

The Identification of “the Righteous” in the Psalms of Solomon(PssSol¹)

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1. The Problem

The frequent references to “the righteous” and to a number of other terms and phrases²) variously used to indicate them have constantly raised the most controversial issue studied so far in the Psalms of Solomon³) (PssSol). No question has received more attention than that of the ideas and identity of the righteous in the PssSol. Different views on the identification of the righteous have been proposed until now. As early as 1874 Wellhausen proposed that the righteous in the PssSol refer to the Pharisees and the sinners to the Sadducees.⁴)

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- 1) There is wide agreement on the following points about the PssSol: the PssSol were composed in Hebrew and very soon afterwards translated into Greek(11MSS), then at some time into Syriac(4MSS). There is no Hebrew version extant. They are generally to be dated from 70 BCE to Herodian time. There is little doubt that the PssSol were written in Jerusalem. The English translation for this study is from “the Psalms of Solomon” by R. Wright in *The OT Pseudepigrapha 2* (J. Charlesworth, ed.), 639-670. The Greek version is from *Septuaginta II* (A. Rahlfs, ed.), 471-489; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 203-204; K. Atkinson, “On the Herodian Origin of Militant Davidic Messianism at Qumran: New Light From Psalm of Solomon 17”, *JBL* 118 (1999), 440-444.
- 2) In addition to his use of the term of “righteous” for the group which the psalmist represents, he employs such descriptions as “devout”, “those who fear the Lord”, “Israel”, “servant”, “innocent”, “humble” and/or “poor”. This is evident from the fact that they are utilized in parallel with each other: e.g., “the devout” are paralleled with “those who fear God” in 13:12; “the righteous”, “the devout”, “those who call upon God” and “those who fear Him” are all parallel in 2:33-37; “Israel”, “the devout” and “the poor” are in parallel with “those who fear God” in 5:18; “Israel”, “servants” and “the devout” all refer to the same group in 12:6, and so on.
- 3) It is one of the OT Pseudepigrapha written during the intertestamental period, specifically during Pompey’s invasion of Jerusalem in 63 BCE. S. P. Brock, “The Psalms of Solomon”, H. Sparks, ed., *the Apocryphal Old Testament*, 651; Ky-Chun So, “Christological Insights: Between the Psalms of Solomon and the Sayings Gospel Q”(1), *KPJT* 6 (2006), 34.
- 4) J. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadduäer*, 93ff, cited by J. O’Dell, “The religious background of the PssSol”, *Revue de Qumran* 3 (1961), 241.

This view has been traditionally accepted by the earlier scholars who dealt with the PssSol.⁵⁾ It is still the Pharisees that the righteous have been most commonly identified with.

On the other hand, there are those who hold that the righteous of the PssSol should not be linked with the Pharisees, but they should be instead equated with another group within Judaism of that time. In contrast to the trend for the righteous of the PssSol to be identified with the Pharisees or a particular group already known to us, some scholars tend to avoid saying that they should be related to any defined group. O'Dell represents this view.⁶⁾ He argues that the several points which are generally considered to provide definite evidence of Pharisaic authorship of the PssSol are rather to be seen as being held in common by the “the general eschatologically-minded population”(p. 250). In support of this view O'Dell cites some stronger evidence: “the Last Judgement” in PssSol. 8:1-6 and the “exile of the wilderness” in PssSol. 17:15-17, both of which are notable features of the eschatological movement. Consequently he concludes that the PssSol should not be ascribed to the Pharisees, but are “the common goods of the larger eschatological movement”(p. 255). Buechler and Flusser argue that the righteous in the PssSol belong to the stock of the Hasidim.⁷⁾ Soon after the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls an attempt at their identification was made by Dupont-Sommer. He was convinced that the righteous of the PssSol are associated with the Qumran community, and consequently with the Essene. He assumes that the ideas and style of the PssSol betray their Essene origin.⁸⁾ In close relation to this idea Franklyn and Hann acknowledge that there is an undeniable link between the PssSol and the Qumran Scrolls, though not

5) A selection of chief references is as follows: Ky-Chun So, “Christological Insights: Between the Psalms of Solomon and the Sayings Gospel Q”(1), *KPJT* 6 (2006), 34; M. Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous*, 1-2, 180; M. Black, “Pharisees”, *IDB* 3, 777-779; G. Gray, “Psalms of Solomon”, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT* 2, 625-652; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 212; H. E. Ryle and M. R. James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xlv-li; E. Schuerer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ(175 B.C. - A.D. 135)*, 183-195.

6) J. O'Dell, “The religious background of the Psalms of Solomon”, *RQ* 3 (1961), 241-257; J. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research*, 195. Charlesworth also agrees in that he finds no convincing evidence to link the PssSol with a defined sectarian group.

7) A. Buechler, *Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety*, 128-195; D. Flusser, “Psalms, Hymns and Prayers”, M. Stone, ed., *The Jewish Writings of the Second Temple period*, 573.

