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COSMOLOGICAL REFERENCE IN THE QUMRAN DOCTRINE OF THE TWO SPIRITS AND IN OLD TESTAMENT IMAGERY*

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P. WERNBERG-MØLLER and M. Treves, in recent articles in *Revue de Qumran*,¹ have set themselves in solid opposition to Albright, Burrows, Betz, Cross, Monsoor, Dupont-Sommer, Kuhn, Licht, Yadin, and others in finding in the Qumran doctrine of the two spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS 3 13–4 26) no evidence of cosmic dualism or determinism and no Zoroastrian influence. Thus for Wernberg-Møller the spirits are quite simply dispositions or spiritual qualities, or “the motive force in man which drives him to act in a certain way.” The doctrine is interpreted in terms of the “psychological” use of “spirit” in the O and NTs.² Treves holds that the spirits are “simply tendencies or propensities which are implanted in every man’s heart”; God implants an evil and good impulse in every man, who may choose between the two.³

The cosmic and cosmological reference in the doctrine of the two spirits is evident in part from the fact that it is clearly set in a creation context.⁴ No more than in the poem on wisdom in Prov 8 22 ff. can the creation context be ignored, and cosmogonic and eschatological ideology, as is usual in apocalyptic thought, are here combined. We read: “He created man for rule over the world, and made for him two spirits by which to walk until the time of his visitation; they are the spirits of truth

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¹ P. Wernberg-Møller, “A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QS III, 13–IV, 26),” *RQ*, 3 (1961), pp. 413 ff.; M. Treves, “The Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community,” *ibid.*, pp. 449 ff.

² *RQ*, 3, p. 433; cf. Treves, *op. cit.*, p. 449. By contrast Wernberg-Møller had earlier stated that “there is no doubt that *ruh* in this essay is used in both a metaphysical and psychological way,” and that the writer was concerned with “the origin and history of mankind, told on a metaphysical basis” and “found no difficulty in fusing Zoroastrian speculations with the old biblical narratives in the opening chapters of Genesis” (*The Manual of Discipline* [1957], p. 67). Cf. H. W. Huppenbauer, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten* [*Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 34] (1959), where it is concluded that the dualism of the Qumran community was a relative, ethico-cosmic dualism (see pp. 95 ff.).

³ Treves, *op. cit.*, pp. 449 f.

⁴ See O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, pp. 145 ff., where the cosmogonic and cosmological concern is appreciated.

and deceit; from a spring of light are the generations (תולדות, 'origins') of truth, and from a fountain of darkness the generations of deceit" (3 17-19).⁵ We read further that "he created the spirits of light and darkness" (3 25). As Betz notes, the author has the priestly story of creation in mind. This creation context is evident at the very beginning of the two spirits passage, written that the wise man may "instruct and teach all the sons of light in (concerning) the genealogies (תולדות) of all mankind as to all (both?) their kinds of spirits, with regard to their works, in their generations (בדורות)" (3 13). Wernberg-Møller interprets תולדות here as meaning "natures" and the following words, "all their kinds of spirits," as "a variety of qualities,"⁶ and not an allusion to two kinds of spirits, as he had earlier done. So also in the first quoted passage above he takes תולדות as a synonym of רוחות (spirits) in the sense of dispositions or character, believing the passage refers merely to disposition of truth and deceit, all human activity being inspired by these two inclinations.⁷ There is no Qumran parallel for this rendering of תולדות,⁸ and its use here reflects the creation diction of Genesis.

If "all their kinds of spirits" (כל מיני רוחות, 1QS 3 14) does refer to a great variety of spirits, the context in general is certainly concerned with two spirits, the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit,⁹ and for the writer many spirits of truth and many spirits of deceit might at the same time be regarded as two, or, as Monsoor and others point out, the good spirits may be regarded as manifestations of the spirit of truth and the evil spirits manifestations of the spirit of deceit.¹⁰ From the War Scroll, which as Yadin notes makes use of the sect's theory of the two spirits, we learn that the spirits of truth are under the rule of the prince of light, and the angels of destruction (=the spirits of deceit) are under the dominion of Belial, and the spirits of darkness are the spirits of Belial's lot (1QM 13 2; cf. 13 4-6), and all the sons of light are in the lot of the prince of light (1QM 13 2-6, 12). In 1QS 4 2, in "and these are their ways" (ואלה דרכיהן), the reference is to the ways of the two spirits, and not, with Wernberg-Møller, to the multiplicity of the spirits of truth; the phrase is really the

⁵ I. e., the origins of truth are upward (in the heavens, where light is?) and of deceit in the depths of the underworld (see H. W. Huppenbauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 f.). The view is cosmological, not merely cosmic.

⁶ *RQ*, 3, pp. 419-21.

⁷ *RQ*, 3, p. 425.

⁸ Outside of this 1QS context it occurs in CD 4 5 and in 1QM 3 14; 5 1; 10 14. In CD 4 5 it is used in the general sense of genealogies, and in 1QM 3 14; 5 1 in connection with the names of the tribes of Israel "according to their genealogies" (Yadin, "order of birth"). 1QM 10 14 is obscure, but in a creation context.

