

2 Apocryphal works and the Dead Sea Scrolls

2.1 SINS OF HUMANS, SINS OF ANGELS: GENESIS I–II AND THE BOOK OF ENOCH

As I noted earlier, a thematic analysis of the Hebrew Bible suggests that sacred history for the Jews originally began with Genesis 12, the saga of Abraham, because there are no references to the striking stories contained in the first eleven chapters. The obvious conclusion is that these chapters were added later, when Genesis was put into the form familiar to us.

Once this material was attached to Genesis, it naturally began to be spoken about. Let us ask ourselves, then, which of the stories treated there proved to be the most popular and intriguing? Was it chapter 1, the story of the eight acts of creation compressed into a six-day work-week (see diagram)?

Day 1: Light from Dark → →	Day 4: Luminaries of Heaven
Day 2: Waters above and below →	Day 5: Water animals (incl. birds)
Day 3: (1) Land from sea → → → → (2) Plants → → → →	Day 6: (1) Land animals (2) Man (male and female), eaters of plants

What about chapters 2 and 3, the story of Adam and Eve and their sad fate? Or the following story in chapter 4, of Abel killed by his jealous brother Cain? Or the story of Noah and his ark in chapters 5 to 10? Or, finally, chapter 11, the Tower of Babel?

A case can be made that it was none of these stories that most fired the ancient imagination, but rather a strange series of events recorded at the beginning of chapter 6, just after Noah was introduced in chapter 5:

When people began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, Sons of God [*Bene ha-Elohim*] saw that they were fair; and they took wives for themselves of all that they chose.

Then Yahweh said, "My spirit shall not abide in mortals forever, for they are flesh; their days shall be 120 years."

The Giants were on the Earth in those days – and also afterwards – when the Sons of God went in to the daughters of Humans, who bore children to them. These were the Heroes that were of old, warriors of renown. (*Gen. 6.1–4*)

The *NJB* translation of Yahweh's pronouncement, which is seemingly irrelevant to the context, is as follows: "My spirit cannot be indefinitely responsible for Human Beings, who are only flesh; let the time allowed to each be 120 years." There seems to be no connection between this statement and the Adam and Eve story, or the opening of chapter 5, which hearkens back to chapter 1: "When God created Humankind, He made them in the likeness of God. Male and female He created them, and He blessed them" (*Gen. 5.1–2*).

Moreover, there is nothing in the surrounding story of the Sons of God mating with Human women that seems ominous, and the reference to their co-existence with the Giants appears at first sight to be merely a chronological marker: the Sons of God descended to Earth at the time when the Giants were already there; these Giants were the great Titans or Heroes of old. (The word for them in Hebrew is *Nephilim*, which has something to do with "falling," but which the Septuagint translates as "Giants.")

The next verses continue the story of Noah: "Yahweh saw that the wickedness of Humankind was great in the Earth," and, repenting of His creation, He determined to wipe them out – all but Noah (*Gen. 6.5–8*). Once again, there is no stated or implied connection with what had gone before. But subsequent readers found connections in all of it. The most celebrated set of reactions to these passages was compiled in the *Book of Enoch*.

The *Book of Enoch* is an "Inter-Testamental" work, that is, it was composed after most of the books of the Old Testament were written, and before New Testament times. Most of *Enoch* itself was probably written early in the second century BC. But the term "Inter-Testamental" makes sense only after it was decided what books were included in the Old and New Testaments. In the time of Jesus, before there were any Christians, let alone Christian writings, the Old Testament was not yet "canonized" – and it was certainly not yet called "Old Testament." In fact, it is extremely likely that *Enoch* was accepted in some circles as authoritative, and therefore as "Holy Scripture," as we shall see below when discussing the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The *Book of Enoch* is grouped with works that purport to be authored by figures from the Old Testament. They have been translated into English and annotated in two volumes edited by James Charlesworth under the title of *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1983). The *Book of Enoch* is in OTP 1 (that is, the first volume of Charlesworth's collection). There it is called the *First Book of Enoch* (in contrast to the post-Biblical *Second Book of Enoch*, or *Slavonic Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, which we shall mention later), but here we shall just call it the *Book of Enoch*, or simply *Enoch* (but citing it as *1 Enoch*).¹

A pseudepigraph is a pseudonymous work, but the pseudonym is the name of a famous person. In our present case, the author claims to be Enoch, the descendant of Adam and Eve mentioned in Genesis 5.24: "Enoch walked with God; then he was no more, because God took him." Since he was taken up into Heaven (the thinking was), he must have had access to special knowledge.

