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CHAPTER IV

“THERE IS A SPIRIT FOR HIM...”: HUMAN OR ZODIACAL SPIRITS IN *4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY* (4Q186)

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I concluded that the goal of physiognomic inquiry according to the list in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is to discern a person's ascendant zodiacal sign and its division between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” However, an important element has not been considered yet. The text explicitly connects the numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” with the word רוּחַ (in the construction לוֹ רוּחַ), for example:

There is a spirit for him in the house of light (of) six (parts), and three (parts) in the house of darkness.¹

It may be, as was argued in Chapter Three, that this sentence refers to the ascendant sign that is divided between the area above and below the horizon, but the text speaks of רוּחַ (“spirit”). What is the meaning of the word and the phrase in this text and its context? Is it possible to understand its sense within the framework of the modified ascendant interpretation?

Scholars are divided over the reading and meaning of this word. Contrary to the general understanding, Robert Gordis proposed to read לוֹ רוּחַ (“it has a space...”). Roland Bergmeier and Matthias Albani accepted this reading and understand the zodiacal sign as the object of reference.² However, the suffix is used throughout *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, as far as the extant text is concerned, for referring to the described individual.³ Furthermore, the entry in 4Q186 1 ii does not show evidence of a change of subject between the physiognomic part and the one dealing with לוֹ רוּחַ. What does this mean for this interpretation of לוֹ רוּחַ?

¹ 4Q186 1 ii 7-8. Cf. also 1 iii 8-9.

² 4Q186 1 ii 7-8: “It (i.e. the zodiacal sign) has a space in the house of light of six [parts], and three in the house of darkness.” Bergmeier and Albani preferred this reading because it allows for an astrological interpretation of the division of light and darkness in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* without necessarily invoking the theological anthropological background of the *Two Spirits Treatise*.

³ See Chapter One n. 84 and Appendix I n. 35. This seems also to be the case in *4QPhysiognomy ar*, see Chapter One n. 192.

Most scholars, however, read רוח as רוּחַ (“spirit”) and assume that רוח לו (“his spirit”) refers to the human spirit, i.e. the spirit of the described person. This interpretation understands *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as a text that visualizes the human spirit as divided between light and darkness, for example: “His spirit has six (parts) in the house of light and three in the house of darkness” (4Q186 1 ii 7-8). This division of the human spirit between light and darkness is taken as a dualistic feature of the text and it has, therefore, been related to the so-called *Two Spirits Treatise* in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3:13-4:26). In order to understand this connection, it is necessary to take a closer look at the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Does it attest a division of the human spirit between light and darkness, and, if so, in what way? The text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* must first of all be understood in its own right before it is related to other Qumran texts. Therefore, how does the understanding of רוח as the human spirit relate to other elements in the text, such as the physiognomic descriptions and the astrological information concerning the zodiacal sign? Moreover, can this traditional interpretation account for the realization of the numbers divided between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness?” What explanation is given for the terminology used, is it adequate, and if not, what other sense can רוח have in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*?

In addition to a discussion of these previous interpretations, in this chapter I propose a new interpretation of the words רוח לו (“there is a spirit for him”); one that makes sense within the astrological framework of the modified ascendant interpretation.⁴ If the allocation of numbers between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” is astrologically the result of the ascendant zodiacal sign that is divided between the areas above and below the horizon, what then is the meaning of רוח (“spirit”)? Below I shall argue that רוח is used to refer to spirits that are related to the zodiacal signs; each of the twelve signs has a spirit.⁵ These zodiacal spirits have a close relationship with human beings from the moment of their birth. The text, therefore, introduces them with רוח לו (“there is a spirit for him”). This in-

⁴ On the basis of the modified ascendant interpretation proposed in Chapter Three, an astrological explanation for the words רוח לו that retains the sense of “spirit” is possible without necessarily being dualistic.

⁵ This notion not only has ancient roots, it also appears in much later times. The Venetian scholar Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650-1718) included in his cosmographic conception “relations between planets, zodiacal spirits, and the metals,” thus D. Cosgrove, “Global Illumination and Enlightenment in the Geographies of Vincenzo Coronelli and Athanasius Kirchner,” in *Geography and Enlightenment* (eds. D.N. Livingstone and C.W.J. Withers; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 33-66, at 39. This notion of relations between different cosmic elements is also a suggestive analogy for the relations made between the human body, zodiacal spirits, ascendant zodiacal signs, and stones in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. See also D. Cosgrove, *Apollo's Eye: A Cartographic Genealogy of the Earth in the Western Imagination* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2001), 171.

terpretation has the advantage of explaining the different elements in the entries of the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* in a comprehensive manner.

SPACE OR SPIRIT IN THE “HOUSE OF LIGHT” AND THE “HOUSE OF DARKNESS”

If one assumes that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* provides information regarding the division of people’s ascendant zodiacal sign between the area above the horizon (“house of light”) and the area below the horizon (“house of darkness”), the question is what can רוח mean in such a context.

Albani understands רוח (“space”) as a reference to the space occupied by the different parts of the zodiacal sign in the areas above and below the horizon.⁶ The suffix in לו (“for him”) then refers to the sign itself. In other words, it is the zodiacal sign that is the subject of רוח לו: the sign has thus many parts of space in “the house of light” and thus many parts in “the house of darkness.” This seems plausible in the context of Albani’s ascendant interpretation, but in the sequence of the text it is unlikely. It is improbable that the suffix in לו refers to the zodiacal sign itself.

This understanding presupposes a change of subject in the entries that is unwarranted on the basis of the text. In the physiognomic descriptions, the suffixes evidently refer to the types of people whose bodies are described. In 4Q186 1 ii 6 the physiognomic section is followed by the phrase “and he is from the second column” (והואה מן העמוד השני). In this case the word והואה (“and he”) continues the object of reference of the physiognomic description, viz. the type of person. A new subject has not been introduced in the text. Furthermore, subsequently to the division of light and darkness, the text continues with the described individual as the subject when it mentions his birth in 4Q186 1 ii 8: הואה ילוד (“he was born”).⁷

As in the case of והואה (“and he”) in 4Q186 1 ii 6 and הואה ילוד (“he was born”) in 4Q186 1 ii 8, the subject of רוח לו in 4Q186 1 ii 7 is the individual type of human being with which this entry of the catalogue is concerned, not the zodiacal sign. A change of subject for רוח לו in between is not indicated by the text in any way and is, therefore, doubtful. This is supported by the other two occurrences of the phrase רוח לו in 4Q186 1 iii 8 and 4Q186 2 i 6. These follow immediately after the physiognomic descriptions. Again, to understand the suffix here as having the same object of reference as in the descriptions of the human body seems most likely.

⁶ Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 285, 308-9.

⁷ A change of subject occurs in between in 4Q186 1 ii 8 – וזה הואה (“And this is”) –, but its object of reference is immediately explained by the word מולד (“horoscope”). As this is not the case with רוח לו (“There is a spirit for him”), there is no reason to assume a change of subject here.

If the suffix in לו (“for him”) refers to the types of people described in the entries of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, it raises the question what the reading רִחַ (“space, room, interval”) contributes to the understanding of the text. Gordis merely comments that if the terms “house of light” and “house of darkness” refer to day and night, which were represented in some form as the shrine or dwelling of the described people, then the vocalization רִחַ (“space, interval”) seems plausible.⁸ But he does not explain what he means by the representation in the form of a shrine or dwelling. Nor does he make clear what the sense of רִחַ (“space”) is here. It is not evident what improvement this interpretation and reading offer for the understanding of the text. The most plausible reading, therefore, remains רִיחַ (“spirit”).

THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN *4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY* (4Q186) AND THE *TWO SPIRITS TREATISE* (1QS 3:13-4:26)

Allegro regarded *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as an astrological text dealing with the influence of the stars on the human body and spirit, the latter in terms of a division between light and darkness. Because he thought it dealt with the human spirit, Allegro suggested that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* must be read along with the *Two Spirits Treatise* in the sectarian *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3:13-4:26).⁹

Many scholars have accepted this understanding of the text. They assume that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* determines the division of parts of light and darkness within the spirit of each human being. This partition in a person’s spirit is expressed mathematically. The idea that people are torn between two principles is clarified by referring to the *Two Spirits Treatise*. *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is seen as an element of the dualistic worldview of the Qumran Community. The proponents of this interpretation, however, do not explain how the specific numbers in the text might have been established. It is simply assumed that in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* the human spirit is divided according to an apparent set of nine parts between light and darkness.¹⁰

⁸ Gordis, “Document in Code,” 38.

⁹ Allegro, “Astrological Cryptic Document,” 291.

¹⁰ See Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques,” 243-46; Delcor, “Recherches sur un horoscope,” 303, 310-11, 319; J.H. Charlesworth, “A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13-4:26 and the ‘Dualism’ Contained in the Gospel of John,” in *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Crossroads, 1991), 76-106, at 86 (see also 80 n. 14, 83 n. 29) (originally published in *NTS* 15 [1968-69]: 389-418); P. von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 185-89; G. Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille: Nach den jüdischen Religionsparteien zwischen Ben Sira und Paulus* (WUNT 12; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1971), 252-53; M. Hengel,

Other scholars, however, have denied a close relationship between the two texts for different reasons. One reason is that the *Two Spirits Treatise* is understood in terms of an absolute dualism according to which light and darkness, symbolizing righteousness and wickedness, are irreconcilable principles in conflict with each other. People are divided between the two, i.e. individual persons belong to either one. A mixture of both elements within an individual would not be possible. This latter feature, however, is a characteristic of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, which allows a coexistence of light and darkness within individual types of people, being an example of relative dualism.¹¹

Another reason put forward against a close connection between the two texts, one based on a diachronic reading of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, is that the light and darkness dualism of 1QS 3:13-4:14 is not the same as the opposition in 1QS 4:15-26 between the spirits of truth and iniquity. The spirits of truth and iniquity feud in man's heart, as a result of which each individual has a greater or lesser share in either one. But this latter concept is different from the notion that light and darkness mix in various proportions in people's spirits, allegedly demonstrated by *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. The *Two Spirits Treatise* allows for a mixture of two elements in a human being, but only regarding the spirits of truth and iniquity, not with regard to light and darkness.¹²

Before turning to the issue of the division of the human spirit in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, it is necessary to deal briefly with the *Two Spir-*

"Qumrān und der Hellenismus," in *Qumrān: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46; Paris-Gembloux: Duculot and Leuven: University Press, 1978), 333-72, at 367, 371; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 147; H. Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von 1QS III, 13-IV, 26," *RevQ* 13/49-52 (1988): 95-131, at 117-18, 126-27; A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (SBLDS 110; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1989), 123; M.J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 160; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 159-60; Alexander, "Physiognomy," 387, 390; Alexander, "Wrestling Against Wickedness," 331-33; J. Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues*, 275-335, at 293-94; J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997), 47; R.V. Kvalvaag, "The Spirit in Human-Beings in Some Qumran Non-Biblical Texts," in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments* (eds. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 159-80, at 169-71; Dimant, "Dualism at Qumran," 62-64; M. Broshi, "Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Bread, Wine, Walls, and Scrolls* (M. Broshi; JSPSup 36; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 238-51, at 240-41; F. García Martínez, "Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period* (eds. J.N. Bremmer and J.R. Veenstra; GSCC 1, Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 13-33, at 30-32; VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 234.