⁹ See "two spirits" in line 18.

¹⁰ Menahem Monsoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, p. 76. See also M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 280 ff. For parallel phenomena, see A. R. Johnson, *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God*?

title of the section (lines 2–14) which describes the ways of the two spirits.¹¹ Wernberg-Møller takes the two spirits in 3 17–19 in the sense of mood or disposition, used psychologically, with no overtones of metaphysical or cosmic dualism, nothing more than the rabbinic distinction between the evil and good *yēšer*, and thinks the difference between the sectarian and the rabbinic doctrine only one of terminology.¹² This ignores the apocalyptic framework of the Qumran doctrine. It also does not do justice to the rôle of the angel of darkness and the prince of lights in lines 20 ff. and to their relationship to the sons of light and sons of darkness.

In view of the earlier specific reference to the two spirits in 3 18 and to the spirit of deceit in 4 9 and the probably original reference to the spirit of truth in 4 2,¹³ one should doubtless read in 4 15: "In these (two spirits) are the genealogies (תולדות) of all the sons of man," and in 4 16: "For God has set them (i. e., the two spirits) in equal parts." That the writer is merely referring to the dispositions which are found in each man is difficult to reconcile with the statement in 4 15 that "in their (fem. suffix, i. e., the spirits') divisions do all their (masc. suffix, i. e., mankind's) hosts receive an inheritance according to their (masc. suffix) generations, and in their (fem. suffix) ways do they walk."¹⁴

The association of a deterministic ideology with the doctrine of the two spirits is consonant with its cosmological reference, emphasizing the cosmic character of the struggle. The use of the root נחל, "to inherit," and the noun גורל, "lot," and the phrase הפיל גורלות, "to allot," with their contexts, is a part of this. Man's disposition depends on his lot and his inheritance. God makes the allotment and determines not only that good and evil shall strive in each man, but also his share in the one or the other. God has apportioned the two spirits (וינחילן) to the sons of man, that they

¹¹ Cf. the second half of the section which begins: "And as for the spirit of deceit." Probably "And as for the spirit of truth" has been omitted from line 2; note "spirit of the sons of truth" in 4 6. See W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline, BASOR Suppl. St., 10–12* (1951), pp. 14–15; cf. Wernberg-Møller, *RQ*, 3, p. 430.

¹² *RQ*, 3, p. 423.

¹³ See n. 10.

¹⁴ "In these (two spirits) are the genealogies of all the sons of man" (1QS 4 15) includes the members of the sect and everyone else, but this does not mean merely that the two spirits are in each individual, although it may include this. It must be further interpreted by lines 2–8 and 9–14, where the sons of light (the sons of truth) and the sons of darkness (those doomed to destruction without remnant or survivor and who walk in the ways of darkness) are clearly two classes of persons. Here primarily, although not exclusively, the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit are associated with two classes of people, so that all the sons of man may be classified in accord with the one or the other, although the two spirits may struggle within a single breast, even within the breast of the sons of light. See M. Burrows, *op. cit.*, pp. 291 ff.; M. Monsoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff. for variant uses of רוּחַ, "spirit," which is used in the scrolls, as in the OT, to indicate a person's disposition, character, or self, as well as of cosmic angelic and demonic beings in a dualistic ideology. K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordance zu den Qumrantexten*, pp. 200 ff., lists some 145 occurrences of רוּחַ in the scrolls.

may know good and evil, and he allots (הפיל גורלות, "causes the lots to fall") for every being according to the spirit within him.¹⁵ The context describes the two spirits striving in the heart of man, so that some walk in folly, and a man hates error according as his inheritance (גחולה) is in truth and in righteousness, and abominates truth according to his heritage in the lot of deceit (כירשתו בגורל עול).

The contexts of the use of ממשלה ("rule" or "dominion") in the two spirits passage also suggest something more than nonmetaphysical, subjective psychological qualities, and have deterministic connotations. In the power of the prince of lights is the rule over all the sons of righteousness, and in the power of the angel of darkness is all the rule over the sons of deceit, and it is because of the angel of darkness that all the sons of righteousness go astray, and all their sins are under his dominion, and their afflictions and times of distress are under the rule of his hostility (3 20-22). The angel of darkness and the prince of lights are real figures, and the power of the angel of darkness explains not only the sons of deceit, but is also the cause of the erring of the sons of righteousness. The period of the decreed judgment is the rule of deceit (4 19), and it is also the rule of Belial (1 18, 23; 2 19). Cross recognizes in the Rule of the Community, as in I John, a "spirit-spirit" dualism, a powerful doctrine of predestination which allots some to God or the spirit of truth and others to the spirit of deceit.¹⁶

The doctrine of the two spirits is an attempt to do more than describe the nature of man; it would explain his nature. The reverberations of the doctrine as it appears in I John 4 1 ff. have a cosmic, dualistic reference; the spirits are many, yet essentially they are the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit; indeed, they are the spirit of God and the spirit of the antichrist. In the Test Jud 20 1-3 the two spirits "wait upon man," the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. In Barn 18 1 the two ways, the ways of light and darkness, are related to the angels of God and the angels of Satan, while the description of the two ways in chs. 19 and 20 reminds one of 1QS 4 2-3 and 9-14. Frank Cross, Matthew Black, and others are correct in seeing in this complex of ideas the probable derivation of the figure of the Paraclete or Counselor of John 14 16-17; 16 26, etc.¹⁷

¹⁵ 1QS 4 26. Y. Yadin finds "lot" occurs in the sense of "preordained segment" (of humanity, of time, of an event, of a collection of objects), 16 times in 1QM, 18 times in 1QS, 5 times in 1QH, and 3 times in CD (*The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, p. 256).