8) A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene writings from Qumran*, 296, 337.

sufficient to demonstrate definite authorship.⁹⁾ Recently Kim contends that the PssSol is a document written by a Zadokite priest in support of Zadokite priests who have been displaced from Jerusalem Temple authority positions.¹⁰⁾

Like this even though the wide diversity of opinion on the question of the righteous has occurred until the present, it is the Pharisees that the righteous are most often and favorably to be identified with. It still remains, however, that on the basis of discerned similarities and differences of the righteous with the Pharisees a more specific focus of study on it is to be needed. Therefore the purpose of this present exercise is both to examine the identification of the righteous with the Pharisees and to offer a general picture of the righteous in a more objective way. This shows that during the intertestamental period, there were various groups or sects that were claimed to be the so-called “righteous” or its similar terms. But it is very tentative that the righteous are easily identified with one of the well-known groups such as the Pharisees on the basis of some similarities between them. Now let us examine the similarities and differences of the Pharisees with the righteous in the PssSol so that it leads us to the problem of the identification of the righteous more closely.

2. The Close Examination of the Pharisees related to the righteous

It has been a traditional and widely-accepted understanding that the righteous of the PssSol are to be identified with the Pharisees. Some theological and socio-political views extracted from the descriptions of the righteous have been

9) Comparisons are made of literary themes common to both sets of literature. Both groups had been exiled from Jerusalem (PssSol 17:16-18/1QpHab. 4-6); they recall persecution from illegitimate religious authorities (PssSol 17:5, 16-18/1QpHab. 8:8-17, 12:2-10); they condemn backsliders in their midst (PssSol 4:1-7/CD 19:13-26); they accuse their enemies of excessive wealth (PssSol 1:4-6/4QpHab. 8:10-11), of violating menstrual taboos (PssSol 8:12/CD 5:6-7), of tolerating remarriage after divorce (PssSol 8:10-14/CD 4:20-21), of intimacy with Gentiles (PssSol 1:8, 17:14-15/4QpNah. 1:1) and perhaps, of abandoning the traditional calendar (PssSol 18:10-12/1QpHos. 2:15-16, 1QH 12:1-11). P. Franklyn, “The cultic and pious climax of eschatology in the Psalms of Solomon”, *JSJ* 18 (1987), 1-17; R. Hann, “The community of the pious: the social setting of the Psalms of Solomon”, *Studies in Religion* 17 (1988), 169-189.

10) H. Kim, *Psalms of Solomon*, vii-viii.

regarded as primary evidence of their identity. The main elements which are believed to support an identification with the Pharisees in the PssSol are as follows:¹¹⁾ 1) the opposition to the sinners, “the Hasmoneans”, and their supporters, 2) reference to obedience to the Law, 3) the dual idea of God’s providence and the freedom of humankind, 4) the belief in retribution, resurrection and eternal life, 5) the means of atonement by fasting, 6) the emphasis on God's kingship, 7) the expectation of the Davidic Messiah, and 8) political quietism. Of these possibilities, especially such ideas as the Hasmonean, the opponents of the righteous, reference to obedience to the Law, the means of atonement by fasting and the expectation of the Davidic Messiah and political quietism are most often chosen to compare with the picture of the righteous in the PssSol. It is necessary to deal with each of these groupings separately and for the sake of convenience they will be grouped as: A. The evidence that supports identification with the Pharisees; B. The evidence less supportive of an identification with the Pharisees; C. Evidence that strongly negates identification with the Pharisees.

2.1. The Evidence that supports identification with the Pharisees.

The foremost evidence introduced for identifying the righteous as the Pharisees is their opposition to the Hasmoneans. The “sinners” described as committing gross sins in the PssSol are the opponents of the righteous because religiously they occupied a different position from that of the righteous, deprived them of their rights, persecuted them and threatened their lives. Thus the sinners' overthrow was welcomed by the righteous and interpreted as the direct intervention of the hand of God (PssSol 1:3, 8:15, 24-26, 17:5-6). Going further, the righteous hoped for the total destruction of the sinners.

This picture of the antagonistic relationship of the righteous to the sinners in the middle of the first century BCE has often been presented in terms of the Pharisees on the one side and the Hasmoneans and the latter's close supporters on the other. On the evidence of Josephus it can be shown in fact that the

11) W. Lane, “Paul’s legacy from Pharisaism: light from the PssSol”, *Concordia Journal* 8 (1982), 134-135; Ryle-James, *Psalms of the Pharisees*, xlix, lii; E. Shcuerer, *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ III*, 21; J. Schuerpphaus, *Die Psalmen Salomon: Ein Zeugnis Jerusalemer Theologie und Froemmigkei in der Mitte des Vorchnistlichen Jahrhunderts*, 134-136.

Pharisees and the Hasmoneans were, at times, enemies. Oppression of the Pharisees by the Hasmoneans occurred during the reigns of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE) and Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 BCE).¹²⁾ After John Hyrcanus was asked to give up his high priesthood by one Pharisee named Eleazar with whom he had previously maintained close intimacy, the Pharisees became his enemy (Ant. XIII.x.6[293-298]). In the course of time, this situation grew worse. Again, according to Josephus, Alexander Jannaeus crucified eight hundred Pharisees. He cruelly forced the crucified to watch the slaughter of their own wives and children. From the time of the first recorded appearance of the Pharisees there existed antipathy between the two groups and this persisted throughout most of the remaining Hasmonean period (except the reign of the queen Alexandra), i.e., down to 37 BCE. In this respect they had much in common with the righteous of the PssSol.