Enoch's main revelation is that 200 Angels, the Sons of God known as Watchers (whom we encountered earlier in the Book of

¹ A new translation and commentary on the older parts of the *Book of Enoch* has been published by George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Enoch 1: A Commentary*, vol. 1 (on the *Book of Enoch*, chapters 1–36 and 81–108), ed. Klaus Baltzer (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001); and see also *Enoch: A New Translation: The Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or 1 Enoch*, trans. and annotated by Daniel C. Olson in consultation with Archbishop Melkesedek Workeneh (North Richland Hills, Texas: BIBAL Press, 2004).

Daniel) (end of chap. 1.3), sinfully abandoned their supervisory duties over the Earth by lusting after Human women and mating with them, begetting the Giants. The first leader of the Watchers was Semyaz, but on Earth the main teacher of corrupting skills to Humans was Azazel (originally the mysterious recipient of the scapegoat in Leviticus 16.8–10). The Giants were a nasty lot, who killed each other off, but their Ghosts or Spirits survived. The Watchers were sequestered by God and kept in dark caves to await final judgment at the end of time, but the Giant-Ghosts remained to cause trouble among Humankind (*1 Enoch* 6–16).

Also in this early portion of *Enoch* is a brief reference to the Seven Stars who transgressed the commandments of God from the beginning of their rising because they did not arrive at the proper time. They too were bound and imprisoned to await future punishment (18.13–16). In another vision much further on in *Enoch*, the story of the lustful Watchers is introduced again, but this time they are allegorized as Stars (86.1–4). Other Angels who run afoul of Divine justice are the Seventy Celestial Shepherds who stand guard over Israel. They are instructed to butcher a certain number of their "sheep," and they are punished for exceeding the allotted number (89.59–90.25).

We observe that there is no mention of a satanic figure in all of this. Moreover, there is no mention of the Serpent in the one slight reference to the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden. The Angel Raphael tells Enoch that his forebears ate from the Tree of Wisdom, whereupon their eyes were opened and they realized that they were naked, and they were sent out of the Garden (32.6).

2.2 MASTEMA/SATAN AND THE GIANT-GHOSTS AS PUNISHERS: THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

So, now we know when the Angels sinned – or, at least, some of them. Next question: when were the Angels created in the first place? The answer comes in another very popular and authoritative pseudepigraph, the *Book of Jubilees* (OTP 2). The Angels were the fourth of the seven creations that took place on the first day (I'll explain below).

Jubilees was composed around 150 BC, a generation or so after *Enoch*. It is basically a commentary on, or rewriting of, Genesis and part of Exodus. It is presented as a revelation to Moses, and Yahweh orders an Angel of the Presence to preserve the revelation in writing. Early on, Moses interrupts Yahweh's discourse with a petition, asking Yahweh to create for his people an upright spirit. He implores Him not to allow the spirit of Beliar to rule over them to accuse them before Yahweh and cause their destruction (*Jub.* 1.20). It may well be that "the spirit of Beliar" is simply the opposite of the "upright spirit" that Moses prays for, meaning simply "wicked spirit." In other words, not referring to an adversarial Angelic figure. "Beliar" is a variant of "Belial," which, as we saw earlier (**chap. 1.1**), is the personification or abstraction of "wickedness" or "nothingness." One reason for thinking that Beliar is not a personalized figure here is that such a figure will soon be introduced in *Jubilees* in the "person" of Mastema.

The account of the creation in *Jubilees* improves on the history given in Genesis 1. As I stated above, seven acts of creation occur on Day One. They are as follows: (1) the Heavens; (2) the Earth; (3) the Waters; (4) the Angels and other Spirits; (5) the Abyss; (6) Darkness; (7) Light. The Angels are the Angels of the Presence, the Angels of Sanctification, and then Angels of the elements and weather phenomena (fire, winds, clouds, and so on). The Spirits are "the Spirits of His creatures which are in Heaven and on Earth" (*Jub.* 2.2).

