

HATE, NON-RETALIATION, AND LOVE

1 QS x, 17-20 AND ROM. 12:19-21

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"I will not return evil to anybody, with good will I pursue man, for with God rests the judgment of every living being and he is the one to repay man for his deeds. . . . And the trial of a man of perdition I will not handle until the Day of Vengeance. But my anger I will not turn away from the men of deceit, and I will not be content until He has established judgment." 1 QS x, 17-20.

In these hymnic phrases the attitudes of non-retaliation and hatred are woven together in a striking manner.¹ Yet there should be nothing strange in this juxtaposition; rather it helps us to discern the structure of Qumranite ethics, even to the point where it appears that the non-retaliation is grounded in the eschatological intensity of the "eternal hatred towards the men of perdition" (1 QS ix, 21 f.).

This polarity between non-retaliation and hatred may, nevertheless, have been striking even in the eyes of the contemporary observer. When Josephus speaks about the "awesome oaths" (*ὄρκους φρικώδεις*) which the Essenes take upon themselves he lists among them: ". . . that he will wrong no one. . . ; that he will hate always the unjust and fight with the just" (Bell. II, viii, 7).² This seems to be in good agreement with the Manual, where we can discern the actual procedure of admission: "He shall love each one of the sons of light according to his lot in the council of God, and hate each one of the sons of darkness according to his

¹ On "hatred" in Qumran, see E. F. Sutcliff, *Rev. Qum.* 2 (1960), 345-356, cf. idem, *The Monks of Qumran* (1960), 81 f.

² This passage in Josephus is closely related to 1 QS i also in its stress on the right relation to those in power (*μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν*). Hence Josephus may refer to the leaders of the community; or, and what is more probable, he consciously generalizes the community attitudes to have them serve as an ideal for common social virtues. This seems to be the case also when he describes them as "holding righteous indignation in reserve (*ὀργῆς ταμίαι δίκαιοι*—lit.: righteous controllers of wrath), being masters of their temper, champions of fidelity, very ministers of peace" (viii,6). For the more specific and colorful nature of this attitude at Qumran, see below note 16.

guilt (as it stands) in the (impending) vengeance of God"³ (1 QS i, 9-11). But we shall see how at Qumran "love" is confined to the community and, how the attitude of non-retaliation is by no means a type of love. To pursue outsiders with good is a special case of "the eternal hatred," not of love.

While the juxtaposition of non-retaliation and hatred may be a striking feature, the different elements can be readily identified as central to the Old Testament. The hatred for the enemies, which are not only the enemies of the righteous but the enemies of God, is well known from the Psalms. "Do I not hate them that hate Thee, Yahwe. . . ? I hate them with a perfect hatred; I consider them *mine* enemies" (Ps. 139:21 f.). Ps. 79 is a strong witness to the unconditional identification of the enemies of God and the enemies of Israel. In the Song of Moses (Deut. 32) the evil of the enemies is stored up against them toward the day of vengeance (v. 34); and we read: Vengeance is mine, and recompense, in due time their foot shall slip; for the day of their calamity is at hand, and their doom comes swiftly. For Yahwe shall judge (RSV interprets rightly: "vindicate") his people and show compassion for his servants . . . (vv. 35-36, cf. 41-43).

In the Qumran texts the sovereignty of God is stressed by the strongest language (e.g., 1 QS ix, 11; 1 QH i, 20), and it is heightened by the eschatological intensity of the sect. The day of vengeance is close at hand. In such a situation one can afford to practice non-retaliation toward the enemies — the enemies of the righteous which are by definition also the enemies of God.⁴ For eschatological intensity always means that all shades of grey disappear; there is only black and white. Hence the line goes not *within* the hearts of men with their good and bad inclinations as in the teaching of the Pharisees. The line is now drawn *between* the men of the Spirit of Light *and* the men of the Spirit of Darkness. With the Day of Vengeance at hand the proper and reasonable attitude is to forego one's own vengeance and to leave vengeance to God. Why walk around with a little shotgun when

³ בנקמת אל. On *raqam* in the Old Testament, see G. E. Mendenhall, in the Wittenberg Bulletin, Dec. 1948, pp. 37-42.