However, we must now ask a question. Were the Pharisees the only enemies of the Hasmoneans? As an answer to this question, it is well-known that the men of the community from Qumran were also bitter enemies of the Hasmoneans.¹³⁾ Likewise the group from which 1 Enoch 92-105 originated had a deep hatred for the Hasmoneans.¹⁴⁾

With this we turn to Pharisaic beliefs. Doctrine such as the strict observance of the Law, of divine providence and freedom of the human will, and of resurrection and eternal life are well known as being ascribed to the Pharisees in Josephus and the New Testament: they are reckoned to interpret the Law exactly (War II. xi.14[162-163]; Vita 38[191-192]; Acts 22:3, 26:5, Phil 3:5); they pride themselves on the exact interpretation of the Law of the fathers (Ant. XVII.ii.4[41]); they impose on the people many laws from the tradition of the fathers not written in the Law of Moses (Ant XIII.x.6[297]); and they never contradict the teaching of those who are older in years (Ant XVIII.i.3[12]). This attitude to the Law of the Pharisees is well known.

However, such dedication is not to be limited to the Pharisees alone. The Qumran community also demanded obedience to the Law and were even stricter about it than the Pharisees were.¹⁵⁾ Besides, in the initial stage of the Maccabean

12) Ant. XIII. x.5-6 (288-298), xii.5 (338-344).

13) 1QpHab. 8:8-13, 9:2-7, 11:17-12:10, CD 4:12-21, 5:7-10.

14) V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, 258-259, 492; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Literature*, 113.

war the Hasidim were willingly prepared to be killed in order to keep the Law, i.e., the Sabbath law (1 Macc. 2:32-38). Jesus the Nazarene also thought himself as fulfilling the Law (Mt. 5:17-19). Indeed, it may be argued that the Sadducees, despite their differences with the Pharisees over “the traditions of the fathers”, were adamant in their keeping of the constitutionalized or canonized torah. All religious Jews or groups swore allegiance to the Law no matter to which particular party they belonged. The literature of this period gives ample proof of the growth of pure piety, deep devotion and a reverence for the Law.¹⁶⁾ Like other Jewish writers and groups of the period, the righteous of the PssSol were very keen on the Law and kept it strictly.

Therefore either the enmity of the righteous against the sinners, i.e., the Hasmoneans or devotion to the Law hardly seem a very distinctive attribute of the Pharisees alone and do not serve as a clear means by which an identification with any particular group like them may be made.

2.2. The Evidence less supportive of an identification with the Pharisees

An examination on this issue must now be made using some further supposed common elements. These are notions such as the means of atonement by fasting and the expectation of the Davidic Messiah by the righteous.

PssSol 3:7-8 expresses the consciousness of the righteous concerning sins, even those sins committed by mistake. This passage was understood as a reference to the means of atonement of the righteous. PssSol 3:8a reads: “He atones for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and humbling his soul”. The expression “humbling his soul” can vary in its meaning to refer to all forms of abstinence, not just fasting.¹⁷⁾ This raises the possibility that the means of atonement

15) 1QS 1:7-8, 12-14, 3:5-9, 5:8-9, 22, CD 11:13, 16-17.

16) The references to keeping the Law are numerous in the literature of the Second Temple period: Tob. 6:12, 7:12-13, 14:9; Jud. 11:12; Wis. 6:4, 18, 14:16, 16:6; Ben Sir. 2:16, 9:15, 15:1, 19:17, 21:11, 23:3, 24:23, 32:15, 24; 1Bar. 2:2, 4:12; 1Macc. 2:27, 42, 50, 67, 68; 2Macc. 1:4, 4:2, 6:1, 7:9, 30; 1Ezra 1:33, 48, 5:51, 8:12, 19, 21, 23; 3Macc. 7:12; 2Ezra 1:8, 2:40; Jub. 2:18, 3:8-11, 6:10-11, 20:7, 21:18; 1En. 99:10.

17) Lev. 16:29, 31, 23:27, 32, Biblical Ps. 35:13, Isa. 58:3, cf. Jud. 4:9; H. Guthrie, Jr. “Fast, Fasting”, *IDB* 2, 242; M. Herr, “Fast and Fast Days”, *EJ* 6, 1189; E. Sanders, “Fasting”, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah*, 81-84.

practised by the righteous included more than fasting and was extended to include all forms of abstinence. It was taken by Ryle and James to indicate the Pharisees' obedience both to the written law by making offerings for sins and to the oral tradition by observing the days of fasting.¹⁸⁾ It is true that the requirement for additional obedience to the oral tradition is one of the distinctive features of the Pharisees. However, neither the whole collection of the PssSol nor the verse itself gives the slightest hint that the righteous in the PssSol made atonement for any kind of sins by means of sacrifices.¹⁹⁾ It does not truly mean that they did not perform the sacrificial cultic practice to make atonement for themselves. In addition, fasting was not used as the sole means of atonement by the Pharisees nor was it practised by them alone. In PssSol 3:8 there is little evidence that the psalmist was engaging in polemics against the sinners on the issue of oral tradition as did the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

And also PssSol 17 is one of the few texts to show the expectation of the Davidic Messiah in the first century BCE. The Davidic Messiah and his everlasting kingdom yet to come are assumed to be the main hope of the righteous, the view which is ascribed to the Pharisees. This may have originated from the firm belief of the Pharisees in a future life.²⁰⁾ According to PssSol 17:5-6 the sinners rose up against “us”, i.e., the righteous including the psalmist; they set upon us and drove us out; they took away the promise from us by force; they set up a monarchy because of their arrogance; they despoiled the throne of David. Thus they fled from the sinners and wandered in the desert. A few managed to survive (PssSol 17:16-18). Judging this statement, the sinners took over power from the “us”, usurping the existing power and setting up a new monarchy. The sole solution would be the coming of the ideal king, the Son of David. He is designated as *χριστὸς κυρίου* in PssSol 17:32, and *χριστοῦ κυρίου* in the title to PssSol 18 and in 18:7. All of these are to be literally translated as “the Anointed of the Lord”. Instead of *χριστὸς κυρίου* in PssSol 17:32 some MSS read *χριστὸς κυρίου*, which is understood as “the Lord

18) Ryle-James, *op.cit.*, xlix.