After Eve is constructed from Adam's rib, the two Humans spend seven years in Eden tilling the garden. Then comes the account of the Serpent's temptation of Eve, as in Genesis, followed by the story of Cain and Abel and the other descendants of Adam. Among these descendants, much is made of Enoch, who bears witness to the Watchers and their sinful mingling with women (4.22). Yahweh became very angry with the offending Angels and ordered "us" (that is, the Angel of the Presence who is writing this account and his colleagues) to bind them in the depths of the Earth (5.6). So far, so good, just as in the *Book of Enoch*. Next comes the account of Noah and the Flood, and the descendants of Noah.

But then we hear Noah complaining to Yahweh about "the Unclean Demons" who are leading his grandchildren astray and killing them. These Demons turn out to be the Spirits or Ghosts of the Giant offspring of the Watcher/woman unions. These Spirits were the loose ends left over in *Enoch*, and now Noah wants them put out of the way, like their Angelic progenitors. Addressing Yahweh as "God of the spirits which are in all flesh," Who saved him from the Flood, he beseeches Him to confine these Spirits "in the Place of Judgment." Yahweh graciously agrees to his petition and orders the Angels of the Presence to bind the Spirits (*Jub.* 10.1-7).

Suddenly, however, someone steps forward and objects. He is identified as "Mastema, the Chief of the Spirits." He addresses Yahweh and says, "O Lord, Creator, leave some of them before me, and let them obey my voice. And let them do everything which I tell them, because if some of them are not left for me, I will not be able to exercise the authority of my will among the children of Men. For they are intended to corrupt and lead astray, before my judgment, because the evil of Men is great" (*Jub.* 10.8).

Who on earth is this person?! We see right away that he is definitely not chief of the Giant-Ghosts in the sense of being the "Head Ghost." No, he is the one who has been put in charge of these nasty Spirits, and he has put them to work for a purpose authorized by Yahweh Himself. He objects to being deprived of workers without being consulted and without other provision being made for him. His proposed solution is a compromise: "Let me keep at least some of them."

But exactly what is the job that Mastema has been commissioned to perform? It is clearly punitive and directed against Humankind, since the reason that he gives for his activity is that "the evil of Men is great." However, the punishment that he inflicts upon men for their wickedness is a curious one: he makes them still more wicked, by enticing them to commit more sins. In other words, they will become even more deserving of being wiped out in the Deluge that is to come. Yahweh acquiesces to his request, and says: "Let a tenth of them remain before him; but let nine parts go down into

the Place of Judgment." Accordingly, the Angels of the Presence bind most of the Spirits in the Place of Judgment, but they let a tenth of them remain, "so that they might be subject to Satan upon the Earth" (*Jub.* 10.9–11).

"Subject to Satan"! So it now appears that Mastema is another name for Satan. The name "Mastema" means "Animosity." It appears as a common noun in only one passage of the Hebrew Scriptures, namely Hosea 9.7–8: because of Israel's surpassing iniquity, their *mas-tema* is great and is to be found even in the House of God. Since the word is based on the root STM, which is lexically close to the root of "Satan," STN, it may have been applied to him as a proper name by way of a pun.

In order to defend Noah and his family against the Giant-Ghosts, the Angels of the Presence instruct him in the use of medicinal herbs, which will not only cure the Spirit-induced illnesses but also neutralize their seductions. We see the Spirits at work under "Prince" Mastema's direction, stimulating Humans to Idolatry and all sorts of sins (*Jub.* 11.4–5). At one point, Mastema sends crows to eat the seeds sown by Humans, to rob them of the fruits of their labors (11.11). But then, that's it. We hear nothing more about the Giant-Ghosts.

However, we are not quite finished with Mastema. First, he takes a leaf from the Book of Job: he proposes a test for Abraham. He says to God, "Behold, Abraham loves Isaac, his son, and he is more pleased with him than everything. Tell him to offer him as a burnt offering upon the altar, and you will see whether he will do this thing. And you will know whether he is faithful in everything in which you test him" (*Jub.* 17.16). The narrator recounts for us the various trials and tribulations by which Yahweh had already tested Abraham and found him entirely steadfast. This was a tradition based on Genesis 22.1, which reads, "After these things, God tempted Abraham." In Genesis, God acts on His own, except that the Angel of Yahweh intervenes to call the trial to a halt as Abraham is about to kill Isaac. In *Jubilees*, in contrast, the final temptation is suggested by Mastema, but, unlike the Satan of Job, Mastema expresses no

skepticism concerning Abraham's ability to maintain his impeccable record of trusting in God. However, when both the Angel of the Presence and Mastema witness Abraham about to kill his son, Yahweh tells the Angel of the Presence to stop him, and Prince Mastema is shamed (*Jub.* 18.9–12).