⁴ It should be noted that the "enemies," the men of perdition and deceit, are the sons of darkness and are always outsiders; the tensions between members of the community are handled with a different terminology, see e.g. v, 24-vi, 1 and vi, 24-vii, 25. See also CDC vi, 20 ff. and ix, 2.

the atomic blast is imminent? Whatever we may think about such a frame of mind, there can be little doubt that it is in such a framework that the juxtaposition of non-retaliation and hatred in the Qumran texts can be understood.

This mood and framework should be remembered when we read Paul's admonitions to the Romans: "Repay no one evil for evil. Be concerned about what is good before all men. If possible, as far as it depends on you, keep peace with all men. Beloved, do not avenge yourselves, but give room for the Wrath; for it is written: 'To me belongs vengeance, I will repay,' says the Lord. Rather, 'if your enemy is hungry, give him to eat, if he is thirsty, give him to drink. For in so doing you will heap coals of fire on his head.' Be not conquered by the evil, but conquer the evil by the good" (12:17-21).

The interpretation of this passage depends partly on who the enemies are, and with whom the Christians are to keep peace if possible. Beginning with Rom. 12:14 the attention is shifting from the insiders to the outsiders, to the persecutors and to the attitude toward the world at large, and in ch. 13:1-7 we are told about the rôle of the authorities in this world. The admonitions in vv. 15-16, which repeat what has been said in v. 3, may well be understood as about the community under persecution. In any case vv. 19-20 speak about enemies. These must be the outsiders. Apart from the general use in Gal. 4:16 and Phil. 3:18 neither Paul, nor the New Testament at large ever uses "enemy" for a fellow Christian.⁵ According to 2 Thess. 3:15 even a brother who is to be totally ostracized by the church should not be considered an "enemy." And in most of the New Testament there is little doubt that these enemies are the enemies of God and of his Messiah.⁶ They are related to the enemies mentioned in Ps. 110:1 (one of the Old Testament passages most quoted in the New Testament: Mk. 12:36 par., Acts 2:35, 1 Cor. 15:25, Hebr. 1:13, 10:13). It is only by a clear distinction between the general question of love for one's fellow men and the daring possibility

⁵ For Mt. 5:43-48, see below, p. 355.

⁶ Cf. O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Römer* (Meyer Komm.; 1955), "Bei dem 'Feind' hat man an den konkreten Widersacher der christlichen Gemeinde zu denken, der in seiner Person das 'Böse' verkörpern kann" (p. 278).

of non-retaliation toward God's enemies,⁷ that we can approach this Pauline passage.

We note that the attitude of non-retaliation is motivated by the admonition to give room for God's judgment, the Wrath (v. 19).⁸ This motivation is, furthermore substantiated by the quotation from Deut. 32:35, which we have seen as the background to the Qumran attitude.^{8a} The idea is one of *deference*, not different from the statement about Christ (1 Peter 2:23), "who, when reviled, did not revile in return, when suffering did not threaten, *παρεδίδου δὲ τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως*. In its context this portrait of Christ is an example for submission to unjust treatment. It is this same deference of the final judgment which Paul calls for, when he instructs the Christians to refrain from avenging themselves.

He also tells his readers how this attitude should express itself positively. This he does by the quotation from Prov. 25:21 f. with its rather enigmatic reference to the coals of fire. The two main lines of Christian interpretation were established already in patristic times. Origen and Chrysostom saw here a warning that those who resisted such kind deeds were guilty of more serious punishment, which hence was stored up against them. Augustine and Jerome on the other hand, understood the "coals of fire" as "burning pangs of shame" which may produce remorse.⁹ The latter interpretation has been supported in modern times by reference to the penitential practice in Egypt described in a

⁷ O. Michel, *ibm.*, uses the adequate term "das Wagnis der Feindesliebe." It remains to be seen whether we should not actually speak about non-retaliation rather than "love of enemies" also in Paul, but the element of daring and of risk is obvious, and is the point at which the impending judgment makes a difference.

⁸ Cf. Rom. 5:9. — See G. H. C. MacGregor, "The Concept of the Wrath of God in the New Testament," *N.T. Studies* 7 (1960/61), 101-109; and A. T. Hanson, *The Wrath of the Lamb* (1957), 91, 97, and 101.