¹⁶ F. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*², pp. 212 f.

¹⁷ F. Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 f.; O. Betz, *op. cit.*, p. 61; M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, p. 134. "Put a new and right spirit within me" in Ps 51 12 [10], which is in a context of "take not thy holy spirit from me" and "create in me a clean heart," is not merely a description of the different character or disposition which the psalmist hopes to have, but is an explanation of how he hopes it will be achieved; it is at least in part the result of an act of God, not merely a change of will by the psalmist. Compare

The dualistic, cosmic reference of the Qumran two spirits doctrine is evident not only from the association of the two spirits with the prince of lights and the angel of darkness, but also from the references to these two at other points in the Qumran literature, the former to be identified with Michael and the latter with Belial.¹⁸ In the Cairo Damascus Document Belial is placed over against the prince of lights (CD 5 18), and the words "every man over whom the spirits of Belial rule" (CD 12 2) recall the phraseology of 1QS 2 4-5.¹⁹ "The men of Belial's lot" (1QS 2 4-5) are those under the rule of the angel of darkness and to whom the spirits of deceit are allotted. The rôle of Belial is most clear in the War Scroll. Belial leads the enemies of the sect, and heads at one and the same time the spirits of darkness (1QM 15 14-17; 16 9; cf. 12 8; 13 10-11; 1 10-11). The enemies belong to the lot of Belial, as the sons of light to the lot of light (1 5, 11, 13-14; 4 2; 13 2, 4-5, etc.). The sons of darkness are the army of Belial, and the enemy, the seven nations of vanity, are the troops of Belial (1QM 1 1; 11 8). The army of Belial includes both the human enemies and also the spirits of darkness and the angels of destruction.²⁰

The Thanksgiving Hymns also give support to a cosmological, dualistic, and deterministic interpretation of the two spirits doctrine.²¹ God has predestined each man from birth for good or evil, and frail, sinful man can be saved only by the sovereign grace of God. Predestination and the fact that man feels sinful and salvation must depend on divine grace may sound illogical, but it met the religious needs of the community, which was also able to accommodate dualism within a monotheistic framework. The Qumranians were not theologians seeking a system of belief neatly and consistently set forth in theological terms; they did not permit their "system" to deny the responsibility of man.²²

In one of the hymns we read: "Before thou didst create them, thou didst know all their works forever and ever . . . Anything can [not] be

Ezekiel's doctrine of the new heart and new spirit as found in Ezek 11 19; 18 31; 36 26. In the Thanksgiving Hymns such expressions as "the erring spirit" (1QH 1 22), "the distorted spirit" (6 23; 7 5) "the perverted spirit" (3 21), etc. may be descriptions of personal qualities, but they sometimes may also be taken in a more literal sense, implying rule as by an external agent, not merely describing but also explaining, with metaphysical implications. Thus we read: "A distorted spirit confounded me" (7 5); "A perverted spirit rules over him" (13 15-16); "Thou hast cast for man an eternal lot (הפל לאיש נורל) among the spirits of knowledge" (3 22-23). Much as in the OT, it is God's Holy Spirit which cleanses, instructs, and supports (12 12; 16 6-7, 12; cf. Job 33 4; Ps 51 13 [11]; Isa 63 10; Dan 4 8, 9).

¹⁸ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.

¹⁹ In CD 8 1-2 Belial is the agent of punishment on those members of the sect who do not keep the ordinances; see C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents*, p. 32; cf. Jub 49 2 and "the torrents of Belial" which burn up the wicked in 1QH 3 29, 32.

²⁰ Y. Yadin, *op. cit.*, pp. 242, 256.

²¹ M. Monsoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57.

²² H. W. Huppenbauer, *op. cit.*, p. 41; despite God's predetermining and omniscience, man in the new covenant community was in no way relieved of his responsibility.

accomplished or become known save through thy pleasure (רצונכה). Thou didst form every spirit" (1QH 1 7-9). Another hymn affirms that in God's hand is the forming (shaping) of all spirit; a man cannot direct his own steps, and God established man's work before he created him, and no one can change God's words; "Thou alone didst create the righteous, and thou didst appoint him from the womb for the appointed time of (thy) pleasure (מועד רצון) . . . Thou didst create the wicked for . . . and from the womb thou hast dedicated them to the day of slaughter" (1QH 15 13-17). We also read: "By the wisdom of thy knowledge thou didst establish their destiny before they came into existence . . . and without thee it is not accomplished" (1QH 1 19-20).²³