Abraham prays that "the spirit of Mastema" not rule over Jacob and his descendants (*Jub.* 19.28). The narrator tells how a future generation will commit great deeds of evil, but they are not assisted in their malice by Ghostly or Angelic prodding. However, after the Humans repent, we are told, "there will be no Satan" and no wicked Destroyer (23.29), as if Satan and a Destroyer had been afflicting them before. Similarly, when Joseph becomes a ruler in Egypt, there is no Satan and no "evil" during his life in that realm (40.9; 46.2).

Mastema appears again only towards the end of the book, when the narrating Angel of the Presence speaks directly to Moses, asking him to recall how Mastema desired to kill him because he knew that Moses intended to execute judgment upon the Egyptians. This is based on a strange passage in Exodus (4.24): Yahweh meets up with Moses and tries to kill him. The narrating Angel saves Moses from Mastema at that point, but Mastema continues to assist the Pharaoh and his Magicians. Yahweh renders them helpless, but, in spite of this, Mastema is not shamed until he organizes the Egyptian pursuit of the Israelites (*Jub.* 48.2–12).

During the process of rescuing the Israelites from Egypt, the Angels of the Presence periodically restrain Mastema, to prevent him from accusing the Israelites (*Jub.* 48.15–18). This is the first that we have heard about the accusing function of Mastema, except for his blanket denunciation of the children of Men earlier on. Before that, we recall, there was a concern voiced that "the spirit of Beliar" would not only rule over them but also accuse them (1.20). There is no further reference to Beliar in the book, except when Israelites who neglect circumcision are called the "sons of Beliar" (15.33).

The first time that Mastema is restrained or bound, the Israelites take the opportunity of acquiring precious vessels and clothing from

the Egyptians as a payback for the forced servitude that they had endured. When the Israelites are eating the final Passover in Egypt, "all the powers of Mastema" are sent to kill all of the firstborn children in Egypt (*Jub.* 49.2). (According to Exodus, it was Yahweh Himself who conducted this operation, although He was accompanied by "the Destroyer" [Ex. 12.23].)

After the final restraint or binding of Mastema, the Angels of the Presence release "them" (Mastema and his powers?), "so that they might help the Egyptians and pursue after the children of Israel." Mastema proceeds to harden their hearts and strengthen them. All of this, we are told, "was conceived of by Yahweh our God that he [Mastema?] might smite the Egyptians and throw them into the midst of the sea" (*Jub.* 48.16). It seems likely that the "he" of this sentence refers not to Yahweh, who does not seem to take direct action in this book, but, as I conjecture, to Mastema. If so, then once again Mastema both helps and hinders the Egyptians in their evil deeds against the Israelites. There is no love lost between him and the Israelites, of course, and he must be held back by God's Angelic attendants from constantly pointing out their shortcomings.

The book ends with a forecast that eventually Israel will be purified and there will not be "any Satan" ("a satan"?) or "any evil one" (*Jub.* 50.5).

In sum, we have in the *Book of Jubilees* a remarkable dramatization and development of God's Satanic minister and his interaction with other less cynical ministers of the Divine dispensation. The Angels of the Presence are in charge of disposing of the Watchers and their ghostly progeny, while Satan/Mastema is in charge of disciplining the Humans. This disciplining often seems to consist of driving them to further moral turpitude, making them all the more deserving of punishment. Mastema encourages Yahweh to test Abraham, but the Angel of the Presence witnesses the testing along with Mastema, and passes on Yahweh's order to call it off. And, as we have just seen, the Angels of the Presence perform a restraining role in the testing of Moses and the Israelites.

There are some mysteries of interpretation that need to be acknowledged at least, even though we may not be able to solve them. An important question concerns Mastema's initial statement. What does he mean by saying that the Giant-Ghosts are meant to corrupt the sons of Men, whose evil is great, "before my judgment"? Does this refer to the judgments that Mastema makes against them in his accusatorial and prosecutorial role? Or does he mean that he too will one day be judged and condemned? If so, why? What are his sins? That he has executed his duties of disciplining Humankind with too much relish? That, at least, is a plausible explanation not only for Mastema but also, as we will see, for the Satan of the New Testament.