¹¹ Licht, "Legs as Signs"; Gordis, "Document in Code from Qumran," 37; Schmidt, "Astrologie juive ancienne," 139.

¹² Bergmeier, *Glaube als Gabe*, 80-81; Albani, "Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls," 313-14.

its *Treatise*, how this text has been interpreted, and how *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* has been related to it.

The Two Spirits Treatise in the Rule of the Community

The *Two Spirits Treatise* has long been recognized as a separate composition that was incorporated into the sectarian *Rule of the Community* (*Serekh ha-Yahad*) at a certain stage of its development.¹³ It is only completely preserved in the *Serekh* copy from Cave 1 (1QS 3:13-4:26), dated to 100-75 BCE. Other *Serekh* manuscripts show that textual developments occurred during the transmission of the *Two Spirits Treatise* within the *Serekh*, but they do not provide enough evidence to assess this growth in detail.¹⁴

¹³ The different manuscripts of the *Serekh ha-Yahad* from Caves 1, 4, and 5 are evidence of its composite character and attest to its growth and redaction. For a possible fragment from Cave 11, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "A Newly Identified 11Q*Serekh ha-Yahad* Fragment (11Q29)?" in *Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress*, 285-92.

Various proposals have been put forward for the literary development of the *Serekh*, but there is no agreement on the details of the reasons for and chronology of these developments. See e.g. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la *Règle de la Communauté*," *RB* 76 (1969): 528-49; J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: Son évolution littéraire* (CahRB 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976); Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 96-100; R.A.J. Gagnon, "How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain its Final Shape? A Review of Scholarly Research," *JSP* 10 (1992): 61-72; P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17/65-68 (1996): 437-56; G. Vermes, "The Leadership of the Qumran Community: Sons of Zadok-Priests-Congregation," in *Festschrift für Martin Hengel*, 375-84, at 379-81; P. Garnet, "Cave 4 ms Parallels to 1QS 5.1-7: Towards a *Serek* Text History," *JSP* 15 (1997): 67-78; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 9-12; M. Blockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*," *RevQ* 18/72 (1998): 541-60.

For scribal marks and layout as evidence for the *Two Spirits Treatise* as a separate composition, see Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 165-68; Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 179-84, 206-8.

¹⁴ Two *Serekh* manuscripts, 4Q255 (4Qpap^a) and 4Q257 (4Qpap^c), preserve fragmentary remnants of the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Tigchelaar, "Names of the Spirits," 538-47, enlarged the text of 4Qpap^c through the reattribution of several fragments. He also identified another manuscript as a possible copy of the *Two Spirits Treatise* (1Q29a). The manuscripts 4Qpap^c and 1Q29a primarily contain text that overlaps with the part on the Two Ways in the *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS 4:2-14). The differences between these manuscripts show that the exact wording of this list changed over time. In the case of the very fragmentary text 4Qpap^a A, there is a possible witness to an alternative version of the first part of the *Two Spirits Treatise*. There is no exact correspondence, but many words and phrases are highly suggestive. Reference is made to the "ways of man" (1.2: דרכי איש), Someone is said "to instruct" (1.3: ליהשכיל), and "the spirits of the sons of man" (1.4: רוחות בני איש) are mentioned. Finally, the words "light" and "darkness" occur (1.5: אור, חושך) in this context. Cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.31, 36-37; Metso, *Textual Development*, 18-21, 68, 90-91, 106, 113-14.

The *Two Spirits Treatise* is not extant in the remaining fragments of 4Q256 (4QS^b), although text corresponding to 1QS columns 1-2 and 5 has survived. It is not clear whether it was missing in the actual text of 4Q256 (4QS^b), thus Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 126, or that this is simply due to chance of survival, see Metso, *Textual Development*, 25; Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.42. With regard to 4Q262 (4QS^h) Metso, *Textual Development*, 91-

While the final form of the *Two Spirits Treatise* in 1QS has structural unity and coherency of content,¹⁵ explanations from a literary-critical perspective have been put forward for its redaction history. Peter von der Osten-Sacken took his lead from the heading in 1QS 3:13-15 and argued on terminological, syntactical, and thematic grounds that 1QS 4:15-23a is a secondary addition to 1QS 3:13-4:14, while the final part of 1QS 4:23b-26 represents a third phase.¹⁶ Eibert Tigchelaar distinguished basically two hypothetical groups in the text of the *Two Spirits Treatise*: (1) 1QS 3:18-4:14, and (2) 1QS 3:13-18 and 4:15-26. A first redactional layer is represented by 1QS 3:18-4:1, to which the list of virtues and vices in 1QS 4:2-14 was added at some stage. In a second phase this first layer was reworked in a new framework, adding 1QS 4:15-23 together with the introduction (1QS 3:13-18) and résumé (1QS 4:23-26).¹⁷

A salient consequence of these literary-critical explanations for the redaction history of the *Two Spirits Treatise* is that the light and darkness terminology, which is deemed to be an outstanding feature of the text, is lacking completely in what are assumed to be later additions to the text, except for the heading “to teach all the sons of light” in 1QS 3:13 according to Tigchelaar’s scheme.

Many scholars consider that the *Two Spirits Treatise* was a core theological document of the Qumran community, expressing the group’s dualistic and deterministic views. Parallels can be found in other Qumran texts and it is believed to have influenced various other writings of the sect.¹⁸ Others, however, doubt the central importance of the *Two Spirits Treatise* for the Qumran community.¹⁹ The *Two Spirits Treatise* was most likely inserted as a later addition to the *Serekh*, but some scholars recognize it to be a pre-sectarian composition antedating the establishment of the Qumran

92, suggests that it is possibly part of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, but according to Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.190, 194, the text is unparalleled and probably belongs to another scroll.

¹⁵ See J. Licht, “An Analysis of the Treatise on the Two Spirits in DSD,” in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; SerHier 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 88-100; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 130-32, 140-43, 165-68; J. Duhaime, “Les voies des deux esprits (1QS iv 2-14): Une analyse structurelle,” *RevQ* 19/75 (2000): 349-67; J. Duhaime, “Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l’Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (1QS III 13 – IV 26),” in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 103-31 (Duhaime argues both for coherency of the final text and a preceding redactional history).

¹⁶ Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 17-27, 116-89. Cf., however, Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 131.

¹⁷ Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 201-3.

¹⁸ Parallels to the *Two Spirit Treatise* can be found in 4Q525 (*4QBeatitudes*) 11-12 1-4 and CD 2:2-13 (*Damascus Document*), see É. Puech (ed.), *Qumrân Grotte 4.XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 141-42; Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.3. For the relationship between the *Two Spirits Treatise*, the *Instruction* text, and the *Hodayot* text 1QH^a 5, see Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 194-207.

¹⁹ Cf. Stegemann, “Zu Textbestand,” 125-30.

community, which is set around 150 BCE.²⁰ Whether the text is seen as representing earlier or later developments of dualistic thought, one should allow for the possibility that the origin of some of its views lies in Persian influence on Second Temple period Judaism.²¹

As a religio-historical phenomenon, dualism can be defined as a concept according to which two fundamentally opposed, causal principles underlie the existence of the world and its constitutive elements. This concept of dualism can be further refined according to a typology of forms in which it is expressed.²² It is acknowledged that in the *Two Spirits Treatise* dualistic notions are expressed on different levels, such as cosmic, ethical, and psychological.²³ Furthermore, dualism as an idea of two opposing principles that constitute all existence does not appear in such a radical form in the *Two Spirits Treatise* because the two spirits and their ways are presented as subordinate to God who is the one determining everything.²⁴

²⁰ Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 128; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 127-30; Frey, "Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 295-300.

²¹ See e.g. K.G. Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion," *ZThK* 49 (1952): 296-316; A. Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le 'Manuel de Discipline,'" *RHR* 142 (1952): 5-35; A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Problème des influences étrangères sur la secte juive de Qoumrân," *RHPR* 35 (1955): 75-94; H. Michaud, "Un mythe zervanite dans un des manuscrits de Qumrân," *VT* 5 (1955): 137-47; E. Kamlah, *Die Form der katalogischen Paränese im Neuen Testament* (WUNT 7; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964), 49-71, 163-68; S. Shaked, "Qumran and Iran: Further Considerations," *IOS* 2 (1972): 433-46; M. Philonenko, "La doctrine qoumrânienne des deux Esprits: Ses origines iraniennes et ses prolongements dans le judaïsme essénien et le christianisme antique," in *Apocalyptique iranienne et dualisme qoumrânien* (eds. G. Widengren, A. Hultgård and M. Philonenko; RI 2; Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1995), 163-211; F. García Martínez, "Iranian Influences in Qumran?," in *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage: The Middle East and Celtic Realms* (ed. M. McNamara; Dublin: Four Courts, 2003), 37-49. Cf. also e.g. O.J.F. Seitz, "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis," *NTS* 6 (1959): 82-95, who argues for an Old Testament background concerning the notion of two opposing spirits; P. Wernberg-Møller, "A Reconsideration of the Two Spirits in the Rule of the Community (1QSerek III,13-IV,26)," *RevQ* 3/11 (1961): 413-41, who understands the *Two Spirits Treatise* as a purely Jewish document, although he earlier admitted Persian influence, see P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1957), 70.

²² See Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 76 n. 1; U. Bianchi and Y. Stoyanov, "Dualism," *ER* 4 (2005), 2504-17.

²³ Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 77-89; Frey, "Patterns of Dualistic Thought," 289-95.

²⁴ See Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 43-44; García Martínez, "Iranian Influences," 44.

The Two Spirits: Angels, Demons, and Dispositions

The *Two Spirits Treatise* can be divided into five sections.²⁵ First, it begins with a grammatically well-structured heading that states the subject matter of the composition.²⁶ It entrusts the *Maskil*:²⁷

to instruct and to teach all the sons of light about the nature of all the sons of man, concerning all the types of their spirits with their signs, concerning their deeds in their generations, and concerning the visitation of their punishments as well as the times of their reward.²⁸

If “nature” is the correct sense here for the Hebrew word תולדות,²⁹ then this heading makes clear that the text is not in the first place about the history or origin of mankind, but, in a more specific sense, about mankind’s na-

²⁵ I follow the structural division presented by Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 141-43. Cf. Licht, “Analysis of the Treatise”; Duhaime, “Cohérence structurelle.”

²⁶ Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 18-21, argues that the introduction only covers 1QS 3:17b-4:14, while Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 141-43, 148-50, assumes that it covers the entire composition.

²⁷ For the leadership figure of the *Maskil*, see e.g. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 144-48; C. Hempel, “The Qumran Sapiential Texts and the Rule Books,” in *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (eds. C. Hempel, A. Lange and H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters/Leuven University Press, 2002), 277-95, at 286-94; C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 165-74.