The phrase "before thou didst create them" in the hymns is reasonably taken by Monsoor as a fixed formula of predestination.²⁴ A comparable phrase, "before they were established" (בטרם נוסדו) occurs in CD 2 7 in a reference to the wicked ("and he knew their works before they were established"). In another hymn God, the master of every spirit and ruler over every action, is he without whom nothing can be accomplished and without whose pleasure (רצון) nothing can be known (1QH 10 8-9; see also 10 2). In keeping with the above mentioned references to God's pleasure, there may be deduced a certain predestinarian overtone in the expression "sons of (God's) pleasure" (בני רצון) as a designation of the community; it implies election or selection by grace, and must be interpreted in the light of the total ideology of the sect as referring to God's will as electing or predestining, as Monsoor suggests.²⁵ A deterministic note also appears in the hymns in the allusion to a divine book in which all that is to happen is written, for everything is fore-known and foretold: "Everything is inscribed before thee in a memorial inscription to all eternal times" (1QH 1 23-24; cf. 1 27-28).²⁶ Against this background we may understand Josephus' characterization of the belief of the Essenes: fate governs all things, and nothing happens to men which is not according to its determination (*Antt.* 13, 5, 9).²⁷

The Qumran doctrine of the two spirits gave a cosmic, even cosmological, reference to good and evil. The struggle between the righteous

²³ 1QH 1 7-9 is in a creation context, referring to the stretching out of the heavens and alluding also to "spirits," "mighty spirits," "everlasting spirits," apparently angels having dominion over the elements of nature. Monsoor sees in lines 10-11 a reflection of belief in the pre-existence of things before the creation (*op. cit.*, p. 98); cf. 1QS 3 15, "Before they happen he sets down all their design." Cf. 1QH 10 2. See Monsoor, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.; J. Licht, "The Doctrine of the Thanksgiving Scroll," *IEJ*, 6 (1956), p. 7.

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 183. See 1QH 1 7; 13 8; 15 14.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 130. The NT parallel in Luke 2 14 must be interpreted in the light of its own ideological setting. See E. Vogt, "'Peace among Men of God's Good Pleasure' Lk. 2 14," in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, K. Stendahl (ed.), pp. 114 ff.

²⁶ F. Nötscher, "Himmlische Bücher und Schicksalsglaube in Qumran," *RQ*, 1 (1959), pp. 405 ff.

²⁷ Contrast C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies, Scripta Judaica II*, p. 72.

and the wicked was from this perspective a conflict between righteousness and wickedness, between the angel of light and the angel of darkness, between the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit, between Michael or God and Belial. The conflict had begun at creation, and it would culminate in the war of the sons of light against the sons of darkness. The OT often gives a similar cosmological reference to the conflict between the righteous and the wicked and between Israel and her enemies, sometimes in cosmogonic terms, a theme treated by Gunkel with great perception.²⁸ This kind of cosmological reference plays a large rôle in OT thought, and is pertinent background for Qumran ideology.²⁹

In Isa 51 9–11, in a mythopoeic coalescence of time, the primordial struggle of Yahweh slaying Rahab, piercing the dragon (*tannîn*, as in Canaanite myth), is at one and the same time the victory over the waters of the Red Sea and the clearing of obstacles before the path of those returning from exile to Zion. In Ps 74 the Red Sea waters and Israel's enemies are pictured in similar cosmic conflict terms: God who divided the sea and broke the heads of dragons on the waters is exhorted to remember how the enemy scoffs and not forget the clamor of his (Yahweh's) foes, the uproar (יְהוָה, as Isa 17 12, in a similar cosmological conflict passage) of his adversaries (Ps 74 12–23). In Ps 89 10–11 [Eng. 9–10] Rahab and Yahweh's enemies are in synonymous parallelism, and the use of Rahab (cf. Ps 87 4) suggests that the author here also had in mind Egypt and the Red Sea incident.³⁰ In similar vein, in Hab 3 12–15, the enemy of Israel and of the psalmist is the wicked and the enemy of God, and so Yahweh's victory over the enemy is given a cosmic reference; it is Yahweh's slaying of the dragon, and it involves the whole earth and all the nations:

Thou didst bestride the earth in fury,
 thou didst trample the earth in anger.
 Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people,
 for the salvation of thine anointed.
 Thou didst crush the head of the wicked,
 laying him [the dragon] bare from tail to neck.
 Thou didst pierce with thy shafts the head of his warriors,
 who came like a whirlwind to scatter me
 Thou didst trample the sea with thy horses,
 the surging of many waters.³¹

²⁸ H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*.

²⁹ H. G. May, "Some Cosmic Connotations of *MA YIM RABBĪM*, "Many Waters," *JBL*, 74 (1955), pp. 9 ff.

³⁰ Note the sea symbolism in vs. 10 and creation allusion in vs. 12. J. Pedersen remarks that the fight against Egypt was no ordinary historical event which had taken place within the normal bounds of time; it had happened in primeval times, and hence it was of cosmic dimensions (*Israel III–IV* [1940], p. 409). See G. W. Ahlström, *Psalm 89, Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs*, pp. 70–71; T. Gaster, *The Passover, Its History and Traditions*, pp. 45–46.