2.3 DUELING DUALISMS AT THE DEAD SEA: BELIAL, THE PRINCIPLE OF DARKNESS, LADY FOLLY — BUT NO SATAN!

When the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls of Qumran were first publicized, beginning in the 1950s, a great deal of attention was given to the seeming preponderance of dualistic ideas and imagery contained in them. And, of course, the usual suspects from Zoroaster's neighborhood were implicated: Good (Ahura Mazda) and Evil (Angra Mainyu/Ahriman). Scholars focused especially on two documents from Cave 1 (abbreviated as 1Q), namely the *Manual of Discipline*, also called the *Rule of the Community* (designated as 1QS), and the *War Scroll*, or *The War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (= 1QM).²

² The two main English translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are: Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, tr. Wilfred G. E. Watson (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994), and Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997). In his earlier translations, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, which appeared in four editions (Baltimore: Penguin, 1962, 1975, 1987, and 1995), Vermes unadvisedly translates "Belial" as Satan, but in his new translation he gives Belial as Belial (as he did in his 1962 translation of André Dupont-Sommer's *The Essene Writings from Qumran*). But he still clearly believes that Belial is just a name of Satan (see Vermes, *Complete*, pp. 84–85).

But in the decades that followed, a different perspective began to emerge, culminating in the 1990s, when all of the unearthed materials were published (of special note are the 470 or so items from Cave 4 [4Q]). It now appears that the incidence of dualistic texts is comparatively minor. Furthermore, much of this material was not original to the Qumran Community, but simply formed a part of their library, without being influential in the writings actually produced by the Community. From this perspective, we can perhaps take the library as representative, at least to a certain extent, of reading interests in Jerusalem around the beginning of the Christian era. More specifically, the library can indicate to us which books were considered to be authoritative Scriptures. Eugene Ulrich has recently summed up the evidence on the latter point.³ (I put in bold-face the books of special interest to us in our study of Satan.)

Books regarded as authoritative before AD 70

1 Very strong evidence:

The Torah (**Genesis**, Exodus, Leviticus, **Numbers**, Deuteronomy),
Psalms, Isaiah

2 Strong evidence:

The Twelve Minor Prophets (including **Hosea** and **Zechariah**);
Daniel, Enoch, Jubilees

3 Some evidence:

Jeremiah, Ezekiel, **Job**

4 Weak evidence:

Joshua, Judges, **1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings**, Proverbs, Ruth, Canticles,
Lamentations

5 Negligible evidence:

Ecclesiastes, Ezra, **1–2 Chronicles**

6 No evidence:

Esther, Nehemiah

So, the *Book of Enoch* and the *Book of Jubilees* were revered at nearly the same level as the Torah! What is the evidence that these

³ Eugene Ulrich, "Our Sharper Focus on the Bible and Theology, Thanks to the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 66 (2004) 1–24.

works were so highly regarded? Answer: they were best-sellers. In the case of *Enoch*, fragments of as many as twenty copies have been found at Qumran, produced at various periods during the two centuries of the Community's existence. Yet there are few or no references in the independent writings of the Qumran Community to the main story of *Enoch*, the saga of the fallen Watchers, and certainly no reference to Semyaz or Azazel as their leaders. Of course, it is true that the Watchers were put out of business and confined in prison in the days before the Flood. In other words, they were not around to cause trouble, and so did not have to be dealt with further.

Similarly with the *Book of Jubilees*: there were fourteen copies (or fifteen, by another count) at Qumran. Since it was so well read, we would expect that the figure of Mastema or Satan should be in great evidence. Such, however, is not the case, as we will see. But at least Beliar, in the form of "Belial," is prominent.

Jubilees was long thought to have been written by a Pharisee, a rare surviving production of the school of religious thought that St. Paul originally belonged to, and with which Jesus had many sharp disagreements. But more recent assessments have attributed *Jubilees* to a writer very much attuned to the splinter group that founded the settlement at Qumran in the 140s BC. However, the book must have been written just before the Community seceded from mainstream Judaism, because it contains no references to such a schism.