²⁸ 1QS 3:13-15.

²⁹ Most scholars translate תולדות with “genealogies,” “generations,” “origins,” or “history,” in accordance with its use in the Hebrew Bible. See e.g. W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10-12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 12-13; Dupont-Sommer, “L’instruction sur les deux Esprits,” 7, 12-13; Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 25, 66-67; H.G. May, “Cosmological Reference in the Qumran Doctrine of the Two Spirits and in Old Testament Imagery,” *JBL* 82 (1963): 1-14, at 2; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 148-49; J.R. Levison, “The Angelic Spirit in Early Judaism,” in *Society of Biblical Literature 1995 Seminar Papers* (ed. E.H. Lovering, Jr.; *SBLSP* 34; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1995), 464-93, at 483. However, Scholem, “Physiognomy,” 477-79; Scholem, “Fragment,” 180-81, argues that תולדות is used, analogous to Greek φύσις and Latin *natura*, as a *terminus technicus* in early medieval Jewish physiognomic texts when they quote Gen 5:1 (ה ספר תולדת אדם), “This is the book of the generations of man”). He suggests that this sense is also implied in the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Schäfer, “Metoposkopie und Chiromantik,” 91 n. 31, remarks that it is somewhat speculative to suggest that תולדות represents a conscious effort to translate Greek terminology. That may be, but the suggested sense remains possible.

4Q418 77 2 (*4QInstruction*^d) is too fragmentary to decide whether תולדות is a reference to the predestined history of mankind, thus Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 149 n. 115, or to the nature/characteristics of mankind, which cannot be ruled out, see Strugnell, Harrington and Elgvin, DJD 34.297-98. The occurrence of תולדות in 4Q230 9 1 is suggestive but too fragmentary to be conclusive, see Tigchelaar, “Names of the Spirits,” 535. For תולדות as “nature,” see Wernberg-Møller, “Reconsideration of the Two Spirits,” 419; Shaked, “Qumran and Iran,” 434 n. 4; Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 362; Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 390-91; J. Duhaime, “Dualism,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 215-20, at 216; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 196; Wold, *Women, Men and Angels*, 105-6; J. Vázquez Allegue, *La “Regla de la comunidad” de Qumrán* (BEBM 8; Salamanca: Sigueme, 2006), 79.

ture, concerning people's types of spirits, their deeds, and their punishments and rewards. Following the heading there is an introductory key passage expressing the deterministic worldview of the *Two Spirits Treatise*:

From the God of knowledge comes all there is and there shall be. Before they existed he determined all their plans and when they come into existence at their ordained time they will fulfill all their work in accordance with his glorious plan and without alteration. In his hand are the laws of all things and he supports them in all their affairs. He created man to rule the world and placed before him two spirits to walk with them until the moment of his visitation.³⁰

The God of knowledge is presented as the ontological basis of everything and everyone. The dualism in the text is moderate in form because the two spirits come from God and are not on the same ontological level.

The second section (1QS 3:18-4:1) first characterizes the two spirits ethically by calling them the spirits of truth and deceit. The dualistic opposition between the spirits is emphasized by light and darkness imagery:

From the spring of light comes the nature of truth, and from the source of darkness comes the nature of deceit.³¹

Next, a cosmic perspective strengthens the dualism of the categories of truth and deceit. People are divided into two groups under two angelic leaders:

And in the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of justice who walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit who walk on paths of darkness.³²

Further, when the text explains why the sons of justice sin, it says that all the spirits from the lot of the Angel of Darkness cause the sons of light to fall (1QS 3:24). The division of mankind into two different groups is extended to the angelic world with groups of spirits belonging to light and darkness. The ethical and cosmic dualistic categories are interlocked with each other, which is reinforced by the ending of the second section:

He created the spirits of light and darkness, and established on them every deed, [o]n their [path]s every labor.³³ God has loved one of them for all

³⁰ 1QS 3:15-18. For לִפְנֵי יְהוָה ("he placed before him"), see Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 83-84.

³¹ 1QS 3:19.

³² 1QS 3:20-21.

³³ With Brownlee, *Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 15 n. 41, I assume a dittography here. Cf., however, Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 101-3, for another suggestion that is based on his understanding that the theme of divine judgment is central to the entire treatise. But in the following sentence the deeds and paths of the two spirits are referred to again, suggesting that no other element figures prominently in the ending of the second section.

eternal [a]ges and with all his deeds he is pleased forever; the other he has abhorred very much³⁴ and all his paths he has hated forever.³⁵

The spirits of light and darkness created by God are identical with the spirits of truth and deceit placed before man, demonstrating the relative form of dualism in the *Two Spirits Treatise*.

The third section (1QS 4:2-14) is a list consisting of two parts in which the text enumerates the paths of the two spirits in the world with their characteristics: on the one hand, humility, compassion, goodness, and understanding; on the other hand, greed, wickedness, falsehood, and cruelty. If people follow the first path there will be everlasting rewards, but if they walk in the other there will be eternal punishments. This section translates the heavenly opposition of the second section into an earthly parallel because it lists the ethical realization in human conduct of the dualism between the two spirits as well as its eschatological consequences for mankind.³⁶

In the fourth section (1QS 4:15-23) the eschatological perspective dominates. Humanity is divided into armies and, according to the path they walk and the deeds they do, individual people fall into either one of the divisions belonging to the two spirits. However, people's paths and deeds and consequently their belonging to one of the divisions are dependent on whether people's allotment is great or small. God established in equal measure the two spirits and their divisions until the final age and between them he put eternal enmity and violent conflict (1QS 4:15-18), but God also determined an appointed time for judgment when he will cleanse and purify the upright people whom he has chosen for an everlasting covenant and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam (1QS 4:18-23).

The fifth section (1QS 4:23-26) is a résumé that reiterates some notions from the previous sections, clarifying, or modifying, meanings that were implicit before:

Until now the spirits of truth and injustice strive in the heart of man.³⁷

The text has made clear before that humanity is divided into two groups according to the two spirits, but it did not present the inner person as the battleground of the two spirits.³⁸ This adds a psychological dimension to the notion of dualism in the *Two Spirits Treatise*. The result of this fight within people's hearts is that they either walk in wisdom or in folly. The implication seems to be that both spirits exist within human beings, but

³⁴ Cf. Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 104.

³⁵ 1QS 3:25-4:1.

³⁶ Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 157-58.

³⁷ 1QS 4:23.

³⁸ In 1QS 3:18 they are placed before man.

that people act according to either one depending on the outcome of their fight. The idea of allotment is taken up again to explain that some people will be righteous and hate injustice in accordance with their allotment in truth, while others will be wicked and hate the truth in accordance with their share in the lot of injustice. It is repeated that God has established the two spirits in equal measure, but now the text explicitly states the reason for the existence of the two spirits:

He has given them as an allotment to the sons of man so that they know good [and evil, for Go]d casts the lot of all living beings according to his spirit in him [until the time of] the visitation.³⁹

This statement seems to make clear that God determines people's belonging to either spirit according to their own spirit.

An important issue over which scholars are in disagreement is whether the two spirits should be interpreted primarily as cosmic, angelic spirits that influence people externally or as psychological dispositions within people.⁴⁰ It is not, however, necessary to interpret the two spirits in the entire text as references to either angelic beings or psychological dispositions. The *Two Spirits Treatise* conveys notions of dualism on different levels, including angelic, psychological, and ethical modes. In the text as we have it the psychological realm of the inner person is interconnected with the cosmic realm of supernatural angels and demons, being expressed in and recognizable by human conduct in terms of ethical dualism.⁴¹

Whether or not one assumes a literary growth in different phases of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, certain tensions remain in the final text. For example, on the one hand, the two spirits are placed before human beings who are rigorously assigned to the division of one of the two spirits, but, on the other hand, the spirits are presented as battling within people's hearts, suggesting that people partake of both spirits. Even before the publication of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, some scholars assumed that the *Two Spirits Treatise* demonstrates a notion according to which both of the two spirits exist within human beings in different proportions. The share of the two spirits in the world, i.e. presumably the numerical strength of their divisions, is equal (1QS 4:16.25), but each individual has a greater or smaller share in either one of the two spirits that are fighting within his heart (1QS 4:16.23).⁴² A passage from Philo's commentary on Exodus was first ad-

³⁹ 1QS 4:26. Cf. Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 105-10.

⁴⁰ Cf. Wernberg-Møller, "Reconsideration of the Two Spirits"; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 123-42; Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 193-219; Levison, "Angelic Spirit," 480-86.

⁴¹ Cf. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40-41.

⁴² Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits," 28-29; J. Daniélou, "Un source de la spiritualité chrétienne dans les manuscrits de la Mer Morte: la doctrine des deux es-

duced as a parallel for the idea that a mixture of two elements inhabits every human being.⁴³ And when *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* was published it was understood to confirm this understanding of the *Two Spirits Treatise*.

The Two Spirits and Light and Darkness in Human Beings

The fierce opposition between the divisions of the two spirits of light and darkness as well as the notion that human beings belong to either one or the other seems to conflict with the idea that both spirits fight their battle within people's hearts. However, the *Two Spirits Treatise* also mentions that the belonging of human beings to either group is dependant on their allotment being great or small (1QS 4:16), and that the sons of light can sin because their wrong conduct falls under the dominion of the Angel of Darkness and the spirits of his lot cause them to fall, which is in compliance with the mysteries of God (1QS 3:21-24).

Scholars have interpreted this to mean that people partake of both spirits, but that their shares differ and that the balance is tipped in favor of either one of the two spirits. This would result in the end in the allotment of people to either the division of the spirit of light or that of the spirit of darkness.⁴⁴ In this context *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is invoked to demonstrate how the Qumran community understood this to have worked.

Hartmut Stegemann, for example, takes the statement that God established the two spirits in equal measure (1QS 4:16.25) to mean that there is quantitatively an equal amount of good and evil in the world. This balance, however, applies to the world, not to individual people. In the case of individuals, Stegemann assumes that it must be possible to determine everyone as either predominantly good or predominantly evil. The statement that each person has a greater or smaller share in either one of the two spirits suggests the solution to this matter. This implies that no one can be com-

prits," *DV* 25 (1953): 127-36, at 128; Michaud, "Un mythe zervanite," 146. For other explanations, Wernberg-Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 84; Licht, "Analysis of the Treatise," 91 n. 13.

⁴³ Philo, *Questions and Answers on Exodus* 1.23. See Dupont-Sommer, "Le Problème des influences étrangères," 85-86; J. Daniélou, *Philon d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1958), 53-57; A. Wlosok, *Laktanz und die philosophische Gnosis: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Terminologie der gnostischen Erlösungsvorstellung* (AHAWPHK 2; Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960), 107-11; Kamlah, *Form der katalogischen Paränese*, 39-56; Philonenko, "La doctrine qoumrânienne des deux Esprits," 186-88; Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 418-19.