19) This does not necessarily imply that the righteous did not use the sacrificial system at all for atonement for their sins, considering that at the time the temple was still in existence and sacrifices were also being practised.

20) *Ant.* XIII.v.9 (172), XVIII.i.3 (12-15), War II.viii.14 (162-166), Mt. 22:23-24, Mk. 12:18-23, Lk. 20:27, Act. 32:6-8.

Messiah” in a technical sense.²¹⁾ However, whether this should be read as “the anointed of the Lord” or as “the Lord Messiah” is not our main issue. The point here is that in either case he is portrayed by the psalmist as the expected ideal king who is appointed by God and who will fulfill his ultimate promises in the messianic times. The messianism held by the righteous, i.e., the expectation of the Davidic Messiah and his ideal times is a point that sharply distinguishes them from the various religious groups or authors which produced Jewish writings during the intertestamental period. In fact, since the displacement of the Davidic kingdom early in the Persian period, the expectation of the Davidic king and his kingdom had been long forgotten, though it did not die totally.²²⁾ The reason why the psalmist took up the notion of the Davidic Messiah and his messianic times can be found in the undesirable and deteriorated conditions of Jewish society under the Hasmonean kings/High priests. He believed that this would be the sole and ultimate solution for the present evil of the day and for the creation of a new future. This very account has led to wide agreement that the sinners, who are here referred to in the third person plural “they”, correspond to the Hasmoneans who established the dynasty, as in the case of PssSol 2 and 8.

However, there is little evidence or information to support the contention that the Pharisees held to a belief in the Davidic Messiah. It also appears in texts from the Qumran community, and the Testament of 12 Patriarchs.²³⁾ That the Pharisees expressed a future hope in the Davidic Messiah, which was different from that of other known groups, is scarcely verifiable from any sources. The most that may be said is that it is possible that the Pharisees shared the belief in a coming Davidic messiah in some sense or other but to say that is to be a long way from finding evidence that securely ties the Pharisees to the righteous in the PssSol.

2.3. Evidence that strongly negates identification with the Pharisees

21) Wright and Charlesworth read it in this way. R. Wright, *TOTP* 2, 667-668; J. Charlesworth, “The concept of the Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha”, *Principat 19:1; Judentum*, 197.

22) Mendels notes that in Ezra and Nehemiah David is mentioned almost solely in connection with the service in the Temple: Ezra 3:10, 4:20, 8:20, 9:7; Neh. 3:16, 12:24, 36, 45, Jer. 23:5-6, Ezek. 34:23-24, 37:24-25, Zech. 4:6, Hg. 1:2-3, Dan. 9:4-20, Judith 5:6-19. D. Mendels, “Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish ‘Patrios Politeia’ of the Persian Period”, *ZAW* 95 (1983), 104-105, n56.

23) IQS 9:8-11, IQSa 2:11ff, CD 12:23, 14:19, 19:10, 20:1; TJudah 24:1-6; TDan 5:10-13.

There is a strong argument that opposes identification, maybe seen to bear no resemblance to those of the Pharisees.

To propose that the Pharisees should be regarded as political quietists and probably pacifists in the same way as the righteous of the PssSol at that time in Jewish history is quite unconvincing. Though they had at times suffered persecution, the Pharisees had not ceased their involvement in politics ever since they first engaged in such matters during the reign of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE). Especially during the reign of Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE) they played a prominent role in politics as well as in religion (Ant. XIII. xvi. 2[408-409]). During this period the Pharisees were allowed control of all political and religious power. In fact, they ran the government during Alexandra's reign. It is quite certain that they had a strong voice in the assembly at the time of the psalmist.²⁴ We can presume that the power of the Pharisees was enormous at the time. This may be derived from Josephus' statement describing one of the reasons for the usurpation of the throne by Aristobulus II: “he (Aristobulus II) was now much more afraid, lest, upon her death (Salome Alexandra), their whole family should be under the power of the Pharisees” (Ant XIII. xvi. 5(422-429)). This clearly demonstrates that the Pharisees were a force to be reckoned with during this part of the Hasmonean era. They were certainly not political quietists. It is difficult to accept that within the space of a few years their political involvement would cease to exist. The political quietism of the Pharisees or, rather, of their rabbinic successors is a much later phenomenon and even then differences emerged within their ranks.

This is a totally different picture from that of the righteous in the PssSol, who were powerless and could not take any action or revenge against the sinners. The righteous are further described as poor, starving and persecuted.

On the basis of these considerations we find that the conclusion that the theological and socio-political perspectives of the righteous are exclusive to the Pharisees is unverifiable. On one point, namely, that of their political quietism (and probably pacifism) the righteous of the PssSol and the Pharisees (of Josephus) appear to be poles apart. Again, this does not, of course, mean to deny that the righteous share some of common beliefs and relation with the Pharisees.

24) L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: the Sociological Background of their Faith*, vol 2, 612-620; H. Jagersma, *A History of Israel from Alexander the Great to Bar Kochba*, 96-97.