³¹ See W. F. Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk," in *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, H. H. Rowley (ed.), pp. 1 ff. Cf. 1QH 2 16; 3 13–16; 6 22–28.

Here, again, there may be a Red Sea allusion. Cosmic conflict is suggested in the song of the sea itself, in Exod 15 1–18. The wind of God and the great deeps are involved,³² and the fight is against Yahweh's adversaries. He was the God who could control the recalcitrant deeps in which the enemy was overcome.³³ The song ends with Yahweh enthroned in his sanctuary (cf. Ps 29).

Since "the nations" are Yahweh's enemy, the conflict is cosmic. As many have noticed, in Isa 17 12–14, where the roaring of the nations is like the roaring of many waters, and they, like the sea, are rebuked by Yahweh,³⁴ the author uses the very phraseology of the Canaanite myth of the struggle of Baal against Prince Sea and Judge River.³⁵ In Ps 68, where the enemies of Yahweh and the guilty are equated in vs. 24 [21], in itself one possible form of cosmic reference, we read in vs. 25 [22], after a plausible reconstruction by Professor Albright:

Yahweh said: From smiting the Serpent I return,
I return from following Sea.³⁶

In keeping with this symbolism of cosmic conflict, the empires of the nations in Dan 7 are depicted as dragons from the primordial sea which is stirred by the wind of God; the cosmic, insurgent elements are the nations, and they must be overcome before the kingdom of God can come (cf. Isa 27 1). A similar cosmological conflict reference may appear in Ezek 29, where Pharaoh of Egypt is the great dragon (*tannin*) to be conquered and destroyed by Yahweh. In Ezek 32, in which the dragon, Pharaoh of Egypt, is to be slain by Yahweh, the Day of Yahweh symbolism is in its natural context.³⁷

Gog of Magog and his followers in Ezek 38–39 stand for all the nations, and the defeat of him and his hordes is victory over wickedness and evil. In the deliberate arrangement of the text of the book of Ezekiel, the conflict is followed by the restoration of the temple on the temple mount, conceived as the cosmic mountain (Ezek 40 2; cf. Ps 48 3 [2]; Isa 2 2), the mountain of God (cf. Ezek 28 13, 14), which is Paradise regained, with its sacred river and trees (Ezek 47 1–12).³⁸ As Frost points out, the author of Ezek 38–39 expresses the foe, the nations from the north, in terms of the cosmological myth; as Yahweh slew the dragon of old, so will he conquer her afresh; the enmity is universal and absolute.³⁹ The author never intended the oracle to be taken literally in all its

³² Cf. Ps 18 8–16 [7–15].

³³ Vs. 8; cf. Isa 51 10.

³⁴ Cf. Nah 1 4; Ps 106 9.

³⁵ H. G. May, *JBL*, 74, pp. 10 f.

³⁶ W. F. Albright, "A Catalogue of Early Hebrew Lyric Poems," *HUCA*, 23, 1 (1950–51), pp. 27–28, 38.

³⁷ With vss. 7–8 cf. Isa 13 10; 60 19; Joel 2 2; 3 15; Amos 5 20; 8 9.

³⁸ S. B. Frost, *Old Testament Apocalyptic*, pp. 88 ff. Cf. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, pp. 146, 183.

³⁹ See also S. Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

fantastic detail. It is of one piece with the fight against Ariel's foes in Isa 29 5-8 (cf. Isa 66 15-16) and the eschatological battle in Isa 27 1.⁴⁰ In Rev 20 7-8 it is properly Satan who musters Gog and Magog, the author recognizing the cosmological import of the prophecy. Gog comes from "the recesses of the north" (Ezek 38 6, 15; 39 2), which is in Isa 14 13 the location of the mount of assembly of the gods, with known Canaanite parallels.⁴¹

There are cosmic, dualistic connotations involved at times in the characterization of the enemy or the nations as the wicked, setting them in opposition to Israel, and providing some of the background of Qumranian ethico-cosmic dualism, always, of course, within a monotheistic framework. Thus in Ps 9 we read:

Thou hast rebuked⁴² the nations,
thou hast destroyed the wicked;
thou hast blotted out their name forever and ever (vs. 6 [5]).

So also in vss. 16-18 [15-17] the wicked and the nations are in synonymous parallelism, as also in the continuation of this psalm in Ps 10 15-16. In terms of Qumran, the nations are the sons of darkness. It is even more obvious in Jer 25 30-31, where the conflict is cosmic,⁴³ and which concludes:

The clamor will resound to the ends of the earth,
for Yahweh has an indictment against the nations;
he is entering into judgment with all flesh,
and the wicked he will put to the sword.