⁴⁴ See Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 83; Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial*, 24-25, 172-74; Maier, *Mensch und freier Wille*, 252-53; Hengel, "Qumrân und der Hellenismus," 371; Lichtenberger, *Studien zum Menschenbild*, 147-48; Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 117-20, 128-29; Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 362-64; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 159-60; A. Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995): 340-54, at 347-48; Alexander, "Physiognomy," 388; Kvalvaag, "Spirit in Human-Beings," 168-71.

pletely righteous or completely wicked. There is always a mixture of both spirits within individual people, but in such a way that they belong predominantly to either one or the other.⁴⁵

This mixture of both spirits in human beings is best illustrated, according to Stegemann and others, by *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. According to the traditional scholarly understanding of this text the human spirit is divided between light and darkness on the basis of a nine-point scale:

Bei diesem System gewährleistet die *ungerade* Zahl 9, daß eine Parität nie zustandekommen kann, sondern immer eine der beiden Seiten das Übergewicht hat und somit stets die Zuordnung des einzelnen Menschen zu derjenigen Grundkategorie, die bei ihm überwiegt, möglich ist. In *IQS* III, 13-IV, 26 werden keine derartige Zahlen genannt; doch lösen sich alle entsprechenden Vorstellungsprobleme zufriedenstellend, wenn man auch hier ein rechnerisches Grundmodell entsprechend dem von *4Q186* voraussetzt mit irgendeiner ungeraden Zahl als 'Schlüssel'; diese sollte nicht zu niedrig angenommen werden, damit sich hinreichend viele verschiedene 'Menschenklasse' oder 'Menschentypen' ergeben, wie sie offenbar mit III, 13f in den Blick genommen worden sind. Ungerade Zahlen in der Größenordnung von mindestens 9 dürften aber für derartige Klassifizierungszwecke völlig hinreichen.⁴⁶

The purpose of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is understood to be the determination of the division of parts of light and darkness within the spirit of each human being. This partition would have been expressed arithmetically on a nine-point scale, which makes an equal division of light and darkness impossible. The uneven number nine is taken to imply the allocation of people to either predominantly the "house of light," and by extension the division of the spirit of light, or predominantly the "house of darkness," and the spirit of darkness, but this is not made explicit by the extant text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

The argument that the relative form of dualism attested in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* militates against a close connection with the *Two Spirits Treatise* is questionable.⁴⁷ First of all because the *Two Spirits Treatise* demonstrates various levels of dualism in a moderate form as God created the two spirits. Second, because it also allows for a mixture of the two spirits within individual people. The *Two Spirits Treatise* expresses the idea that every person partakes of the two spirits, belonging to the realms of light and darkness, in varying proportions.

The argument against connecting the two texts that is based on a diachronic reading is not strong either.⁴⁸ Later additions may lack light and

⁴⁵ Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 117.

⁴⁶ Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand," 118. Cf. the references in n. 10 above.

⁴⁷ Cf. n. 11 above.

⁴⁸ See n. 12 above.

darkness terminology, but they were probably understood on the same level. It is evident that in the second section (1QS 3:18-4:1) the different dualistic categories of truth and deceit, justice and injustice, light and darkness are related to each other.⁴⁹ The fourth section (1QS 4:15-23), and by extension the fifth (1QS 4:23-26) too, continues the text and can, therefore, be assumed to know that these different categories are interrelated. This means that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, a manuscript dated to the turn of the era, could very well have been read in comparison with the entire *Two Spirits Treatise* in 1QS, a manuscript dated to ca. 100-75 BCE.

These two issues, therefore, cannot decide the possible connection between *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* and the *Two Spirits Treatise*. A more important, and decisive, matter, however, is whether the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is really concerned with the human spirit being divided between light and darkness.

THE HUMAN SPIRIT IN *4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY* (4Q186)

From the outset scholars have interpreted *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* within the context of the *Two Spirits Treatise*. This seems sensible given the light and darkness imagery in both texts as well as the prominence of the word רוח ("spirit"). It is, however, questionable whether this presumed context has done justice to the meaning of the different elements in the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, if the text is taken on its own merits first.

In the previous chapters I have been concerned with the interpretation of the physiognomic structure and sense of the text and the astrological framework that it presupposes. To understand these elements, other physiognomic and astrological literature has been adduced, but the interpretation of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* was not placed beforehand in a Qumran context. The understanding of other writings from the Qumran community did not, and should not, predetermine the horizon of interpretation for *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. The text should first be taken on its own merits. In a subsequent stage of interpretation it should be brought into context with other Qumran writings in order to inquire if and how it possibly relates to them, but a "mismatch" does not necessarily alter the understanding of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. One should allow for the possibility that, although the non-biblical Qumran writings show a large degree of coherence as a collection,⁵⁰ not all texts found there need fit within a unified frame-

⁴⁹ Cf. Charlesworth, "Critical Comparison," 78.

⁵⁰ See e.g. F. García Martínez, "Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis," *FO* 25 (1988): 113-36, at 116; F. García Martínez and A.S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," *RevQ* 14/56 (1990): 521-41; Dimant, "Qumran Manuscripts."

work of reference and ideology. This does not imply a rejection of such texts by the community. It merely signals the possibility of a varied collection of writings and suggests that “scientific” writings such as *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, *4QPhysiognomy ar*, 4Q318 (*4QZodiology and Brontology ar*), and also 4Q317 (*4Qcrypt Phases of the Moon*) should not necessarily be interpreted primarily against the religio-ideological background of the Qumran community.

Turning to the issue of whether the division of the human spirit between light and darkness is the subject matter of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, I intend to take the interpretation of Philip Alexander, whose views on the matter can be taken as representative for the general understanding, as the point of departure for my discussion.⁵¹

Philip Alexander: Physiognomy, Human Spirit, Astrology, and Initiation

Alexander acknowledges the connection between physiognomics and astrology and the primacy of physiognomics in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. However, he argues that a third element is involved, viz., in line with the more general interpretation, the spiritual character of the described individuals. He suggests that the purpose of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is to provide a means of determining a subject’s true nature: his spirit. These three elements are interrelated. Observing people’s bodily form and appearance makes it possible to predict the nature of their spirits, which in turn points to their time of birth and sign of the zodiac. The goal of the physiognomic inquiry is to discern people’s spiritual share in light and darkness.

Alexander argues that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is related to the *Two Spirits Treatise* because both texts share the same dualistic worldview and use more or less similar light and darkness terminology.

The point of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is understood to be the division of people’s spirit on a nine-point scale between the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” Alexander rejects any physiognomic or astrological sense for these phrases. He assumes that the term “house of light” is set in clear contrast with the “pit of darkness” (בֹּרַחַת הַחֹשֶׁךְ) in 4Q186 1 ii 7-8, and that both phrases have a strongly sectarian meaning.⁵² Instead of attributing physiognomic or astrological meaning to this phraseology, Alexander re-

⁵¹ See Alexander, “Incantations and Books of Magic,” 364-65; Alexander, “Physiognomy”; P.S. Alexander, “Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” paper read at a seminar on *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and his Cultural Environment* at the University of Aberdeen, August 18-21, 2004 (<http://www.abdn.ac.uk/divinity/Gathercole/paper-alexander.htm>).

⁵² Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 387-88, reads “in the pit of darkness” (בבֹּרַחַת הַחֹשֶׁךְ) in 4Q186 1 ii 7-8. The double use, however, of בֵּית (‘‘house’’) is clearly attested and the reading in 4Q186 1 ii 7 should be בבֵּית הַחֹשֶׁךְ (‘‘in the house of darkness’’), see Appendix I. Alexander, however, ignores the parallel in 4Q186 1 iii 8-9.

lates it to the light and darkness terminology in the *Two Spirits Treatise* because it recalls the distinctive theology of the Qumran sect that is expressed in that core document. The terminology used to express the dualism of light and darkness in both texts is synonymous. The *Two Spirits Treatise* states:

From the spring of light comes the nature of truth, and from the source of darkness comes the nature of deceit.⁵³

According to Alexander and others the “spring of light” (מַעְיָן אֹר) equals the “house of light” (בֵּית הָאֹר) of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* and the “source of darkness” (מַקְוֵר הַחֹשֶׁךְ) equals the “pit of darkness” (בּוֹר הַחֹשֶׁךְ).⁵⁴

On the basis of the context of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, Alexander interprets the light and darkness imagery in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* in ethical terms. The point of the text is to measure the goodness and badness of people on a nine-point scale according to the degree in which their spirits participate in both the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.”⁵⁵ The nine-point scale excludes the possibility that people might be in spiritual balance. Because of this inevitable imbalance Alexander assumes that people must be either predominantly good or predominantly bad. Those whose spiritual balance is predominantly in the “house of light” belong with the “sons of light” and those whose spiritual balance is predominantly in the “house of darkness” belong with the “sons of darkness.”⁵⁶

Alexander suggests that the function of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* was to help the leadership figure of the *Maskil* in discovering who had been elected a “son of light,” and, hence, was eligible to join the community, and who a “son of darkness.” A physiognomic inquiry was a means of controlling the admission of candidate members into the community.⁵⁷ This may well have been done in secret by the leadership of the group, because the people observed need not have been aware that they were being physiognomized.⁵⁸

Many scholars, however, have noted that the *Two Spirits Treatise* does not deal at all with physical characteristics by means of which people could

⁵³ IQS 3:19.

⁵⁴ Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 390. Cf. Charlesworth, “Critical Comparison,” 86.

⁵⁵ Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 387, excludes the possibility that the scale included zero and that people were either totally good or totally bad. Cf. Dupont-Sommer, “Deux documents horoscopiques,” 245-46; Schmidt, “Astrologie juive ancienne,” 138-39.

⁵⁶ Cf. n. 44 above.

⁵⁷ Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 390-93. Cf. Licht, “Legs as Signs,” 25-26; Hengel, “Qumrān und der Hellenismus,” 371; I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism* (AGJU 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 79 n. 21, 218; E. Regev, “Comparing Sectarian Practice and Organization: The Qumran Sects in Light of the Regulations of the Shakers, Hutterites, Mennonites and Amish,” *Numen* 51 (2004): 146-81, at 152.

⁵⁸ Polemo stressed the importance of physiognomizing without the knowledge of the subject that is being observed so that the latter cannot attempt to conceal his true character from the physiognomist. Cf. Gleason, *Making Men*, 40-41.

be recognized as belonging to either the realm of light or that of darkness. There are no evident references that imply a physiognomic test of the human spirit. The heading of the *Two Spirits Treatise* makes mention of “signs” (אִתּוֹת) to understand the nature of all the sons of man (1QS 3:13-14), but these seem to consist of the different ways of human conduct as listed in the virtues and vices discussed in the third section (1QS 4:2-14). According to the fourth section of the *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS 4:15-23), people are judged to belong to either the division of the spirit of light or that of the spirit of darkness according to the path they walk and the deeds they do. The text does not state that these are registered on and discernible from the human body.