^{8a} This quotation is used also in Hebr. 10:30. Its occurrence in the context of church discipline would argue against our definition of "enemies" as outsiders, were it not for the fact that the ultimate and irrevocable apostasy in Hebr. 10 makes such a "brother" worse than the enemies. This passage is the more significant, since the apostasy here seems to be one under the pressure of persecution.

⁹ The New English Bible ties the reader to this alternative by making full use of *ἀλλά* as adversative and translates: "But there is another text: 'If your enemy. . .'" Such an adversative relation between two scriptural quotations would be odd and I cannot find any instance in support. Hence the *ἀλλά* is either adversative in relation to the main alternative (to seek one's own vengeance), or generally heightening (so Michel, *op. cit.*, p. 278).

demotic text from the third century B.C.¹⁰ More recently M. J. Dahood has suggested that על תהם be translated not by "heaping upon" but "remove from." While such an interpretation of the Massoretic text may be possible, it is irrelevant to the understanding of the LXX and of the Pauline quotation, which both read *σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ*. . . .¹¹

The image of the burning coals is not confined to Proverbs. In Ps. 140:11 we read in a prayer for delivery from enemies: "Let burning coals fall upon them! Let them be cast into pits no more to rise." In the Christian 5(2) Esdras 16:52-53 we find the same use of the image as one of God's judgment: "Behold, just a little while, and iniquity will be removed from the earth, and righteousness will reign over us. Let no sinner say that he has not sinned; for He (God) will burn coals of fire on the head of him who says, 'I have not sinned before God and his glory.'" For a study of Rom. 12:20 it is of interest to note that here the coals of fire imply an element of surprise. They are heaped on those who did not know that they had sinned.

Prov. 25:21-22 has received considerable interpretative attention in the Jewish tradition. In Aboth R. Nathan 16 (6a) a quotation which also includes the last part of v. 22 ("and the Lord will reward thee"), is annotated by the comment: "read not 'will reward thee' (*yešallem lak*) but 'will put him at peace with thee' (*yašlimennu lak*)."¹² But it should be noted that his emendation seems to go together with a consistent rabbinic interpretation of

¹⁰ Latest and fullest discussion in S. Morenz, Th. L.Z. 78 (1953), 187-192; for the text see F. L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (1900).—Less attention has been given to a most intriguing passage in The Babylonian Book of Proverbs: "Verily, if it is thy quarrel which has flamed up, quench thou it. But be it a quarrel which is just, it is a bulwark, a protecting wall which (establishes) the shame of his adversary, so that his oppressor will act according to the mind of a friend.—In thine adversary not shalt thou place thy whole confidence. Unto him that doeth thee evil shalt thou return good. Unto thine enemy justice shalt thou mete out." S. Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom* (1923), 90.

¹¹ Catholic Biblical Quarterly 17 (1955), 19-23. Dahood must think that his suggestion has ramifications for Rom. 12:20, since his article bears the title "Two Pauline Quotations from the Old Testament," but he does not indicate how his interpretation could suggest itself to a reader of LXX or Romans.

¹² So translates J. Goldin, *The Fathers according to Rabbi Nathan* (Yale Judaica Ser. 10, 1955), 85; lit.: "he will surrender him to you."—For further references to this widespread emendation see Str.-B. III, 302.—Later in ch. 16 of Aboth R. Nathan (Goldin, p. 86), we hear about the hate toward the sectarians, apostates, and informers. The proof text is Ps. 139:21 f., which we quoted above.

Prov. 25:21-22 where "he who hates you" is the *yetzer ha-ra'*, the evil inclination, and where the bread and the drink is the Torah which has the power of overcoming the evil inclination in man. In Pirke Aboth 2:10 (R. Eliezer) the teaching of the Sages is called a fire, "but be heedful of their glowing coals lest thou be burned . . . and all their words are like coals of fire."¹³

But when the text is applied to actual enemies, it is taken in its Massoretic form and meaning. In a Baraita in bMeg.15b the question why Esther invited Haman, is answered by R. Eliezer with a reference to the table which became a snare (Ps. 69:23) while his contemporary R. Joshua refers to Prov. 25:21 f.