So also in Ps 3 8-9 [7-8], where the parallelism of enemies and wicked should be noted, and the contrast with Yahweh's people. Ps 92 10 [9], which has a striking Ugaritic parallel in the myth of Baal's conflict with the rebellious waters (Gordon 68 8-9), equates Yahweh's enemies and all evildoers.⁴⁴ In Ps 139 the enemies of the psalmist are the wicked who,

⁴⁰ The fate of Gog's hordes is perhaps deliberately in terms of that of the dragon (*tannin*) in Ezek 29. Of the dragon Yahweh says: "I will put hooks in your jaws . . . and I will draw you up" (29 4), and of Gog he says, "I will put hooks in your jaws, and I will bring you forth" (38 4). As the dragon is drawn forth with all the fish cleaving to its scales, so Gog is brought forth with all his army, horses, and horsemen, and they are both given to the birds and the beasts. Of both it is said in identical words: "Upon the open field you shall fall" (על פני השדה תפול) (29 5; 39 5).

⁴¹ Cf. Ugaritic *ʾrṯt ʾšpn*. Compare also ארץ ארץ, "the recesses of the earth," and ארץ צפון, "the land of the north," in Jer 6 22 as the source of the foe from the north, and note Jer 25 32: "Behold evil is going forth / from nation to nation, / And a great tempest is stirring / from the recesses of the earth." This is in a context of final judgment on the wicked, with the resultant masses of the slain, as in the Gog of Magog oracle.

⁴² נערך is used of rebuking the nations, the many waters (Isa 17 13), the sea and rivers (Nah 1 4), and the Red Sea (Ps 106 9).

⁴³ Cf. Isa 63 1-6.

⁴⁴ N. M. Sarna, "The Psalm for the Sabbath Day (Ps 92)," *JBL*, 81 (1962), pp. 159 ff. Numerous biblical parallels are evoked.

in reality, are God's antagonists (vss. 19–20). This is a quasi-Essene psalm, for the theme of the hatred of the sons of darkness is foreshadowed:

Do I not hate them that hate thee, O Yahweh?
and loathe them that rise up against thee?
I hate them with a perfect hatred;
I count them as my enemies.⁴⁵

The psalm has in it a description of the preknowledge of God quite after the manner of the Qumran hymns, and an allusion to God's book in which the days that were formed for the psalmist were written before they existed.⁴⁶

The cosmic character of the conflict with Israel's (=Yahweh's) enemies is particularly evident in the royal psalms, which may explain in part how they might be so easily reinterpreted in eschatological, messianic terms. The Davidic king is set over against all the kings of the world in Ps 2, a coronation hymn. It is the nations, peoples, and rulers who conspire and plot against Yahweh's anointed. The kings are the "rulers of the earth." The opposition is all-inclusive and the victory is to be world-wide:

Ask of me, and I will make the nations your heritage,
and the ends of the earth your possession (vs. 8).

In Ps 110 the enemies of the king, who sits at the right hand of the enthroned deity, are Yahweh's foes in a universal conflict which has striking analogies with the Gog of Magog war, as well as with the Rahab passage of Isa 51 9 and the dragon symbolism of Hab 3 12:

Yahweh is at your right hand,
he will shatter kings on the day of his wrath.
He will execute judgment among the nations,
filling them with corpses.
He will crush the head (מַחֲרָץ רֹאשׁ)⁴⁷
over the wide earth.

⁴⁵ Ps 139 21–22; cf. 1QS 1 10–11; 9 15–16, 21–22. See E. F. Sutcliffe, "Hatred at Qumran," *RQ*, 2 (1960), pp. 345 ff. As Mowinckel comments, rejecting his earlier identification of the enemy of the psalmist with the sorcerer, the enemies are sometimes presented not so much as specific nations but as the world power which is at once both earthly and cosmic (*op. cit.*, p. 147). See G. W. Ahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁴⁶ Vss. 4, 14b–16; cf. 1QH 1 19–20, 23–24; 7 13; 12 10–11. In Ps 149 the people of Yahweh are set over against the nations in a final judgment scene which recalls the battle of the sons of light against the sons of darkness (Y. Yadin, *op. cit.*, p. 3). The assembly of the faithful, the sons of Zion, the humble (עֲנִיִּים; cf. 1QH 5 21; 14 3; 18 14) are Yahweh's people in whom he takes pleasure (רִצּוֹן; cf. Qumran בני רצון), and they are set over against the nations and peoples on whom they are to wreck vengeance, "to execute on them the judgment that is written" (cf. 1QH 1 23). Ps 26 also has considerable in common with Qumran ideology.

⁴⁷ Ps 110 5–6. In Hab. 3 13, in a dragon conflict imagery, we find "Thou didst crush the head" (מַחֲרָץ רֹאשׁ), while in Isa 51 9 Rahab is crushed (הַמְחַצֵּת for הַמְחַצֵּת with 1QIs). See also Ps 68 24–25 [21–22].

In Ps 18 the enemies of the king are symbolized by the primordial "many waters."⁴⁸ The conflict is in universal terms in Ps 118; the king says:

All nations surround me;
in the name of Yahweh I cut them off.⁴⁹

The rule of the king is, ideally, also universal, over the entire world (Ps 2 2-6). The ends of the earth are his legitimate possession; it is prayed that he might have dominion from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth (Ps 72 8; cf. vss. 5-6).⁵⁰ Ps. 2 suggests that it is by virtue of his being the son of God that the king could lay claim to rule of the world.⁵¹ In the light of this, the universalizing of the opposition to him is understandable.