The *Two Spirits Treatise* may not contain concrete references to physiognomics, but Alexander argues that its language is nonetheless highly suggestive. He deems it possible that the “signs” (אִתּוֹת) mentioned in 1QS 3:14 may at one time have been extended to include physiognomic criteria. On an intertextual level Alexander considers *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* to be a secondary reading of the *Two Spirits Treatise* that attempts to apply the teaching of the latter in a concrete and practical way. Furthermore, he understands the phrase “the nature of all the sons of man” (כּוֹל בְּנֵי אִישׁ) from the *Two Spirits Treatise* (1QS 3:13) to be a clear echo of Gen 5:1, “This is the book of the generations of man” (זֶה סֵפֶר הַיְלֻדָה אָדָם), and notes that this verse is used in medieval Jewish physiognomic literature.⁵⁹

Alexander, therefore, suggests that a physiognomic test of admission was applied at Qumran. He reasons that the use of physiognomics as a divinatory art must be understood against the dualistic and eschatological background of the Qumran sect. Magic and divination were used in order to fight off the sons of darkness and to keep them out of the world of the elect ones of the sect.⁶⁰ However, Alexander also notes that a physiognomic test of people’s spirit upon entry into the community conflicts with the reference to an annual examination of people’s spirits and deeds in 1QS 5:23-24. The fixed division of light and darkness in people’s spirits is predetermined astrologically in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, while 1QS 5:23-24 envisages the possibility of upgrade and downgrade mobility within the sectarian hierarchy on the basis of a person’s spirit and deeds.⁶¹ Alexander suggests that different views prevailed at different times at Qumran, or that 1QS 5:23-24 is the official position of the leadership towards the commu-

⁵⁹ Cf. n. 29 above.

⁶⁰ Alexander, “Wrestling Against Wickedness.” See also García Martínez, “Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

⁶¹ Cf. Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 98-99.

nity, while the *Maskil* used *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* secretly; a possibility suggested by the way that the text is written.⁶²

Some Problems with Alexander's Interpretation

Prima facie, Alexander provides a coherent framework for understanding the sense of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, but upon closer scrutiny his interpretation of the text is problematic on several accounts.

First, Alexander does not really explain the terms “house of light” and “house of darkness,” or “pit of darkness” for that matter. Like other scholars, he simply asserts its sectarian meaning and assumes that it signals the dualistic nature of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.⁶³ This does not throw any light on the use of the word “house” (בית), the combination of which with “light” (אור) and “darkness” (חושך) occurs in no other text from Qumran and cannot just be taken as another example of Qumran dualism.⁶⁴

Without the context of the *Two Spirits Treatise* there seems to be no reason to interpret the light and darkness terminology of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as dualistic. There are no clues in the extant text that the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” represent two fundamentally opposed, causal principles of reality and its constitutive elements. The light and darkness imagery cannot, therefore, simply be taken as an element of dualism in the text. The light and darkness phraseology of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, however, can be explained satisfactorily without adducing the *Two Spirits Treatise*. Following Albani, I argued in Chapter Three that the “house of light” and the “house of darkness” should be understood as references to the areas above and below the horizon between which the ascendant zodiacal sign is divided. Such a framework, however, does not in itself imply dualism.

Second, like most scholars who understand *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* against the background of the *Two Spirits Treatise*, Alexander provides no clarification for the realization of the numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” The only reflection on the number nine is that an uneven number excludes an even balance between light and darkness, thus causing someone to fall into either the domain of light or the domain of darkness. Stegemann, in addition, comments that the number nine is high enough to allow for the classification of various types of people alluded to in IQS 3:13-14,⁶⁵ but this is problematic (see below). There is, however,

⁶² Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 390-93.

⁶³ See e.g. Dimant, “Dualism at Qumran,” 62-64.

⁶⁴ Cf. Bergmeier, *Glaube als Gabe*, 80; Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” 314.

⁶⁵ Cf. n. 46 above.

no further reflection on the question how the combination of these numbers is determined.

Third, Alexander does not elucidate the zodiacal information that 4Q186 1 ii 8-9 gives by saying that the individual is born “in the foot of *Taurus*” (ברגל השור). He assumes this means that the person was born when the sun was in *Taurus*, but it is not clear whether, and if so how, he relates this to the numbers allotted to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.”

The more general scholarly understanding of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, therefore, fails to account satisfactorily for the astrological framework of the text, the realization of the numbers in the “house of light” and the “house of darkness,” or the zodiacal position “in the foot of *Taurus*” in 4Q186 1 ii 9, especially in relation to the other two elements.

However, the final point is decisive against the traditional interpretation that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is concerned with the division of the human spirit between light and darkness. And if this text does not deal with the human spirit there is no need to relate it to the *Two Spirits Treatise* as has been done.

Physiognomy, Spirit, Astrology, and Arithmetic

According to the more general understanding, *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* demonstrates that the human body and spirit are believed to be astrologically determined. Alexander argues that the physiognomic, spiritual, and astrological elements in the text are closely linked. However, on closer examination the understanding of the relationship between the latter two elements, i.e. human spirit and zodiacal birth sign, is not sustainable.

Many scholars maintain the idea that according to *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* the human spirit is somehow thought of as consisting of nine parts that can be divided between two entities, viz. the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” This notion, however, conflicts fundamentally with the idea that people’s zodiacal birth sign determines each division of the human spirit astrologically. For example, according to Alexander:

the clear link between physiognomy and astrology in the text makes it very likely that the complete text of 4Q186 differentiated only twelve human types – one for each sign of the zodiac.⁶⁶

This implies that every possible division of the human spirit between light and darkness is linked to a different sign of the zodiac. However, if one follows this line of reasoning it is completely impossible for each zodiacal sign in the original text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* to be linked to a different type of human being in terms of his spirit (and body).

⁶⁶ Alexander, “Physiognomy,” 389.

Considering how many different combinations between parts of light and darkness can be made for a human spirit that is thought of as having nine parts, there are only eight such arrangements possible.⁶⁷

“house of light” (בית האור)	“house of darkness” (בית החושך)
8	1
7	2
6	3
5	4
4	5
3	6
2	7
1	8

This is obviously not enough in relation to the number of twelve zodiacal signs. It is also questionable whether the number of eight possible divisions suffices in light of the many different types of people implied by 1QS 3:13-14, thus Stegemann, but as no numbers are mentioned in this text this remains unknown.

If one assumes that the zodiacal sign under which people are born determines in a distinguishing manner the physiognomy of people and the nature of their spirits, then there is a discrepancy between the numbers used in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*. This discrepancy has not been noted before, but it poses a serious problem for the traditional interpretation that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* envisages the division of the human spirit. If, on a scale of nine, the numbers mentioned in the text refer to the human spirit, only eight different types are possible, which is not in accordance with twelve zodiacal signs. A variable set of numbers makes no sense within this interpretation, because then the different human spirits could not be compared to each other. A recurrence of the same division of light and darkness does not make much sense either because the astrological influence of the zodiacal signs must be distinguishing in order to tell one type of person from another. In theory a different zodiacal sign implies a different physiognomy as well as a different configuration of the spirit in terms of light and darkness.

Not the Human Spirit in 4QZodiacal Physiognomy (4Q186)

If it is presumed that the human physiognomy, the human spirit, and the zodiacal birth sign are directly linked with each other, this means that something does not add up here. The physiognomic element is straightfor-

⁶⁷ It is irrelevant here to include the possibility that the scale included zero because the number of possible combinations would still be just ten. This is the case with Schmidt's proposal, which in the end has just ten different divisions of diurnal and nocturnal decans that are variable, and, hence, ten types of people. See Chapter Three n. 148.

ward and beyond suspicion. The remaining fragments of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* make clear that different types of human bodies were described in the complete text. The astrological element seems less straightforward. Only in one entry is a clear reference to a zodiacal sign and a part of it preserved (4Q186 1 ii). However, comparison with other ancient texts that combine human physiognomies with zodiacal signs, most notably the Greek *zodiologia*, suggests that different types of bodies imply different signs of the zodiac.⁶⁸ The astrological element is, therefore, also a clear feature. This would set the minimum number of entries at twelve in the complete text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, unless one suggests that not all signs were listed, which only begs the question as to the connection between the signs, the numbers, and the human spirit.⁶⁹ These considerations, therefore, suggest that the third element, viz. that of the human spirit, is the one that does not add up.

Like most scholars, Alexander assumes that the words רוח לוי refer to the human spirit, translating it as “his spirit.” However, not only can he not satisfactorily explain the terminology used and the realization of the numbers, but also, more importantly, he cannot account for the connection between the number of zodiacal signs and the number of alleged divisions of the human spirit that are possible on a nine-point scale. These considerations argue against the general understanding that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is concerned with the division of the human spirit between light and darkness. This means that on the basis of the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* itself it seems unlikely that “spirit” (רוח) implies the human spirit, which entails that this text need not be related to the *Two Spirits Treatise* as has been generally assumed.

That the human spirit is not the object of concern in the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is possibly also suggested by the use of the construction רוח לוי, which I translate as “there is a spirit for him.” The occurrence of the construction רוח לוי seems strange if what is meant is “his spirit,” i.e. the human spirit of the described type of person. In the rest of the text such a possessive relationship is expressed, as is to be expected, by the use of attached suffixes.⁷⁰ The reader would, therefore, anticipate רוחו if

⁶⁸ See e.g. Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 4.15.4-27.2. See the section on physiognomics and astrology in Chapter Two.

⁶⁹ Within the astrological framework of the ascendant interpretation, the total number of entries in the original text is, of course, much higher. If, however, one were to assume that the human spirit is meant within the astrological framework of the ascendant interpretation, the problem seems to be that many human spirits would have the same division of light and darkness, which diminishes the heuristic value of the text for telling one person from another.

⁷⁰ See 4Q186 1 ii 5: ושאקיו and ושאקיו רגליו; וראשו: 1 iii 5; ושניו: 1 iii 6; ושניו ידיו: 1 iii 6-7; ושאקיו ידיו: 1 iii 7; ושאקיו: 1 iii 8; ושאקיו רגליו: 2 i 1; ושאקיו and ושניו: 2 i 2; ושניו and ושניו: 2 i 4; ושניו: 2 i 5; ושקיו and ושקיו רגליו.

“his spirit” were intended, which is also the regular way of referring to people’s innate spirit.⁷¹ Although the words רוח לו have in general been translated as “his spirit,” it is important to point out that they do not say that exactly.⁷² Strictly speaking, רוח לו occurs in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as a nominal construct meaning “there is a spirit for him.” This suggests the possibility that another, external spirit is meant.

Moreover, one should allow for the possibility that the distinct construction רוח לו (“there is a spirit for him”) was chosen precisely for the purpose of drawing the reader’s attention to the fact that the human spirit is not meant as the object of reference in this case. In the physiognomic descriptions the suffix is immediately attached to the nouns, and that is also the case with the reference to the person’s zodiacal sign in 4Q186 1 ii 9 (בהמותו), “his animal”) following the occurrence of רוח לו (“there is a spirit for him”) in 4Q186 1 ii 7. As already said, the reader would expect רוחו for “his spirit,” but that is not the case. The construction רוח לו (“there is a spirit for him”) seems thus to stand out in the text.⁷³

ZODIACAL SPIRITS IN *4QZODIACAL PHYSIOGNOMY* (4Q186)

Whatever the exact sense, it is clear that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* relates the “spirit” (רוח) in connection with certain numbers to the “house of light” and the “house of darkness.” An explanation of this word should, therefore, also be able to account for the sense of this terminology and the establishment of the numbers.