As for the Book of Job, in which "the satan" does his star turn, we note that there is only "some" evidence for its being regarded as Scripture. Nevertheless, we can assume that it was popular at Qumran, since two Targums of Job have been discovered there – a targum being an Aramaic translation or paraphrase of a book of the Bible. Unfortunately, however, the beginning chapters have not been found, so we are not able to see whether the satan was interpreted as "Satan," a proper name, as with "DEVIL" in the Septuagint.

When we step back and look at all of the Qumran remains, one striking fact appears: there are only two or three fragmentary occurrences of the word *satan*, and then only as a common noun. One of

these uses has been wrongly rendered as a proper noun (the same kind of improper rendition that occurs in most translations of the Book of Job). The passage in question occurs in a "new psalm" found in Cave 11 (11QPsa 19.15). In the edition by Florentino García Martínez, it is translated thus: "May Satan not rule over me, or an Unclean Spirit, may neither pain nor evil purpose take possession of my bones." But the term used in the original is *ha-satan*, which should be translated here as "a satan."

We also find the common noun *mastema* ("animosity") here and there at Qumran, for instance in the *Rule of the Community*: times of distress come because of the *mastema* of the Angel of Darkness (1QS 3.23). In the *War Scroll*, it is similarly an attribute of Belial: "Cursed be Belial for its plans of *mastema*," and "Thou didst create Belial for Sheol, the Angel of *Mastema*" – or, fully translated, "Cursed be Worthlessness for its plans of animosity," and "Thou didst create Worthlessness for the Abyss, the Angel of Animosity" (1QM 13.4, 11).

But what about the figures that we do find, like the just-mentioned Belial and the Angel of Darkness? Should we concede that they are "knock-offs" of the Persian Ahriman, and, if so, are they one and the same sinister being (namely, Satan)? Perhaps; but we have to be cautious. In a painstaking study by Jörg Frey published in 1997, titled "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library,"⁴ he first distinguishes ten kinds of dualism (speaking in general, not just about the Dead Sea Scrolls). They are as follows:

- 1 Metaphysical dualism (two creative powers of equal rank, as in Zoroastrian thought).
- 2 Cosmic dualism (two opposing non-causal forces of good and evil).
- 3 Spatial dualism (e.g., Heaven and Earth).
- 4 Eschatological or temporal dualism (now and the end of time).
- 5 Ethical dualism (Humankind bifurcated into the virtuous and the vicious).

⁴ Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, ed. Moshe Bernstein et al. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997), pp. 275–335.

- 6 Soteriological dualism (believers and nonbelievers).
- 7 Theological dualism (antagonism between Creator and creatures).
- 8 Physical dualism (spirit and matter).
- 9 Anthropological dualism (body and soul).
- 10 Psychological dualism (good and evil inclinations).

In my view, Frey's list does not exhaust the possibilities, because he neglects the more figurative realms. Let me add four more possibilities, which I think are relevant for Qumran:

- 11 Metaphorical dualism (e.g., contrast of Light and Dark).
- 12 Abstract dualism (contrast of personifications).
- 13 Mixed dualism no. 1 (real and abstract; e.g., God and Sin).
- 14 Mixed dualism no. 2 (real and phony; e.g., God and false Gods, Idols, etc.).

With these categories in mind, let us analyze the most famous of all Qumran passages, the "Instruction on the Two Spirits," which is found on columns 3 and 4 of the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3–4). I summarize as follows:

- A. God created Man to rule the World, but, as a part of His inscrutable design, He also placed within him two Spirits for him to "walk" with. The Good Spirit is called the Spirit of Truth, and the Bad Spirit is the Spirit of Perversity (or Injustice, or Falsehood, or Deceit).
- B. The Good Spirit is the Prince of Light and the Bad Spirit is the Angel of Darkness.

(Some translators masculinize the Spirits, but others make them neuter and call each "it," a policy that I have followed above. Perhaps then we should call the Good Spirit the "Principle" of Light and the Bad Spirit the "Message" of Darkness, or simply "Light" and "Dark.")

- C. Light has dominion over upright men (sons of righteousness), but Dark causes them to go astray because of its *mastema* (animosity). Dark's spirits (spirits that belong to his "lot") cause the sons of Light to fall, but the God of Israel combines forces with Light to assist the sons of Light.

(God and Light – the latter called here “the Angel of His Light” – should be an unbeatable combination, but obviously the assistance given by God and Light is quite limited and is dependent on the cooperation of the “sons” themselves. The mention of *mastema* and “lot” may be an allusion to the Giant-Ghosts allotted to Mastema in *Jubilees*.)