The cosmological aspects of kingship are also evident from the fact that the king, like the deity, sat on a cherub throne. The "lions" on Solomon's throne (I Kings 10 18-20) may have been winged, as Toombs, Mowinckel, and others have conjectured, and in reality cherubs. However this may be, Canaanite kings are represented on cherub thrones. The throne of the king is possibly called divine (כִּסֵּאֵי אֱלֹהִים) in Ps 45 7 [6].⁵² In Ps 110 the king sits at the right hand of the enthroned deity. The Chronicler describes the royal throne as "the throne of Yahweh" and "the throne of the kingship of Yahweh."⁵³

Two ways of indicating cosmic references may be found in personification or hypostatization and in mythopoeic identification. An obvious example of the first is the representation of wisdom as the first of God's creations in Prov 8 22-31, where, at the least, in the words of Fritsch, wisdom is on its way to being hypostatized.⁵⁴ In Wisd Sol, wisdom is a spirit and a fashioner of all things, in a context in which "the powers of spirits" are mentioned.⁵⁵ In Prov 8 22 ff.; Ecclus 1 4, 9; 24 3; Wisd Sol 9 9; 10 1, etc. wisdom is associated with cosmogony, as are the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit in Qumran ideology (cf. Wisd Sol 9 2-4).

The qualities of deity may be given a special cosmological reference by personifying them as self-existent entities, whether or not one wishes

⁴⁸ Vss. 17-18 [16-17]; cf. vs. 51 [50].

⁴⁹ Vs. 10. See A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, p. 103.

⁵⁰ The river here is perhaps not the Euphrates, but at Jerusalem as the center or navel of the earth (cf. Ps 46 5 [4]; Ezek 47 1-12); see A. R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 f.

⁵¹ J. Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁵² S. Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, p. 74; L. E. Toombs, art. "Throne" in *IDB*, 4, p. 637. See J. B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*, figs. 332, 458.

⁵³ I Chron 28 5; 29 23; cf. II Chron 9 8. See also G. von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 319.

⁵⁴ *IB*, 4, p. 774. See also H. Ringgren and W. Zimmerli, *Sprüche-Prediger, Das Alte Testament Deutsch* 16/1, p. 40.

⁵⁵ 1 6-7; 7 7, 20, 22; cf. Ecclus 1 4-10; 24 4-12. See H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, pp. 106 ff.

to characterize this as hypostatization. The following passage is something more than merely an example of poetic symbolism; it suggests something of the character of the new heaven and the new earth. In an obviously postexilic psalm we read:

Loyalty (חסד) and faithfulness (אמת, "truth") will meet;
 righteousness (צדק) and peace (שלום) will kiss each other.
 Faithfulness will spring up from the ground,
 and righteousness will look down from the sky.
 Yea, Yahweh will give what is good,
 and our land will yield its increase.
 Righteousness will go before him,
 and make his footsteps a way (Ps 85 11-14 [10-13]).

It has even been suggested that these virtues are thought of as angelic beings, and the Iranian Spentas are compared.⁵⁶ Jacob thinks that here Šedeq and Shalom, two Jerusalem deities, embrace one another, this referring to primitive gods become servants of Yahweh or to the hypostatization of attributes of one great god.⁵⁷ There is, at least, a cosmological reference given to these attributes. This is also evident in Pss 89 14 [15]; 97 2, where righteousness and justice are the foundation of Yahweh's throne, reminding some scholars of the cherub-supported throne of the deity.⁵⁸ In the first of these passages loyalty and faithfulness go before Yahweh.⁵⁹ When the poet says that faithfulness will spring up from the ground and righteousness look down from the sky, it is implied, as Muilenburg says in discussing Isa 32 15-17 where there are similar personifications (see also Isa 11 5), that there will be effected a radical change in both nature and history, in Isa 32 15 the result of the pouring out from on high of "the spirit."⁶⁰

The mythopoetic conception of time, space, and events, which thought of time and space qualitatively rather than quantitatively, and which might coalesce each repetitive event with the original event or make the symbol stand for that which it symbolized⁶¹ was more characteristic of the non-Hebrew cultures in the Near East than of the Hebrews for whom time was related to a world drama of meaningful history. Yet Israel did not hesitate to use myth to express cosmic and metaphysical realities. As we have seen, in psalms and prophetic poetry the symbolism of the cosmogonic myth is used to designate the wicked, the nations, or the enemy, as manifestations of the cosmic, insurgent elements which oppose

⁵⁶ W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Psalms*, p. 385; cf. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, pp. 150 ff.; A. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel*, pp. 38 f.

⁵⁷ E. Jacob, *Theology of the Old Testament*, p. 98.

⁵⁸ G. W. Ahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 78; cf. H. Ringgren, *Word and Wisdom*, p. 151.

⁵⁹ See also Ps 43 3.

⁶⁰ J. Muilenburg, *The Way of Israel*, p. 143.