In Chapter Three I have argued that Albani’s ascendant interpretation accounts adequately for the realization of these numbers, and also that the combination of *melothesia* and *dodecatemoria* forms the astrological background of the division of the zodiacal sign in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, signaled by the words “in the foot of *Taurus*” (ברגל השור) in 4Q186 1 ii 9. This latter element demonstrates that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* was part of a tradition in which the sign of *Taurus* was divided differently than in the tradition exemplified by the Rhetorius-Teucer text. An important consequence of this is that the number nine need not have been a set number for

⁷¹ Cf. CD 3:3; 20:24; IQS 2:14; 4:26; 6:17; 7:18.23; 9:15.18; 4Q279 5 5; 4Q416 7 3 (=4Q418 77 4); 4Q417 1 i 18 (=4Q418 43-45 i 14); 2 i 1.3; 4Q426 11 3; 11Q29 1. Cf. Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 118-21, 123, who does not comment on the construction רוח לו.

⁷² Allegro DJD 5.89-91, was aware of the difficulty here; he translated “he has (of) spirit.” But he did understand it as a reference to the human spirit. As did also Wise, “Horoscope Written in Code,” 277-78, who translates “he possesses a spirit.”

⁷³ The occurrence of רוח לה (“he has a [sp]irit”) in 4Q561 3 2 is too fragmentary to determine its exact meaning or to relate it to רוח לו in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*.

all zodiacal signs in the entire, original text, which is also made clear by Rhetorius-Teucer's list of other zodiacal signs.⁷⁴

If this interpretation is correct, then the numbers cannot stand by themselves but must be seen in relation to a specific zodiacal sign. Due to the ascendancy of a specific part of one of the twelve signs, the division of that sign's parts between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" is realized. This connection to the sign identifies the division between light and darkness. By that I mean that the concrete zodiacal signs make it possible to distinguish between similar divisions of light and darkness. For according to the understanding of the text in this study, there would be many combinations of light and darkness that were repeated for the division of every zodiacal sign. This means that those combinations that were the same could only be distinguished if identified with one of the twelve signs.

Since *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* relates the numbers to a "spirit" (רוח), this reference should also be considered within the astrological framework of the text. If, therefore, the numbers listed in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* are a result of the ascendant zodiacal sign, then the "spirit" should probably also be related to the zodiacal sign. For that reason, I suggest that the word רוח ("spirit") is used in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* to refer to spirits that are related to the zodiacal signs. In other words, one should allow for the possibility that the spirits mentioned in the text are zodiacal spirits; one for each of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Angels and Stars as Animated Beings in Second Temple Period Judaism

During the Second Temple period, the sense of the word רוח ("spirit") developed and expanded to include different concepts of reference. *Inter alia*, it was used in the Dead Sea Scrolls for spirits, angels, and demons.⁷⁵ A similar semantic field can also be observed for the Greek word πνεῦμα ("spirit"), which takes on the sense of a supernatural spirit or intermediary.⁷⁶

Various Jewish texts show that angels and spirits have a cosmological function bearing responsibility for the course of the sun, the moon, the

⁷⁴ See Chapter Three n. 85.

⁷⁵ Cf. Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 145-71; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 155-56; M. Mach, "Angels," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 24-27, at 25. Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 99, 145, states that רוח as human spirit has a consistently feminine gender, whereas רוח as demon or angel has a consistently masculine gender, and that, therefore, רוח in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* must mean the human spirit. But Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 145-47, 155-63, lists numerous examples where רוח in the feminine gender is used to refer to angels and demons. There is no reason why this should be restricted to the feminine plural form and cannot include the feminine singular. See also the Aramaic examples in 1Q20 20:16-20.26.28; 4Q197 4 i 13; 4Q560 1 ii 5-6.

⁷⁶ Cf. H. Kleinknecht, "πνεῦμα im Griechischen," *TWNT* 6:333-57, at 337; E. Sjöberg, "רוח im palästinischen Judentum," *TWNT* 6:373-87, at 373-74.

planets, and the stars.⁷⁷ In *1 Enoch*, for example, Enoch is given a tour of the cosmos in which the angel Uriel, leader of the luminaries,⁷⁸ explains to him its workings. Towards the end of the journey Uriel says to Enoch:

I have now shown you everything, and I have revealed everything to you so that you may see this sun and this moon and those who lead the stars of the sky and all those who turn them – their work, their times, and their emergences.⁷⁹

The angels and spirits have been assigned their duties by God, as is made clear by the *Hodayot* text from Qumran Cave 1:

You have stretched out the heavens for your glory. Everything [which it contains] you have [es]tablished according to your will, and powerful spirits, before they became h[oly] angels [...] eternal spirits in their realms: luminaries according to their mysteries, stars according to [their] circuits, [all the stormy winds] according to their roles, lightning and thunder according to their duties and well-designed storehouses according to [their] purposes [...] according to their secrets.⁸⁰

Similar lists in which the angels control celestial, meteorological, and other processes of nature have been preserved in other texts.⁸¹

When Enoch passes his knowledge on to his son Methuselah regarding the law of the stars, he gives:

the names of those who lead them, who keep watch so they enter at their times, who lead them in their places, in their orders, in their times, in their months, in their jurisdictions, and in their positions.⁸²

Regarding the close link between angels and stars, Enoch can, therefore, say that he saw that “their motion is according to the number of angels.”⁸³ The distinction is not always sharply made between angels and spirits controlling the celestial elements and being equal to them. These texts not only

⁷⁷ See e.g. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt*, 25, 101-3; C.A. Newsom, “Angels: Old Testament,” *ABD* 1:248-53, at 252; M. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engeltums in vorrabbbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ 34; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1992), 262-65; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 314-15.

⁷⁸ *1 En.* 21:1-5; 72:1; 74:2; 75:3; 79:6.

⁷⁹ *1 En.* 80:1. Translations are from G.W.E. Nickelsburg and J.C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004). Cf. *2 En.* 4.

⁸⁰ IQH^a 9:9-13. Translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 159.

⁸¹ Cf. *Jub.* 2:2; *1 En.* 60:14-22; *2 En.* 4-6; 11; 19. The items enumerated in these lists correspond with other lists in apocalyptic literature that catalogue revealed things. See M.E. Stone, “Lists of Revealed Things in the Apocalyptic Literature,” in *Magnalia Dei: The Mighty Acts of God: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Memory of G. Ernest Wright* (eds. F.M. Cross, Jr., W.E. Lemke and P.D. Miller; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1976), 414-52.

⁸² *1 En.* 82:10.

⁸³ *1 En.* 43:2.

demonstrate the connection between angels and stars, they also give expression to the concept of an animated, spirited universe.⁸⁴

This latter aspect of animated stars is also suggested by some Second Temple period texts that seem to have been familiar with the notion that human beings after their death were to join the angels and were to be like stars.⁸⁵ Thus, in the Hebrew Bible the *Book of Daniel* expresses the idea of astral immortality:

And the wise will shine like the brightness of the firmament, and those who lead the many to righteousness like the stars forever and ever.⁸⁶

In various Jewish texts the afterlife of the righteous in community with the angels is expressed in terms of astral imagery.⁸⁷ Of course, this imagery may be merely metaphorical as in Daniel, but a passage from the *Similitudes* of *1 Enoch* seems to suggest another possibility:

And I saw other lightnings and stars of heaven; and I saw that he called them by their names, and they listened to him. And I saw a righteous balance, how they are weighed according to their light, according to the breadth of their spaces and the day of their appearing. (And I saw how) their motion produces lightning, and their motion is according to the number of the angels, and they keep faith with one another. And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden, "What are these?" And he said to me, "The Lord of Spirits has shown you a parable concerning them; these are the names of the holy ones who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of the Spirits forever and ever."⁸⁸

Enoch sees the stars of heaven and how they are weighed on a righteous balance according to the degree of their radiance, their magnitude, and their movement.

At first, this may be reminiscent of the data in ancient star catalogues where information regarding a star's brightness, magnitude, longitude, and latitude are listed. The continuation of the passage, however, reveals the interest in *1 Enoch* in these astronomical matters. When Enoch asks what these are, the angel responds that they are the names of the holy ones who dwell on earth. From *1 En.* 41:1-2 it seems clear that the holy ones are human beings who have passed judgment after the deeds of humanity are

⁸⁴ Cf. A. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars: A History of an Idea* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), 56-62, 91-93; Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens*, 173-84.

⁸⁵ For Greco-Roman traditions, see F. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1949), 142-88.

⁸⁶ Dan 12:3. Cf. *1 En.* 39:4-5; 104:2. See Collins, *Daniel*, 393-94.

⁸⁷ Cf. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens*, 159-73; K.P. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels: A Study of the Relationship between Angels and Humans in Ancient Jewish Literature and the New Testament* (AGJU 55; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 30-31, 131-39.

⁸⁸ *1 En.* 43:1-4. Cf. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 529.

weighed in the balance and now reside in heaven.⁸⁹ In both passages the name of the Lord of the Spirits seems of central concern. In *1 En.* 43:4 the holy ones are those believing in the name, whereas in 41:2 the sinners are those denying the name. Assuming a close relationship between stars, angels, and righteous ones, one should allow for the possibility that *1 En.* 43:1-4 suggests that the astronomical measurements of the stars are related to the state of the righteous ones.⁹⁰ It is tempting to understand this in light of a remark by Pliny:

We have stated that the stars are attached to the firmament, not assigned to each of us in a way in which the vulgar believe, and dealt out to mortals with a degree of radiance proportionate to the lot of each, the brightest stars to the rich, the smaller ones to the poor, the dim to those who are worn out; they do not each rise with their own human being, nor indicate by their fall that someone's life is being extinguished. There is no such close alliance between us and the sky that the radiance of the stars there also shares our fate of mortality.⁹¹

According to Pliny, there were many people in his time who regarded the stars as soul mates and believed that their fate was intertwined with the degree of brightness of their star. The stars seem to have been regarded as some sort of signpost signifying the life allotted to individual people.⁹² It is possible that *1 En.* 43:1-4 expresses a notion similar to the element of the star's brightness in connection with people's fate in this passage from Pliny.

Against the background of these notions of angels performing cosmological functions and stars as animated beings, I suggest that *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is familiar with the idea that angels or spirits also accompany the zodiacal signs so that these were believed to be animated beings, having a spirited nature. This interpretation is further strengthened by the *Testa-*

⁸⁹ See also *1 En.* 61:8.