- D. God created both the Spirit of Light and the Spirit of Dark, and somehow “established all His deeds on their paths.”

(Just exactly what is meant here is unclear, because there are two chunks missing from the text at the bottom of column 3.)

- E. God has loved Light and its deeds forever in the past and always will in the future, whereas He forever detests the counsels and ways of Dark.
 F. All who walk in the Spirit of Perversity will be punished by the Destroying Angels in the everlasting Abyss by the furious wrath of the God of revenge.
 G. God has appointed these Spirits in equal measure until the last day, when He will put an end to all Perversity and destroy it forever, and Truth shall rise up.
 H. God will purify all of Man’s deeds, ripping out all Spirit of Perversity from the innermost parts of his flesh, and sprinkle over him the Spirit of Truth.
 I. At present the Spirits of Truth and Perversity have been struggling in the hearts of Men. Men have walked both in Wisdom and in Folly.
 J. Each man has inherited both Justice and Injustice, and he performs deeds according to both; when he does just deeds he hates Injustice, and when he does unjust deeds he hates Justice.
 K. And so on!

Frey finds three levels of polarity here, namely Dualisms 2, 5, and 10: Cosmic, Ethical, and Psychological. That is, he takes the Angels of Light and Dark to be real supernatural entities, which are joined to moral and psychological considerations.

My own inclination is to start with the psychological, looking upon the Two Spirits in each person as “embodiments” of the good and bad inclinations. We have seen a reference to the bad inclination

in the 11Q psalm cited above (where it is translated as “evil purpose”). Later Jewish thought will elaborate upon these two innate tendencies, the *yetser ha-tob* (good inclination) and *yetser ha-ra* (bad inclination), and the need to foster the one and suppress the other. If so, then we should see Dualisms 11 and 12 at work: the metaphorical contrast of Good (Light) and Bad (Dark), and the personification of these poles as Angels.

One reason for seeing the two Angels as abstractions or personifications is that neither of them has much of a personality. Specifically, with reference to the Bad Spirit, we never see it “do” anything, or “say” anything, unlike the satans of the Old Testament or Mastema in *Jubilees*. It is simply “there,” responsible for everything that is wrong or perverted.

The idea that God created Dark but hates everything about it (section E) might seem odd to us if we are still thinking of a “real” entity. We should perhaps conjure up instead the sort of “creatures” or personifications that St. Paul talks about in his Epistle to the Romans, when he says that Sin came into the World through one man, and through Sin came Death (Rom. 5.12). (In modern translations of Romans, the personified nature of Sin and Death is buried and both terms are lower-cased. However, some later authors will pick up on the personification idea, notably Milton in *Paradise Lost*.)

The fate of Perversity in section F sounds like the sort of end that is in store for Death in Isaiah: Yahweh will swallow up Death for ever (Isa. 25.8), which St. Paul will quote: “Death has been swallowed up in victory.” And Paul goes on to taunt Death: “Where, O Death, is your victory? Where, O Death, is your Sting? The sting of Death is Sin, and the power of Sin is the Law” (1 Cor. 15.54–56).

Or we could liken the 1QS 3–4 figures to the custodians of the Underworld, as apostrophized by the prophet Hosea: “O Death, where are your plagues? O Sheol, where is your destruction?” (Hos. 13.14). The same trope is echoed in the Book of Revelation, where Death and Hades give up their dead and are thrown into the lake of fire (Rev. 20.13–15), or earlier, where Death is the Fourth Horseman

of the Apocalypse, seated on a pale horse, and Hades follows after (Rev. 6.8).

It is not a sin to hate Sin, and no offense to despise Death and Hades. It is also allowable to look down on Darkness personified, as long as we remember that darkness itself is a part of God's creation. As the Psalmist says, "Even the darkness is not dark to You; the night is as bright as the day." For good measure, an Aramaic gloss, "For darkness is as light to You," has become part of our received text in the Book of Psalms (Ps. 139.12).