3. An Attempt to identify the righteous with any historical-religious group

As we have already noted, there is no doubt that the picture of the righteous in the PssSol bears similarities to the Pharisees, albeit to different degrees. However, we have also found that it was very difficult to accept a close relationship between the righteous in the PssSol and the Pharisees because supportive evidence for such identification is often flimsy, and differences are so large that any valid conclusion based on acceptable facts cannot be verified.

Of singular importance is that in this study it is possible to identify a number of features of the righteous which are of value in constructing a description of them as a group within Judaism. The attempt to identify the group with one or another of the known groups has served to emphasize these features. Though their anonymity cannot be lifted, it is possible to describe them in such a way as to understand who and what they were and why they existed at the time they did. For the sake of convenience seven distinctive features of the righteous as a religious group are to be described as follows:

(1) The “righteous”²⁵⁾ which the psalmist represents are described by the use of a wide variety of biblical terms not as titles or names but as epithets or descriptions. The expressions so used are “devout”²⁶⁾, “those who fear the Lord”²⁷⁾, “Israel”²⁸⁾, “servant”²⁹⁾, “innocent”³⁰⁾, “humble”³¹⁾ and/or “poor”³²⁾. Each of these terms is used as a means by which the psalmist describes the righteous. This may mean that the use of the terms is insignificant for identifying the group from which it arose or for tracing it back to its origin. In the same manner the psalmist depicts his (their) opposing group by using such terms as “sinners”³³⁾, “wicked”(12:1, 4, 6), “hypocrites”(4:20), “criminals”(12:1, 4, 14:6),

25) 2:34, 35, 3: title, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 4:8, 9:7, 10:3, 13:title, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14:9, 15:6, 7, 16:15.

26) 2:36, 3:8, 4:6, 8, 8:23, 34, 9:3, 10:6, 12:4, 13:10, 12, 14:3, 9, 15:1, 17:16, 18:2.

27) 2:33, 3:12, 4:23, 5:18, 6:5, 12:4, 13:12, 15:13.

28) 5:18, 9:8, 10:5, 12:6, 14:5.

29) 2:37, 10:4, 12:6.

30) 4:22.

31) 5:12.

32) 5:2, 11, 12, 10:6, 15:1, 18:2.

33) The “sinners” can either be Gentiles or Jewish people, the latter of whom are referred to in 2:16, 34, 35, 3:9, 11, 12, 4:8, 13:6, 7, 8, 11, 14:6, 15:8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17:5.

“slanderers”(12:4), “unrighteous”(15:4), “profaner”(4:1), and so on. There is repeated mention of two opposing groups, “the righteous” including the psalmist and “the sinners”, or their equivalents within Israel itself.

(2) The righteous stood in sharp opposition to the Hasmoneans, and their immediate supporters who are dubbed as “sinners”. They challenged not only their conduct but their legitimacy and authority (PssSol 2, 4, 8). The sins with which they are charged are rather informative in indicating their identity. Transgression of the sanctity of the Temple and its service is indicated in 2:3 and sexual sins are mentioned in 2:13 as follows: *Because the sons of Jerusalem defiled the sanctuary of the Lord/they were profaning the offerings of God with lawless acts(2:3); And the daughters of Jerusalem were available to all, according to your judgements because they defiled themselves with improper intercourse(2:13)*. Especially other factors such as the sinners' persecution and oppression on the righteous formed part of the milieu from which the PssSol arose (Pss. 2, 17).

It is particularly noteworthy in the descriptions of the sinners, such as the reference to those “who deceitfully *quote* (*λαλέω* in Gk.) the Law”(4:8). In commenting on the sinners' understanding of the Law the psalmist employs the verb “*λαλέω*”, a derogatory word which can simply mean “to prattle”, or “to babble.”³⁴⁾ What is at issue here is not a question of committing moral and religious sins. The sinners did not disobey or disregard the Law, nor were they indifferent to it. The point is that of differing interpretations of the Law. The sinners, who were the high priests or upper stratum priests, had the authority to interpret the Law, and performed religious and political duties according to their interpretation. In addition to this, the problem of the understanding by the sinners of the Law is hinted at by the psalmist who accuses the sinners of “lawbreaking”³⁵⁾ and “lawlessness”³⁶⁾. It means that the contrast and enmity between the two groups seem to have originated from marked ideological differences, i.e., disagreement concerning points of understanding and interpretation of the Law, and resultant beliefs and practices such as the belief in resurrection and eternal life (3:11-12).

(3) Despite the fact that the temple was in existence and its cult was still

34) A. Debrunner, “*λεγω...λαλέω...*”, *TDNT* (one volume), 506.

35) 4:1, 9, 12, 19, 3, 8:9, 12: title, 1, 3, 4, 14:6.

36) 2:3, 12, 9:2, 15:8, 10, 11, 17:18.

accepted by them as valid, the group of the righteous did not seem to have fully relied upon the sacrificial system for atonement (PssSol 3, 9, 13).

One of the most distinctive features of the righteous is their manner of dealing with sins that they have committed. The passage that illustrate this idea is PssSol 3:7-8a: *The righteous constantly searches his house³⁷⁾ to remove his unintentional sins/He atones for (sins of) ignorance by fasting and humbling his soul.* On the basis of this translation, this raises the possibility that the means of atonement practised by the righteous included more than fasting and was extended to include all forms of abstinence.³⁸⁾ Apart from fasting and all forms of abstinence, even suffering was also a means they employed to make atonement for sins committed (PssSol 13:10).