⁹⁰ Cf. Stone, "Lists of Revealed Things," 428-31; J.J. Collins, "Journeys to the World Beyond in Ancient Judaism," in *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage*, 20-36, at 28-29.

⁹¹ Pliny, *Natural History* 2.6.28-29. Translation from H. Rackham, *Pliny: Natural History* (vol. 1; LCL 330; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1949), 187-89.

⁹² See also the later ridicule of the idea by Eusebius of Alexandria, PG 86,1.453-54, that in the time of Adam and Eve there were only two stars in heaven, and after the Flood eight stars for Noah and his family. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 386 n. 1; W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn: Kurt Schroeder, 1922; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1981), 237-49; Cumont, *Lux Perpetua*, 172; Boll, Bezold, and Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 152-53. The idea of a close link between individual human beings and stars may have some affinity with Plato's *Timaeus*, where the demiurge creates souls equal in number to the stars. The demiurge created them from the remains of the elements that he used for creating the soul of the universe. Furthermore, those souls who lived well were able to return and dwell in their native stars. Cf. Scott, *Origen and the Life of the Stars*, 12-13.

ment of Solomon, which provides important evidence for the idea that the zodiacal signs and decans have spirits and demons that represented them.

The Testament of Solomon and Zodiacal Spirits

The *Testament of Solomon* demonstrates most clearly the concept of zodiacal spirits.⁹³ Various passages from this text show that spirits (πνεύματα) and demons (δαίμονες) were identified with signs of the zodiac.

The *Testament of Solomon* provides a wealth of information on magic and demonology, and it is not without reason that scholars have characterized some of its parts as a magical handbook. In the text Solomon is confronted with many demons and spirits who are subjugated by him. The narrative framework of these confrontations is set against the background of the building of the Temple in Jerusalem. After their subjugation by Solomon the demons are set to work on the building of the Temple. The purpose of the text is to provide the reader with knowledge of what spirits and demons of the air, the earth and the regions beneath the earth are set against men and how their attacks can be thwarted. The confrontations between Solomon and the demons adhere to a basic pattern, but this has not been preserved in all instances. A demon appears before Solomon and gives his or her name, the star in which it resides and the name of the angel that can be used to avert its attack.

What is of interest here is that the spirits and demons are presented as inhabiting or being identical with zodiacal signs and constellations. Solo-

⁹³ The composition of the *Testament of Solomon* dates between the fourth–sixth century CE, but it contains older traditions that possibly go back to the beginning of the Common Era, especially *T. Sol.* 18 on the zodiacal and decanal demons. See e.g. C.C. McCown (ed.), *The Testament of Solomon* (UNT 9; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1922); Gundel, *Dekane und Dekansternebilder*, 49–62; K. Preisendanz, “Ein Wiener Papyrusfragment zum Testamentum Salomonis,” *Eos* 48/3 (1956): 161–67; R. Daniel, “The Testament of Solomon XVIII 27–28, 33–40,” in *Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* (Vienna: Brüder Hollinek, 1983), 294–304; D.C. Duling, “Testament of Solomon,” *OTP* 1:935–87; Alexander, “Incantations and Books of Magic,” 372–75; H.M. Jackson, “Notes on the Testament of Solomon,” *JSJ* 19 (1988) 19–60; D.C. Duling, “The Testament of Solomon: Retrospect and Prospect,” *JSP* 2 (1988) 87–112; J. Harding and L. Alexander, “Dating the Testament of Solomon,” posted May 28, 1999, at http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/%7Ewww_sd/date_tsol.html; P.S. Alexander, “Jewish Elements in Gnosticism and Magic c. CE 70–c. CE270,” in *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume Three: The Early Roman Period* (eds. W. Horbury, W.D. Davies and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1052–78, at 1068; Von Stuckrad, *Ringens um die Astrologie*, 394–420; P.A. Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition* (JSJSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 144–50; S.I. Johnston, “The Testament of Solomon from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance,” in *Metamorphosis of Magic*, 35–49; T.E. Klutz, “The Archer and the Cross: Chorographic Astrology and Literary Design in the Testament of Solomon,” in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* (ed. T.E. Klutz; JSNTSup 245; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 219–44; Alexander, “Contextualizing the Demonology,” 613–35; T.E. Klutz, *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon: Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseudepigraphon* (LSTS 53; London T&T Clark, 2005).

mon's confrontation with the spirits and demons begins with his concerns about the health of the master workman's little boy at the time when the Temple of Jerusalem was being built. The cause of the boy's ill health is a demon named Ornias who sucks blood from the boy's right thumb. In *T. Sol.* 2:2 the demon Ornias, who has been subjugated by the boy using Solomon's magical ring, is forced to tell Solomon that he resides in the zodiacal sign *Aquarius*. After his subjugation Ornias must bring other demons before Solomon for interrogation. In some of these encounters with the demons explicit reference is made to the constellations that they reside in, such as in *T. Sol.* 4:6 with the female demon Onoskelis, in *T. Sol.* 5:4 with the demon Asmodeus, who was born of the union between a human mother and an angel, in *T. Sol.* 6:7 with the demon Beelzeboul, who is prince of the demons, and in *T. Sol.* 7:6 with the demon Lix Tetrax.⁹⁴ Finally, another clear connection between astrology and demonology is that the seven planets (the five planets Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury, as well as the sun and the moon) also have their spirits. In *T. Sol.* 8:2-4 these seven spirits present themselves to Solomon as the seven heavenly elements (στοιχεῖα) that rule this world of darkness, saying that their stars in heaven may look small, but that they are named like gods.

The concept of zodiacal spirits and demons is demonstrated elaborately in *T. Sol.* 18. Here Solomon is confronted with thirty-six heavenly elements (στοιχεῖα), which are spirits calling themselves the world rulers of the darkness of this age. Like the other spirits before them, they appear before Solomon because he has authority over all the spirits of the air, the earth and the regions beneath the earth. *T. Sol.* 18 is a demonological catalogue that lists the names of the spirits of the zodiacal circle, the harm they cause to human beings, and the means for driving them away and curing people.

The thirty-six spirits represent the thirty-six decans, one of the subdivisions of the zodiac in ancient astrology.⁹⁵ Like the other spirits and demons before them, the thirty-six decanal spirits must tell Solomon who they are, what they do, and how their harm can be thwarted. Thus, the first decanal spirit (πνεῦμα) comes before Solomon:

Then I, Solomon, summoned the first spirit, saying to him: 'Who are you?' And he replied: 'I am the first decan of the zodiacal circle (and) I am called Ruax. I make heads of men suffer pain and temples to throb. When I hear only: "Michael imprison Ruax," I withdraw immediately.'⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Cf. also *T. Sol.* 10:3; 15:4-6. For the possibility that *T. Sol.* 14:3 contains a reference to the zodiacal sign *Sagittarius*, see Klutz, "The Archer and the Cross, 232-38; Klutz, *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon*, 44-47.

⁹⁵ See the section on subdivisions of the zodiacal signs in Chapter Three.

⁹⁶ *T. Sol.* 18:4-5.

At the end of the interrogation Solomon refers to all the spirits as the thirty-six demons (δαίμονας) that plague humanity.

The astrological background of the demonology in *T. Sol.* 18 is that of decanal *melothesia*. According to the concept of *melothesia*, the different parts of the human body are under the influence of certain astrological entities. In the case of planetary *melothesia* the various parts of the body are distributed among the planets. In the case of zodiacal *melothesia* the signs of the zodiac have authority over specific parts of the human body. The concept of decans enabled astrologers to refine their system of zodiacal *melothesia* and thereby also their predictions or treatments. The human body was divided according to the number of thirty-six decans.⁹⁷ Thus, in *T. Sol.* 18 most of the decanal spirits of the zodiac are responsible for harm caused to a certain part of the human body.⁹⁸

It is noteworthy that one of the manuscripts of the *Testament of Solomon* clarifies that the other spirits who were questioned before by Solomon were:

spirits from *Aries* and *Taurus*, *Gemini* and *Cancer*, *Leo* and *Virgo*, *Libra* and *Scorpio*, *Sagittarius*, *Capricorn*, *Aquarius* and *Pisces*.⁹⁹

Not only does this demonstrate that all the spirits and demons fall under the dominion of the twelve zodiacal signs,¹⁰⁰ but also that the signs themselves have spirits and are identical with them. It is, therefore, possible to speak of zodiacal spirits.

The *Testament of Solomon* thus demonstrates that in antiquity there were people who considered the signs of the zodiac and its subdivisions, the decans, to have or to be spirits. In addition to the notion in Jewish texts of the Second Temple period that angels controlled the movements of sun, moon, planets, and stars as well as the physical processes of nature, such as thunder, lightning, rain, and winds, there is thus evidence that the zodiacal signs and decans were imagined to be supernatural, spiritual beings or demons. The combination of angels, demonology, and zodiacal signs and decans that one encounters in the *Testament of Solomon* corresponds to similar ideas in some Greek magical papyri.¹⁰¹ As animated beings, the zodiacal signs were considered to be astral spirits and they could be vener-

⁹⁷ On these different forms of *melothesia* see Chapter Two n. 218.

⁹⁸ Cf. Klutz, "The Archer and the Cross," 243.

⁹⁹ *T. Sol.* 18:3 in Ms P. See McCown, *Testament of Solomon*, 51.12*.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Torijano, *Solomon the Esoteric King*, 149.

¹⁰¹ Cf. H.G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (MBPF 53; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1968), 16-20, 52-54.

ated as gods, something that already occurred in Babylonian astral magic where the stars functioned as mediators between people and the gods.¹⁰²

In the *Testament of Solomon* the zodiacal and decanal spirits are clearly harmful beings, and in the Manichean *Kephalaia*, another late antique text, they are also considered as evil spirits.¹⁰³ Despite this negative view of the zodiacal spirits in these texts, a zodiacal spirit could apparently also be seen as a positive force to be summoned for aid in magical practices. Thus, there is an interesting magical amulet in Hebrew from the Cairo Genizah in which the zodiacal sign *Leo*, who has the angel Sarbeil appointed over him, is adjured to protect a woman in childbirth from harmful spirits and to drive away all kinds of male and female demons.¹⁰⁴ In light of the foregoing, one should allow for the possibility that *Leo* is considered here as an animated, personified being. In other words, it is possible that according to this medieval Jewish text *Leo* is a zodiacal spirit that can be summoned, just as the zodiacal and decanal spirits in the *Testament of Solomon*.

Zodiacal Spirits and Planetary Demons at Qumran

As a consequence of the astrological framework, the sense of the word “spirit” (רוח) in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* should be understood in relation to the zodiacal signs. From the astrological context it appears likely that רוח concerns the spirit of the zodiacal sign. It is possible that the construction רוח לו (“there is a spirit for him”) was intended to draw the reader’s attention to the fact that not the human but the zodiacal spirit is meant, but apart from this the text is not more explicit.