A parallel to the 1QS 3–4 polarities has been seen in the statements of Joshua ben Sira, or Jesus son of Sirach, in the book of the Bible known in the Christian Middle Ages as Ecclesiasticus (Protestants consider it part of the Apocrypha, but Catholics and Orthodox Christians believe that it is an inspired book of the Old Testament). Ben Sira wrote in Hebrew some time before 180 BC, around the time that the *Book of Enoch* was written, and his grandson translated his book into Greek (the Hebrew text was lost until the twentieth century, when fragments of about two-thirds of the work were published). At one point, Ben Sira says that God created Human Beings "and appointed their different ways: some He blessed and exalted, and some He made holy and brought near to Himself; but some He cursed and brought low and turned them out of their place" (Sirach 33.11–12). He goes on to say that "good is the opposite of evil," and tells us to "look at all the works of the Most High: they come in pairs, one the opposite of the other" (33.14–15).

However, even though it sounds as if Sirach is saying that God has created an evil nature for some persons, we would be unwise to hold him to this perception. In a later context, he takes up polarities again, saying, "All things are different from one another, and nothing has been made in vain" (the Greek has: "all things go in pairs, by opposites; He has not made anything in vain") (42.24). But this time it is clear that the duality of good and bad does not enter into this concept. It is rather a question of opposites that are both good; for, as he goes on to say, "Each supplements the virtues of the other" (42.25).

One would have to move to the world of allegorical unreality to see anything bad in such creativity.

But perhaps we should not have spent so much time on the 1QS "Instruction of the Two Spirits," because, as Frey shows, its peculiar features do not appear elsewhere in the Qumran library – specifically, not in the other copies of the *Rule of the Community* found in Cave 4. More typical of sectarian Qumran thought is the contrast between God, on the one hand, and the "dominion of Belial," or the "lot of Belial," on the other, which we find in 1QS 1–2. This looks like Dualism 13, with the real God in opposition to the abstraction Worthlessness or Perversity.

We have already seen the passage of the *War Scroll* that says that God created Belial for destruction, which would amount to a heresy against the goodness of God if Belial were taken to be a real creature. There are some references to the Angel Michael and to the Angel Gabriel and other named Angels, but it is not clear how real they are. They do not seem to engage in any combat *mano a mano*, or to act in any other direct way with an Angelic or super-Human opponent. Even the coming battle between the sons of Light and the sons of Darkness is often referred to by scholars as "imaginary." But the battle between the Angel of Light and the Angel of Dark is not even imaginary; it is simply not envisioned at all.

However, even if one were to conclude that the Prince of Light engages in battle with the Prince of Dark, it would not necessarily mean that they are anything other than abstract personifications. One of the most popular works produced in Late Antiquity, the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (end of the fourth century), was an allegorical battle between the Virtues and the Vices. The title means, *War in the Soul*.

By the way, Frey concludes that the concepts and imagery of the *War Scroll* did not originate in Qumran but come from the earlier Maccabean period.

Let us conclude our survey of polarities in the library of Qumran with another dualism referred to briefly in the Two Spirits instruction:

"Until now the Spirits of Truth and of Injustice feud in the heart of men, and they walk in Wisdom and Folly." The classic contrast between Lady Wisdom and Lady Folly occurs in chapter 9 of the Book of Proverbs. Wisdom sets up a lavish household and sends out a blanket invitation to people to come to dinner. Folly does the same. As in the case of the Princes of Light and Dark, there is no interaction between the two. They have direct dealings, if at all, only with Humans.

A large fragment of a Wisdom poem from Cave 4⁵ elaborates on Lady Folly thus:

Her paths are paths of Death, and her roads, tracks to Sin.

Her trails lead astray to Wickedness, and her pathways, to the guilt of transgression.

Her gates are the gates of Death, and in the entrance to her house, Sheol proceeds.

(4Q184.9-10)

Sounds familiar, doesn't it? One could easily substitute Belial or the Prince of Darkness for Folly.

The upshot of our tour of the Wadi Qumran, on the shores of the Dead Sea, is that, apart from imported texts like the Book of Job and the *Book of Jubilees*, there are no "active" ensoulments of bad behavior. Belial and the Prince/Principle of Dark are passive. They do not seem to be celestial testers or prosecutors or persecutors working under the direction or observation of God. Rather, we see only soulless allegorical or metaphorical figures who go about their single-minded business and then disappear. In other words, there is no Satan here.

⁵ See Daniel J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Part II The New Testament: Satan comes into his own

DEVIL said to Jesus:

"All this glory and all this authority have been given to me."

Luke 4.6