethics', *Neotestamentica und Philonica: Studies in Honour of Peder Borgen* (ed. David E. Aune; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 92–107.

63 See Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition*, 20–7, 59–60.

64 See the discussion of the individual texts in Loader, *Sexuality and the Jesus Tradition*, 61–120.

65 Musonius Rufus fr. 12; Plutarch *Mor.* 144B; Ocellus Lucanus *Nature of the Universe* 45.

66 See the discussion in Frey, 'Flesh and Spirit'.

where some things no longer have a place. These include marriage and human sexuality. This seems to underlie Mark 12.25 and finds graphic expression in Revelation, which envisages a city with no temple at all, for God and the Lamb are its temple (21.22; cf. also 21.27). Effectively, this makes it all a sanctum and so sanctum rules apply.

The implication of having present and future structures of reality that do not match is that problems inevitably arise in relating the two. This also affects how one sees the present, especially where theological syntax has been driven from the beginning by the notion that we begin already now to participate in what is to come. One would expect some to espouse celibacy already now and, perhaps, even demand it of all. It is noteworthy that in both Matthew and Paul, where celibacy is affirmed, there is an emphatic assertion that this is not to be universalised and in the latter, especially, that marriage and sexual relations are also to be affirmed (Matt 19.11–12; 1 Cor 7.7).

### **Concluding Comment**

Sexuality is central to human existence and so inevitably leaves its traces across a wide range of Jewish and Christian literature. These texts are to be engaged in their own right and their own context. They reflect, of course, perspectives preserved among those sufficiently privileged to be able to write, though much of the evidence is incidental, reflecting what authors understood was usual in their setting. We are privileged to access their work, but left with much unknown concerning everyday life and how attitudes towards sexuality expressed themselves there. Building the wider picture through investigating both the other pertinent literature and what can be learned from other sources about the religious and social context belongs to the ongoing task. Engaging these texts is one small part of also engaging our own human existence today.