(4) They had a stance of political quietism or of being powerless because of the sinners (PssSol 12). They did not take action against their enemies, whether Gentiles or the Jewish sinners, nor did they have schemes for regaining power after being deprived. For this to be true, it is necessary to pay attention to PssSol 12:5, saying that *May the Lord protect the quiet person (ψυχὴν ἡσύχιον) who hates injustice/ May the Lord guide the person who lives peacefully at home (ἄνδρα ποιουντα εἰρήνην οἴκῳ).* The Greek word ἡσύχιος is quite uncommon in the LXX. The sole references are in Isa. 66:2, Wis. 18:14 and Ben Sir. 25:20. This term is rendered from “nakeh” in Hebrew which is generally used in the sense of smitten, the state of quietness or a broken and humbled condition.³⁹⁾ This application of the understanding of ψυχὴν ἡσύχιον in PssSol 12:6 denotes the righteous as those who suffered and were hurt and quiet, probably by the sinners' various conspiracies and wrong doings. In such a situation, however, all that they did was pray that the sinners should be removed far from them.

The next Greek phrase *ἄνδρα ποιουντα εἰρήνην οἴκῳ* translating “lives

37) Numerous references to the ‘house’(οἶκος), denoting a variety of meanings like household, the house of Jacob, Israel as a whole and so on, are found within the PssSol (3:6, 7, 9, 4:12, 17, 20 ... etc.). It is noteworthy that ‘house’ in PssSol 3:7 may be used as a designation for the assembly of the righteous in a specific sense, considering that the psalmist throughout the PssSol has a group of the righteous in mind (PssSol 10:8).

38) Some Jewish writings illustrate fasting as a way of atonement for sins committed either deliberately (TSimeon 3:4) or to prevent them (TJoseph 3:4, 4:8, 10:1-2).

39) W. Arndt & F. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the NT and other Early Christian Literature*, 349; L. Koehler & W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the OT I*, 699.

peacefully at home” with the sinners in PssSol 12:1-4 is instructive. These verses describe how the sinners met and visited peoples on one pretext or another, probably concerning the areas of personal life, politics and religion. But they caused troubles. From the psalmist's point of view they were nothing but troublemaker, criminals and slanderers (12:1, 4), as these descriptions imply. To go further, the addition of “at home” in PssSol 12:5 may indicate a limitation of the status of the righteous, as opposed to the powerful and official position of the sinners in politics and religion. This may be confirmed in PssSol 17 which explicates the socio-political status of the righteous, being even in danger of their lives. Consequently some of them had to flee to the wilderness and were scattered over the earth. The others, whose lives were not threatened, probably because of their minor roles, managed to stay in Jerusalem. Given this, it is quite plausible that they remained as political quietists, as they are depicted as “remaining home” in PssSol 12:5.

This feature of the righteous makes it difficult to accept that they could be identified with the Pharisees. Black correctly points out an important fact about the Pharisees:

It was a mistake to regard the Pharisees as religious quietists. Both Pharisees and Sadducees were power groups, each striving for ascendancy in the Jewish state; political alignments were formed by both groups with the dominant foreign power.⁴⁰⁾

(5) The ultimate hope held by the righteous lies, namely, in the messianic times and in the figure of “the Messiah” in PssSol 17. This hope is articulated in response to a set of grave personal and national problems. The national leaders were the sinners committing the gross sins, and the people were sinful in a general sense so that the situation was beyond remedy (17:20). The sole solution would be the coming of the ideal king, the son of David. They held to the expectation of the Davidic Messiah as God's single agent, and of his ideal times.

According to PssSol 17, the first task of the Messiah, when he comes, is to remove all the evil of the present time: he will destroy the unrighteous rulers and nations, purge Jerusalem of Gentiles and drive out the sinners. As his second

40) M. Black, “The Pharisees”, *IDB* 4, 777.

positive function, he will play a perfect role in ruling and judging. He will gather a holy people, possibly including Gentiles, who are loyal to God. He will distribute the land to the tribes of the sanctified people, as in ancient times. He will judge peoples and nations, and rule them all in righteousness and holiness. The days of the Messiah are depicted as ideal times. Israel will be free of sin (17:27, 32, 40). As the nations flow to Jerusalem to bring their tribute, God's kingly power will be evident not only in Israel but also over all the earth. He will bless the gathered people and glorify God. His instruments in fulfilling these, however, are not such weapons as horse, rider and bow, but divine qualities such as strength, wisdom, righteousness (17:23, 27, 37, 40), purity from sin (17:36) and words whose power is mighty, creative and effective (17:24, 35-36). It is worthy of note that the temple, its cult and the priesthood, which were believed to be defiled, are not mentioned in the list of his works.⁴¹⁾ All in all, he is portrayed as a perfect worldly ruler, a real Davidic King of Israel, and God's agent.

An attractive proposal concerning the identity of the group of the righteous on the basis of the idea of the messianic figure(s) and messianism is that this group may represent an apocalyptic group, because these are themes often to be found in a number of apocalyptic writings.⁴²⁾ Though the development of the expectation of a coming Davidic Messiah may betray some of the tenor and spirit of apocalypticism, it still has to be noted that the view presented in the PssSol does not correspond to that of any apocalyptic literature or group known to us.

(6) Suffering was regarded as essential and significant because it disciplined the righteous, proved their identity as God's children, protected them from evil ways, rewarded them and cleansed their sins (PssSol 13).