There is no ancient rabbinic evidence for a positive concern for the betterment of the enemy, and the awareness of an establishment of peace between the two parties is bound up with an allegorical interpretation about the evil inclination. Hence it is difficult to use this rabbinic material to support an interpretation according to which Paul would think about the function of the coals of fire as "pangs of shame" as a means toward repentance for the enemies. Already Paul's use of the LXX future tense in *σπεύσεις* makes it easier to read his words in an eschatological sense: If you act in non-retaliation your good deeds are stored up as a further accusation against your enemy for the day of Wrath to which you should defer all judgment.

In later talmudic material there are warnings against such deference and then the discussion centers around Gen. 16:5. We hear how Sarah's life was shortened since she had said to Abraham: Yahwe be the judge between us! But this discussion is concerned with tensions among Jews and has no application to the relation between the people of God and its enemies.¹⁴

If we return to the Qumran material with this quotation from Proverbs in our mind, we may, however, find a more explicit framework for its understanding. The norms for the member of the Qumran sect "in these times (i.e., with the Day of Vengeance

¹³ This imagery is used also in a setting of theodicy, where God's dealing with mankind is seen in the parable of the baker who from the same fire places coals of fire on his enemy's head and gives bread to his friend, i.e., from the one God came the fire of Sodom and the Manna to Israel. Str.-B. III, 303; Tanh. B § 20(33b).

¹⁴ Str.-B. III, 301 from GenR 45 (28c).— Cf. Paul's cautious addition "but thereby I am not declared just" in 1 Cor. 4:4, although the context indicates that he is rather certain of the outcome, as he is also in 2 Cor. 5:11.

impending), with respect to his hatred" (1 QS ix, 21) are not only described in the terms of non-retaliation as stated in the text from which we took our departure, x, 17-20. In ix.21 ff. we read: "(There shall be) eternal hatred against the men of perdition, *in a spirit of concealment*, so as to leave to them property and the labor of hands, as a slave does to his master, subdued before him who lords it over him. So he (the member) shall be a man zealous for the ordinance and its (relation to the proper knowledge of God's) time, toward the Day of Vengeance so as to do what is (God's good) pleasure in all activities and in all his ruling as He (God) has commanded. And all that is done to him he accepts willingly."¹⁵

The "eternal hatred" (cf. x, 20) is thus practiced in a hidden way, in that he does not interfere with the affairs of the world. He does not raise any just claims on behalf of God regarding such matters. The world is allowed to run its course, toward the Day of Vengeance. He conceals his hatred by appearing obedient and subdued and peaceful¹⁶ and willing to be deprived of property and produce.

This "spirit of concealment," which here is applied to the actual behavior of the eschatological community, is better known from another, more theological context in Judaism. It is part of the theodicy in times of trouble. The Psalms of Solomon (esp. ch. 13) distinguish between the chastening of the righteous and the final destruction of the sinners.¹⁷ More explicit is this pattern in 2 Macc. 16:12 ff.: "Now I urge those who read this book not to be depressed by such calamities, but to recognize that these punishments were designed not to destroy but to discipline our people. In fact, not to let the impious (*δυσσεβούντας*) alone for long, but to punish them immediately, is a sign of great kindness. For in the case of the other nations the Lord waits patiently to punish them until they have reached the full measure of their sins; but he does not deal in this way with us, in order that he may not take

¹⁵ Prof. Frank Cross assisted me in arriving at this translation; for "done to him" cf. Dan. 9:12.

¹⁶ It may be this attitude which, translated into general terms of ethics, is described by Josephus as quoted in note 2 above.

¹⁷ For a reconstruction of the text, see K. G. Kuhn, *Die älteste Textgestalt des Psalmen Salomos* (Beitr. z. Wiss. d. A.u.N.T. 4:21; 1937).

vengeance on us afterward when our sins have reached their height." Thus only Israel is warned by chastisement and hardships, and this by the grace of God. But the other nations, the enemies, who lord it over Israel, run unwarned and untroubled to their condemnation when their sins have reached full measure.¹⁸ This concealment is structurally identical to the one applied to sectarian and individual behavior in the Qumran texts. The eschatological intensity of the sect makes this quite natural. The sect has drawn the consequences of "the times" and its members practice their eternal hatred for all evil in a spirit of concealment, in which they practice non-retaliation and pursue mankind with good, but their anger they will not turn away until He has accomplished judgment (1 QS x, 18 ff).