⁶¹ H. Frankfort *et al.*, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*, pp. 10 ff.

deity, picturing the conflict with wickedness in every age and particularly the final eschatological battle in terms of the primordial conflict. If the common interpretation of the enthronement of Yahweh psalms is correct, the annual New Year's Day was in some sense identified with the day of creation and its primordial conflict. It has even been argued that Israel regarded the year's smallest division, the day, *sub specie aeternitatis*, considering it a victory of Yahweh over chaos.⁶² This is clearer for Israel's neighbors.⁶³ The day of the annual Passover celebration could be thought of as the day when Yahweh brought Israel from Egypt.⁶⁴ The Qumran community seems to have regarded each celebration of its sacred meal as mystically identified with the sacred meal of the new age when the Messiah(s) would be present.⁶⁵

In keeping with the "logic" of mythopoeic thought, Mt. Zion might be depicted in terms of the cosmic mountain in the recesses of the north (Ps 48 3 [2]), and in eschatological imagery also might be similarly regarded, pictured as established as the highest mountain, raised above the hills (Isa 2 2; Mic 4 1; cf. also Ezek 40 2). The huge bronze bowl enthroned on twelve oxen facing the four corners of the world was the cosmic sea, and the altar before the temple might be designated in terms of the cosmic mountain, its hearth called "the mountain of God" and its base "the bosom of the earth."⁶⁶ In Ps 11 4 Yahweh in his holy temple is Yahweh on his throne in the heavens.⁶⁷ The throne chariot of Yahweh in Ezek 1 is a miniature cosmos, with its firmament and with God enthroned above, as in the heavens. Such mythopoeic coalescence of the earthly and the heavenly or of the symbol and the reality provided a deepened cosmological meaning.

Israel's singers and prophets were able to make use of the mythopoeic within the framework of their overwhelming sense of history. As Muilenburg says, they used myth to give force and effect to history, and historical revelation was given a new profundity. In Isa 51 9 ff. the prophet coalesced as one the creation conflict, the Red Sea crossing, and the return from exile; yet the last is a new creation, a new thing, the culmination of the purposes of history which had had as its focal point the exodus from Egypt. In Isa 51 15-16 the commissioning of Israel and making her the agent of God's revelation are doubly linked with the

⁶² E. Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

⁶³ H. Frankfort *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

⁶⁴ T. H. Gaster, *The Festivals of the Jewish Year*, pp. 42 ff.; E. Jacob, *op. cit.*, pp. 266 f.

⁶⁵ 1QS^a. See F. Cross, *op. cit.*, pp. 234 ff.

⁶⁶ I Kings 7 23-26; Ezek 43 13-17. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, pp. 148 ff. Cf. the Sippar Stone, on which an earthly "introduction scene" in the temple is placed above the waters above the firmament; J. B. Pritchard, *op. cit.*, fig. 529.

⁶⁷ See also Isa 14 13, where the mountain of the gods in the far north and heaven are identified; G. W. Ahlström, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

creation of the world; the God who stilled (רָנַע, "stirred up"?) the sea when its waves roared⁶⁸ says:

I have put my words in your mouth,
and hid you in the shadow of my hand,
stretching out the heavens,
and laying the foundations of the earth,
and saying to Zion, "You are my people."

Yet, obviously, from the larger context, this is not an emphasis on the first creation, but on the new heaven and the new earth. The *Endzeit* is pictured as the *Urzeit*, not because there was nothing of importance intervening or because the timeless cosmic alone had meaning, but to give cosmological significance to the *Endzeit*, for in it the historical, which had begun with creation, culminated, and also because the *Endzeit* was not in reality the end, but a new beginning, a new creation.⁶⁹

Professor B. W. Anderson has concluded that Israel's historical faith demanded a radical break with the patterns of pagan mythology, such as that which could identify the annual conquest of Marduk with Marduk's primordial victory.⁷⁰ It is true that, in contrast with paganism, typology in Israel was more on a horizontal, historical plane, and it is also true, as Frankfort has affirmed, that mythopoeic thought processes are decisive for many sections of the OT.⁷¹ Israel, without diminishing in the least its sense of the historical, could appreciate the metaphysical, cosmic realities which can better be expressed in mythopoeic language than in philosophical terminology. There were eternal and timeless truths which could be thus expressed. The struggle of Israel in a pagan world or of the righteous against the wicked is put in cosmic perspective when seen as a manifestation of the primordial conflict of Yahweh and the insurgent forces which oppose him. Particularly in eschatological thought, as illustrated not only in Qumran ideology but also in OT conceptions, this resulted in a dualistic world view. The dualism was always within the framework of monotheism, and primarily ethico-cosmic, for the conduct of man is involved; it is coexistent with the world which it divides until it will cease at the time of the end, at the season of God's visitation.⁷²

⁶⁸ An allusion to the primordial abyss; see רָנַע with ים in the dragon Rahab context in Job 26 12 and Jer 31 35.

⁶⁹ See J. Muilenburg in *IB*, 5, pp. 596, 601, and "The Biblical View of Time," *HTR*, 54 (1961), p. 238.

⁷⁰ B. W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah," in *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, B. W. Anderson and W. Harrelson (edd.), pp. 177 ff.

⁷¹ H. Frankfort, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 369 ff.

⁷² H. W. Huppenbauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.