In PssSol 13:1-12 the focus is upon the suffering which fell upon the righteous and the sinners alike, albeit to different degrees and upon the meaning attached

41) Though Davenport claims that the Davidic Messiah will play the dual roles, royal and priestly, his priestly duty is hardly mentioned. G. Davenport, "The Anointed of the Lord in the PssSol", G. W. E. Nickelsburg and J. Collins, eds., *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profile and Paradigms*, 75.

42) Such documents as 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, 1 Enoch 37-71, and 2 Enoch, which are generally classified as Jewish apocalypses, contain the messianic titles like "the Messiah", "the Anointed one", "the Christ" or important messianic passages. J. Charlesworth, "The concept of the Messiah in the Pseudepigrapha", W. Hasse, ed., *Principat 19:1: Judentum: Allgemeines: Palastinische Judentum*, 197-217.

to this suffering. It is this suffering that becomes an issue for PssSol 13:1-12. Several interpretations of the suffering of the righteous are available as follows:

① The suffering of the righteous is discipline while that of the sinners is destruction (13:7-9). Though God disciplines the righteous, he would not destroy them utterly. To the righteous, discipline can serve as a sign of their righteousness: understanding this, they can endure (16:14-15). It is an interpretation placed upon divine action or result of what was believed to have been divine action and is to be found in the Bible.⁴³⁾ In addition to this, the suffering of the righteous is construed as testing. The test applied to them is “in the flesh” and “in the difficulty of poverty”(16:14).

② That the righteous are suffering is beneficial to them because it is an instrument of God to keep them from evil and to lead them to repent (13:5, 10). Their suffering is a sure mark that they are God’s children, beloved and firstborn (v. 9), in the same manner as correction is given to a beloved son by his father or as the horse is goaded for service (16:4).⁴⁴⁾ They will then be protected from being swept along with the sinners (13:5-6). Suffering is therefore understood as an act of God’s mercy and as a source of hope.

③ Significantly the suffering of the righteous serves as an atonement, mainly for their sins (17:10, 10:1-2, 18:5). It is probably in this sense that they can describe themselves as “innocent” (12:4).

Despite the various significance of suffering, there is not the slightest suggestion that it can effect a cleansing of Israel as a whole from her iniquities through the afflictions of the righteous. In other words, there is no possibility here of an efficacious “vicarious suffering”. A vicarious function by which any suffering is seen as suffering for the sins of others has no place here.

(7) The righteous experienced exile, death, dispersion, poverty and/or deprivation of power (PssSol 5, 16, 17).

Certain bitter experiences that the psalmist and his group of the righteous underwent are extracted from PssSol 17 in particular. It says: they rose up against us (v. 5); they set upon us and drove us out (v. 5); they took away the

43) Sanders has shown that there are several instances in which suffering is understood as discipline in the OT and that this is deeply rooted in Hebrew thought: Hos. 5:2, 7:2, 10:10; Zeph. 3:2, 7, Jer. 10:24, Biblical Pss. 6:2, 38:2, 39:12, 94:12, Job 5:12, passim. J. A. Sanders, *Suffering as Divine Discipline in the OT and Post-biblical Judaism*, 44-45.

44) This image appears often in the PssSol (4:3, 5, 4:8, 8:7, 26, 9:2, 18:3-8).

promise (from us) by force (v. 5); they set up a monarchy because of their arrogance (v. 6); they despoiled the throne of David (v. 6). Some of the righteous who loved the “assemblies of the devout” (συναγωγὰς ὁσίων) were forced to leave the country and to forgo their meeting together because they were in danger of their lives. Thus they fled from the sinners and wandered in the desert. A few managed to survive (vv. 16-18).⁴⁵⁾

Judging this statement “they” set upon “us” and drove “us” out, usurping the existing power and setting up a new monarch (17:4-6). This very account has led to wide agreement that the sinners, who are here referred to in the third person plural “they”, correspond to the Hasmoneans who established the dynasty. On the other hand, what may not be ruled out is that the “assemblies of the devout” (17:16) may refer to a particular congregation which the psalmist and the righteous formed, whether their meetings were held either in the ‘synagogue’ as such or in their privately owned building. It seems that they gathered together as a group for some time until some of them were forced to leave. The fugitives may have been separated from the rest of the righteous remaining in Jerusalem, either through death in the desert, or through scattering among the nations. This may have been because they were influential in society, thus constituting a threat to the Hasmoneans. This means that the righteous including the psalmist seem to have remained as a group in Jerusalem and there continued their religious functions (10:5-8).

This is the indelibly drawn picture of the righteous given to us by the psalmist who is undoubtedly to be numbered among them. Though no identification with any known group or stream within the Judaism of the time is possible, there is clear evidence that they did exist as a group with many features that differentiate them from all others. Though they must remain anonymous so far as any brief title is concerned, their existence and importance for Jewish society of the time should not be overlooked or minimized. Though the righteous could not be identified with any historical group of the time known to us, they existed as a religious group as we mentioned above. We are not informed as to when the group called “righteous”, by that or an equivalent term, started to congregate and for how long they lasted as a group. The PssSol give only a general picture of

45) Buechler surmises that a long drought forced them to emigrate to neighbouring countries. However, there is no evidence for this. A. Buechler, *Types of Jewish-Palestinian Piety from 70 BCE to 70 CE*, 186.

the righteous opposed to the 'sinners' instead of their identification or historical group name.