In the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs we find, however, a different spirit in regard to love, non-retaliation and hatred. The most striking examples are Test. Benj. 4-5 and Test. Gad 6-7. Here the possibility of winning the enemy over by showing mercy is clearly stated. Furthermore, the righteous takes a posture of prayer, and in Test. Jos. 18:2 this is definitely a prayer for the one who seeks to harm him. In Test. Gad 6:7 the ultimate recourse is to the vengeance of God, but this is not done in a spirit of concealed eternal hatred, but with "forgiveness from the heart." The interpretation of these texts depends of course on whether the Testaments address themselves to the relations between fellow Jews, or to the attitude toward outsiders, persecutors and oppressors of the righteous. A third possibility may be the one closest to the truth: This distinction is not consciously in focus, but neither is it transcended by an explicit universalism. Hence the statements are of a general Wisdom character, but primarily and immediately applied to the life in the community (cf. Ecclus. 28: 1-7).¹⁹

This is the more natural since the great example of the spirit of humble non-retaliation is Joseph's way of handling the evil

¹⁸ Cf. Gen. 15:16. — In 1 Thess. 2:16 Paul speaks about the resistance to his mission to the Gentiles as being *eis τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας πάντοτε*. *ἐφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος* — cf. also Mt. 23:32 f.; and 1 Cor. 11:31 f.

¹⁹ R. Eppel, *Le piétisme juif dans les Testaments des Douze Patriarches* (1930), 157-162, notes the limits of universalism, but has not raised the question about the *Sitz im Leben*. Hence he treats the sayings from the point of view of ethical enlightenment.

plotting of his brothers. Test. Benj. 4-5 deals with the happy end of the good man Joseph. He did not repay evil by evil, he was not jealous, etc. Joseph has exemplified how a good man can exert his influence and teach his brethren. "If anyone does violence to a pious man, he repents;²⁰ for the pious man is merciful to his reviler, and holds his peace. And if anyone betrays a righteous man, the righteous man prays; though for a little while he be humbled, yet not long after he appears much more glorious, as was Joseph my brother" (Test. Benj. 5:4-5). While the prayer in Test. Jos. 18:2 was explicitly an intercession for the offenders, this is not clearly the case here.²¹ In both cases it is the rescue and exoneration of the afflicted which is important, not the conversion of the offenders.

In Test. Gad the attitude of love instead of hate against the brother (cf. Test. Sim. 4:4) is also applied to the act of hatred by which Gad and Simeon sold Joseph (2:3). Gad has been chastised and learned his lesson (ch. 5). But we note that the attitude of love and forgiveness is partly motivated by pragmatic reasons. It is more prudent and expedient to love than to hate (6:5-6; 7:1). There is little point in being jealous, since all flesh shall die and the end of the Lord has reserved the unrepentant for eternal punishment (7:2-6).

Thus we find that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs have generalized the pattern of brotherly ethics; there is awareness of the wisdom of love rather than hate and retaliation; there is possibility of the good influence of love prompting repentance and betterment. All this is in accordance with the sound, relaxed and sensitive climate of Wisdom. The sharp line between the elect and the sons of perdition is not drawn. Once that happens, this margin of repentance seems to be a luxury beyond what one can afford in the Last Days.^{21a}

²⁰ While the text here, as in many places in the Testaments is quite uncertain *μετανοει* seems to refer to the violator, and has to mean that he can and does use the opportunity of repentance when the "pious man" shows mercy toward him by not retaliating.

²¹ In Test. Gad 5:9 it is the prayers of Jacob which rescue Gad from the punishment inflicted by God.

^{21a} M. Buber has analyzed this difference from the perspective of two different types of faith (the actuality of faith as trust, and "believing that . . ."); cf. also his examples from rabbinic sources, *Two Types of Faith* (Eng. Tr., 1951), 73-75.

Theoretically we should then be able to assess the Pauline understanding about the coals of fire by deciding whether the Pauline climate comes closer to the Testaments or to Qumran. In a letter where the recipients are told that their salvation is now closer at hand than when they came to faith (Rom. 13:11), the eschatological acceleration appears considerable, and there can be little doubt that Paul assessed his time as the very last of the old aeon, since he anticipates to be around at the Parousia (1 Cor. 15: 52; "the dead will be raised and *we* shall be transformed"). The "gentleness" which Paul wants the Philippians to show forth (Phil. 4:5) is closely related to the attitude we have been analyzing in Rom. 12: 17-21; τὸ ἐπιεικές and ἡ ἐπιεικεία signify a graciousness out of strength,²² and the specific strength here lies in the words "the Lord is nigh." The same tone and combination may be present in Col. 4:5, ἐν σοφίᾳ περιπατεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς ἑξῶ, τὸν καιρὸν ἐξαγοραζόμενοι.

While it is true that the interpretation of Rom. 12:20 would have to depend to some extent on one's general understanding of Paul and the nature of his eschatology, it is nevertheless fair to ask whether the passage as it stands could reasonably be understood by its first readers in any other sense than as a word related to the vengeance of God. Even if the Testaments do count with the possibility of repentance due to the good example, there is no reference to Prov. 25:21 f. in that connection. And the element in these verses from Proverbs which were re-interpreted in Jewish exegesis toward a peaceful end, was exactly those concluding words, which are not quoted by Paul. The rabbinic exegesis shows furthermore no knowledge of the "coals of fire" as part of a penitential ritual, but goes quite different ways when a re-interpretation is needed. Hence every reference to the penitential connotation in the image as such can be totally disregarded in the Pauline context.

In Rom. 2:4-5 Paul refers to how God's kindness and forbearance to the Jews was aimed at their repentance. But when they now are unwilling to repent in the only way which Paul considers adequate in the present time, i.e., by accepting Jesus as the Messiah, he addresses the Jews by saying: "But by your hardened

²² See H. Preisker, in Th.W.B.II, 586.

and impenitent hearts you are storing up wrath for yourself on the Day of Wrath, the day when God's just judgment will be revealed." Such enemies of God and his Messiah are dealt with in rather definite terms, cf. 1 Thess. 2:16. To be sure, Paul anticipates the ultimate conversion of the Jews as the climax of the history of salvation, but this is an event of quite another order (Rom. 11). In actual personal relations Paul is doubtful about the effect of positive influences, since salvation is according to the will of God: "Wife, how do you know whether you will save your husband? Husband, how do you know whether you will save your wife" (1 Cor. 7:16). It is rather in 1 Peter that the missionary power of the Christian way of life is stressed, 3:1-2, 2:12, cf. Mt. 5:16.

The closer study of the catechetical forms in the New Testament, which was begun by A. Seeberg and has been renewed and carried further by Ph. Carrington and especially by E. G. Selwyn, places Rom. 12 and 13 in a complex, yet real relation to other New Testament writings, especially 1 Thess. 4-5 and 1 Peter 2-3.²⁸ But Rom. 12:19-21 still remains without actual parallels in the New Testament. The quotation from Deut. 32:35 is, however, used in Hebr. 10:30 with reference to apostasy, with the additional line: "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God!"^{29a} But to Paul the reference to judgment is a victorious one, since he speaks about the elect in their relation to the enemies. His tone is closer to Lk. 18:7 f.: "And will not God vindicate his elect who cry to him day and night? I tell you, he will vindicate them speedily." And he would not mind quoting Js. 1:20: "For the wrath of man cannot achieve the justice of God."

It has usually been argued that the concluding verse in Rom. 12:21, "Be not conquered by the evil but conquer the evil by the good," is an unambiguous witness for reading the quotation from Proverbs as a word about the power of love to influence evil. That is by no means certain. If we were to read v. 19-20 as a deference to God's judgment, where the good deeds are stored up against the enemies — God's and those of the Christians — then

²⁸ See Essay II in E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter* (1949).