4. Conclusion

As we have seen above, the inability to identify precisely the righteous of the PssSol is the result of a serious and fundamental deficit of information. That is to say, our knowledge of the religious and political groups existing during the last two centuries BCE and the first century CE is very limited. We are informed of only a very small number of groups, and of these very little is known. Josephus refers to four main religious groups in his day describing them, for the sake of his Gentile readers, as Philosophies, namely, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Eseenes and the Zealots or the Fourth Philosophy.⁴⁶⁾ In addition to such groups as the Qumran community, the Therapeutae⁴⁷⁾, Christians and Samaritans⁴⁸⁾ are known to us. However, it is also true that they were not the only groups that existed. There is evidence to suggest that during this period there was a great variety of different groups or sects, some of which are no longer known to us. For example, there were different orders within one group named as the Essenes.⁴⁹⁾ A Talmudic tradition refers to 24 groups at the time of the destruction of the Second temple.⁵⁰⁾ Charlesworth lists at least 21 groups, some of which contained further subdivisions, that existed prior to 70 CE in Jerusalem.⁵¹⁾

46) *Ant* XIII. x.5-6(288-298), XVIII.i.1(3-6), *War* II, viii.2-14(119-166), cf. Mt. 24 and Acts 23. The Sicarii may be identified with the Zealots.

47) Philo depicts them in *De vita contemplativa* iii.22-23. C. D. Yonge, (tran.), *The Works of Philo*, 700.

48) *Ant* XI. viii.6 (340-345).

49) Josephus recognized that there was more than one sort of Essenes (*War* II, viii, 13 [160-161]).

50) Yerusahaim, Sanhedrin, X, 5, cited by J. O'Dell, “The religious background of the PssSol”, *RQ* 3 (1961), 251-252.

51) Content of lecture given by Charlesworth on the 18th, August, 1989 in Melbourne. The following are the groups which he believes existed prior to 70 CE in Jerusalem: Enoch groups, Priestly groups, Hasidim, Pre-Qumran Essenes, Non-Qumran Essenes, Pharisees, Samaritans, Zealots, Herodians, Itinerant charismatics, John the Baptist, other groups, other Apocalyptic groups, scribes, Ascetics, synagogal groups, non-religious Jews, converted Jews and Palestinian Jewish movement.

The figures shown here may not be entirely accurate, but what is clear is that there were many more groups than those whose identity is known.⁵²⁾ Some did not last long, while others had such a limited following that historians ignored them. Others, such as the Qumran community, might have been undetected because of their location. In this respect, to ascribe all the writings of this period to one of the known groups would be tantamount to denying the existence of any other group. Moreover, to limit the existence of the groups to those known to us would be to run the risk of ignoring a significant portion of the Judaism of the day. This, in fact, is the most essential and important point of this study. It means that many proposals concerning a historical identification of the righteous must remain hypothetical. To go further, the righteous of the PssSol have to remain a religious group otherwise unknown and shadowy to us. They must not simply be subsumed under the heading of some known group. They have to be seen and understood, so far as is possible, in their own right.

<주요어>(Keywords)

솔로몬의 시편, 구약 위경, 의인, 바리새인, 유대 종파들.

Psalms of Solomon, OT Pseudepigrapha, the righteous, Pharisees, Jewish religious groups.

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52) Black describes the situation within Judaism in the first century BCE as “one of a widespread and dangerously proliferating and fissiparous heteropraxis, a kind of baptizing nonconformity, with many splinter groups”, extending from Judaea to Samaria and beyond into the Dispersion itself. M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christians*, 8.

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<Abstract>

솔로몬의 시편에 나타난 의인의 정체

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솔로몬의 시편은 구약 위경에 속하는 문헌으로서 주전 1세기 폼페이에 의한 예루살렘 침략 이후에 저작된 18개의 시로 구성되어 있다. 이 시편에는 의인과 악인이 서로 대조를 이루고 악인에 대한 의인의 적개심이 대거 표현되어 있다. 의인에 대한 정체를 묻는 연구가 오랫동안 진행되어 왔고 여기에 나타나는 의인의 정체에 대하여 바리새인, 쿰란, 하시딤, 묵시론자 등 다양하게 주장되어 왔다. 특히 의인의 정체에 대하여 지금까지 연구된 다수의 연구는 솔로몬의 시편에 등장하는 의인과 바리새인의 유사점을 찾아 바리새인으로 보려는 연구가 주류를 이루고 있다.

하지만 주전 1세기 팔레스틴에는 바리새인이란 종파만이 아니라 수많은 종파들이 존재했다는 점이 간과되어서는 안될 것이다. 이들 사이의 몇 개의 유사점 때문에 솔로몬의 시편의 의인을 바리새인으로 보려는 시도가 있지만 실제로 상이점도 많이 발견된다. 그러므로 이 시대 유대의 많은 종파들 사이에 몇 개의 유사점을 근거로 의인의 정체를 바리새인으로 결론짓기에는 그 근거가 약하다. 본 연구는 이 문제에 관심을 두고 결론적으로 솔로몬의 시편의 의인은 주전 1세기 존재했던 유대인 종파이지만 어느 한 개로 귀결지을 수 없음을 밝힌다. 이 시편의 의인이 속한 종파와 바리새인과의 유사점들이 분명 존재하지만 이 외에 또 다른 여러 종파들이 있었기에 성급한 결론은 유보할 것을 밝힌다.