^{29a} Cf. above, note 8a.

that would be just as much a victory over evil, without falling for the temptation to retaliate. The motif of "moving on" rather than "insistence" is worth pursuing in the different strata of the New Testament, and may be significant in this context, cf. Mt. 10:11-14, 23. In a church which prays not for the power to fight evil, but to be delivered from evil, this makes perfect sense. And to Paul, God's help provides an *ἐκβασις*, not a victory when the temptation and trial comes (1 Cor. 10:13).^{23b}

Much of our argument has been rather negative in nature. We have tried to refute some of the support for having Paul say what appears more in accordance with what we would hail as Christian ethics.²⁴ Once this has been done, and the Qumran material is placed side by side with the New Testament it should become rather clear that Paul here comes very close to it at least in two respects:

1) The non-retaliation is undoubtedly based and motivated by the deference to God's impending vengeance. It is not deduced from a principle of love or from within the Wisdom tradition. Neither Qumran, nor Paul speak about love for the enemies. The issue is rather how to act when all attempts to avoid conflict with the enemies of God and of his Church have failed (vv. 17 f.).

2) The specific answer given to this question by Paul is found in the quotations from Deut. 32, Prov. 25. We have found no basis for thinking that this could be understood by his readers in any other sense than as a qualified form of adding to the measure of the sins of the enemy. And with the help of the Qumran texts and of Jewish material concerned with the assault of enemies we have pointed to a pattern where such an attitude of doing

^{23b} Cf. 2 Peter 2:9 where the sentence "The Lord knows (how) to deliver the godly out of temptation," is continued by a statement much akin to the thought expressed in Rom. 12: 19-20, "but to preserve the unrighteous unto the day of judgment to be punished."

²⁴ Indicative for the tone of most commentaries is the way in which e.g., Sanday and Headlam (ICC, p. 365) rule out a harsh interpretation since it is harsh. — I have found O. Michel, *op. cit.*, to be the most adequate of the modern commentaries; while he finally comes out on the Augustinian side, he gives a full and unbiased presentation of the comparative material and of the alternatives involved. — H. Preisker, *Das Ethos des Urchristentums* (1949), on the other hand reads Rom. 12:20 in the judgmental way and adds: "Ganz offensichtlich ist ein völlig anderer Geist in die christliche Liebe eingedrungen" (p. 184).

good to the enemies of God conforms to God's own way of handling the world and his elect within it.

Once this has been seen in Paul, it would be tempting to pursue these two points in other strata of the New Testament, and especially in the Sermon on the Mount. It would be reasonable to find that the command about turning the other cheek where the pressure comes from enemies and "outsiders" (*μὴ ἀντιστῆναι τῷ πονηρῷ* — Mt. 5:39), and the logion about not judging (7:1) have as their basis the trust in the ultimate judgment of God, as has the urgency to make friends with your adversary (*ἀντίδικος*, not an enemy of God; 5:25). And we would have to ask whether the image about God who treats the righteous and the unrighteous equal by his sun and his rain is not possibly of one piece with the pattern of not giving warning to the enemies (5:45). Even if that were so, we find in Mt. 5:44-48 elements which seem to transcend such an interpretation. There is the emphasis on prayer for the persecutors. And there is here, and only here, the explicit words about *ἀγαπᾶν τὸν ἐχθρόν σου* — not only treating him well. But it should also be noted that there is no intimation that such an attitude is envisaged as a means to cause repentance or toward overcoming enmity.²⁵ It is rather seen as the right attitude in an unfriendly world, and it is right and beyond human calculation since it is congruous to the attitude of God.²⁶

²⁵ Cf. Did. 1:3: "But you should love those who hate you, and you will have no enemies." M. Dibelius, *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (1933²), 249, calls this rightly a rationalized form of the logion; see also H. Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den Apostolischen Vätern* (T.U. 65; 1957), 221, 263, who ascribes this form to the editorial activity in Did. — Cf. Epict. *Enchir.* 1, and we are reminded of the tendency which expressed itself in the Test. XII Patr., e.g., Test. Benj. 5:1-3. — For a discussion of Rom. 12:19-21 in comparison with Seneca, see J. N. Sevenster, Paul and Seneca (Suppl. to *Novum Testamentum*, vol. 5, 1961), 183-5.

²⁶ The substance of this article was presented as a paper at the World Congress for Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, July, 1961, and at the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in St. Louis, Mo., Dec., 1961. At the SBLE Meeting Dr. W. Klassen read a paper on the very same topic "coals of fire;" his paper, which at many points comes to a conclusion opposite to the one here presented, and which, in addition, gives a rich survey of the history of interpretation, is to be published in *New Testament Studies* in the Fall of 1962.

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