Just as in the *Testament of Solomon* where the general word πνεῦμα (“spirit”) is used for reference to the spirits of zodiacal signs and decans, so *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* uses the general word רוח (“spirit”). Such a sense is compatible with the development of the word’s meaning in Second Temple period texts and the different concepts it conveys, similar to its Greek equivalent. I suggest, therefore, that in the three remaining instances where the text says that there is a spirit for the described type of person it refers to the zodiacal spirit.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Cf. Boll, Bezold, and Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 97-99, 104-5, 125-26; Gundel and Böker, “Zodiakos,” 543-47; Hübner, *Eigenschaften der Tierkreiszeichen*, 130; Reiner, *Astral Magic*.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Kephalaia of the Teacher* IV.27.14-29; XV.48.31-53; LXIX. See I. Gardner, *The Kephalaia of the Teacher: The Edited Coptic Manichaean Texts in Translation with Commentary* (NHMS 37; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995).

¹⁰⁴ T.-S. K1.18. See L.H. Schiffman and M.D. Schwartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1* (STS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 69-79.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. 4Q186 1 ii 7; 1 iii 8; 2 i 6.

In Chapter Three I have presented *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as an example of individual astrology at Qumran as opposed to the interest in general, mundane astrology in *4QZodiacology and Brontology ar.* Although the manuscript of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* is not a collection of actual horoscopes, the text does share the same genethliological concern of those texts, viz. individual people.

It is interesting to note that these two areas of astrological interest are possibly also reflected in the occurrence of individual and general spirits in an astrological sense. The zodiacal spirits in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* that are of concern for individual people seem to have their counterparts in planetary spirits or demons who are set over entire regions and people.

Alexander Toepel has suggested that the trees mentioned in the Aramaic para-Danielic manuscripts *4QFour Kingdoms^{a-b} ar* (4Q552-553) refer to planetary demons.¹⁰⁶ In this text four trees occur which are interrogated by someone, perhaps Daniel. The trees apparently represent personified figures. The first tree is asked to give his name. The tree answers that his name is Babel, upon which its interrogator says to him that he is the one who rules over Persia. In the remaining text two more trees are questioned, but their names have not been preserved, nor the countries over which they rule. For the second tree only some geographical information remains. It seems that a coastal area is implied as the area of dominance of this tree, because sea and harbor are mentioned.

Toepel plausibly argues that not only are the four trees connected with the four empires as their symbolic representations, but also that they are endowed with personality: they rise and move away, they speak, they have names and rule over their kingdoms. The astrological background here is that of four planets (Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, and Venus) who are connected with the four cardinal directions.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that these planets appear as spirits in the form of trees in the text of *4QFour Kingdoms^{a-b} ar.*¹⁰⁸ If this interpretation of planetary demons is correct, this text forms an excellent counterpart with that of the zodiacal spirits in the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* who rule over individual people.

People and their Zodiacal Signs and Spirits

In Hellenistic astrology the ascendant, being the part of the zodiacal sign ascending above the eastern horizon, determined people's naticities and

¹⁰⁶ A. Toepel, "Planetary Demons in Early Jewish Literature," *JSP* 14 (2005) 231-38.

¹⁰⁷ On chorographic astrology, see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 328-47; F. Cumont, "La plus ancienne géographie astrologique," *Klio* 9 (1909) 263-73; Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata*; Boll, Bezold, and Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung*, 9-10, 64-65, 157-58; Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, 179-85.

¹⁰⁸ The notion of planetary demons also appears in *T. Sol.* 8 (see above).

was, therefore, the single most important element in ancient horoscopes. In antiquity this astrological idea was matched by the prime importance for people's fates and lives with which the zodiacal birth sign was accredited.¹⁰⁹

It was believed that people were closely linked to their birth signs. This is demonstrated by the Greek *zodiologia* and by the notion of "zodiacal children."¹¹⁰ The significance of the zodiacal birth sign is also expressed in the following passage from the Manichean *Kephalaia*:

Before they die, they who will die are marked out by the stars and the signs of the zo[di]ac in the sphere. They are appointed for them; in the[m] are their births. And their root (i.e. people's fate) is bound up with their zodiacal signs; and they are compelled by them and brought to an equal judgement in accordance with their deeds and sins.¹¹¹

This is a late antique text, but it expresses well an idea that has an older tradition.

According to the astrological framework of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy*, the text shares the concern of Greek astrology for the ascendant as the determining factor in people's nativities. The text expresses this in 4Q186 1 ii 8-9 by saying that the horoscope in which a certain type of person was born was "in the foot of *Taurus*" (ברגל השור). *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* demonstrates the notion that the zodiacal signs influence the shape and appearance of the human body, albeit that the signifying relationship is reversed in this text as opposed to the *zodiologia*. It thus shows that, at least with regard to the human body, people are closely linked with their zodiacal birth sign, or, more precisely, according to the way their sign was divided between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness."

The text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* augmented the importance of the zodiacal sign for people's fates by the notion of the zodiacal spirit. Like the zodiacal signs, these zodiacal spirits have a close relationship with human beings. The text refers to these spirits with the words רוח לו ("there is a spirit for him"). These zodiacal spirits are related to the types of people described as a consequence of their moment of birth under one of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

If this interpretation is correct, this means that types of people not only shared the same zodiacal sign (*synastry*),¹¹² but also that they had a special connection with its zodiacal spirit. This relationship between the zodiacal spirits as supernatural beings and individual people becomes perhaps more

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Gundel and Böker, "Zodiakos," 582-85.

¹¹⁰ See Chapter Two n. 225.

¹¹¹ *Kephalaia of the Teacher* XLVI.117.32-118.5. Translation from Gardner, *Kephalaia of the Teacher*, 124. Cf. XLVIII.122.11-15; CI.254.31-255.2.

¹¹² In ancient astrology the notion of *synastry* refers to the zodiacal signs that people shared as their birth sign. Cf. Gundel and Gündel, *Astrologumena*, 144, 283, 290.

understandable against the background of texts in which angels not only function on a macrocosmic level, but in which they are also imagined as having a close relationship with certain special individuals. In addition to angels set over nations,¹¹³ there are examples of angels guarding individual human beings.¹¹⁴ In the *Book of Tobit* the angel Raphael guides Tobit on his journey and safeguards him from danger.¹¹⁵ In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* various sons of Jacob have a guardian angel.¹¹⁶ In the New Testament *Book of Acts* 12:15 the other disciples say that it is not Peter but his angel who stands at the gate.¹¹⁷ These examples demonstrate that supernatural beings such as angels were believed to stand in a close relationship with certain individual people. One should, therefore, allow for the possibility that people were also believed to stand in a special relationship to the spirit of their zodiacal birth sign.

In the context of the decanal spirits in *T. Sol.* 18, Alexander speaks of these demons as being *synastroi* with people on the basis of their ascendant sign in their nativity.¹¹⁸ Following this notion it seems possible to understand the zodiacal spirits in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* as *synastroi* with people from their moment of birth onwards, i.e. both spirit and person shared the same zodiacal sign.

There are only twelve zodiacal spirits, one for each zodiacal sign. Due to the position of the ascendant at the moment of birth, the division of the zodiacal spirit differed between different types of people, although they shared the same zodiacal sign. *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* not only mentions the division between light and darkness, but also states what zodiacal sign is the birth sign of the types of people (4Q186 1 ii 9: “And this is his animal: *Taurus*”). The text identifies people’s zodiacal birth sign and provides information with regard to the nature of the zodiacal spirit at the time of birth, thus differentiating between the two. The division of light and darkness served as an indication for the nature of the zodiacal spirits at that time. And the reference to the zodiacal sign identified for the reader which zodiacal spirit was meant in the case of a particular physiognomic type.

¹¹³ Cf. Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens*, 257-62.

¹¹⁴ K. E. Grözinger, “Engel III. Judentum,” *TRE* 9:586-96, at 589-90; O. Böcher, Engel IV. Neues Testament,” *TRE* 9:596-99, at 597; Newsom, “Angels,” 252.

¹¹⁵ E.g. Tob 5:21; 6:2-9. Cf. H. Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2000), 159-60; J.A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit* (CEJL; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 49, 160-61.

¹¹⁶ H.W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 191.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Sullivan, *Wrestling with Angels*, 71-74.

¹¹⁸ Alexander, “Contextualizing the Demonology,” 633.

The Nature of Zodiacal Spirits Divided between Light and Darkness

Accordingly, the descriptions of the human body lead the reader of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* to the various subdivisions of people's zodiacal sign and spirit between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness." The physiognomic purpose of the text was, therefore, to provide data concerning the division of people's zodiacal spirits between light and darkness, the exact zodiacal position at their birth, i.e. their horoscope, and, consequently, what their zodiacal sign was.

The division between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" can be explained astrologically as the result of the ascendant's position vis-à-vis the eastern horizon, but it seems that in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* this was taken in terms of the zodiacal spirit being divided between light and darkness. Understanding the phrase רוח לו ("there is a spirit for him") in this way aligns it with the ascendant interpretation, which explains the realization of the numbers in the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" as the result of the division of the zodiacal sign between the areas above and below the horizon. Dependent on the moment of birth, the ascendant divided the sign's parts above and below the horizon, and the zodiacal spirit was divided likewise.

The physiognomic interest of the text was, therefore, not only in providing its intended reader with the ascendant position of people's horoscopes, but also to reveal the division of people's zodiacal spirits between light and darkness. In Chapter Two it was mentioned that the text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* seems to suggest a semiotic relationship between, on the one hand, the physiognomies of the human bodies and, on the other hand, the division of numbers between light and darkness. More parts in the "house of light" than in the "house of darkness" seems to imply a more attractive appearance of the body, while, conversely, more parts in the "house of darkness" seem to entail a less attractive appearance.¹¹⁹ This suggests that the division of the zodiacal signs and spirits exerts its influence upon the shape and appearance of the human body.

In Chapter Three a passage was adduced in which Ptolemy stated that those parts of the zodiacal sign beneath the earth were to be ignored in the determination of the horoscope.¹²⁰ It seems that those parts below the earth, in the "house of darkness," were not deemed influential for the power that one's ascendant sign (horoscope) has. If in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* a connection is made between the division of the zodiacal signs and spirits between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" and the appearance

¹¹⁹ See the section in Chapter Two on the semiotic relationship between the appearance of the body and the division of numbers between the "house of light" and the "house of darkness."

¹²⁰ See Chapter Three n. 172.

of the human body, the assumption seems to be that the more parts of a zodiacal sign that have ascended, the more powerful the radiating influence of the sign and spirit on the people who were born at that moment. Such a connection made it possible to identify people's zodiacal signs and spirits by reading their bodies.

Thus, the "house of light" has a positive connotation and the "house of darkness" a negative one. This terminology in *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* need not necessarily be understood within the framework of (Qumran) dualistic thought. The positive connotation of light and the negative connotation of darkness suggested by the text were also known in other ancient astrological writings. This is shown by a Hellenistic astrological text ascribed to Hermes Trismegistos (*Liber Hermetis Trismegisti*). This text describes the various influences that sections of the zodiacal signs, when they are the ascendant, exert on human beings, and the text arranges the sections in light and dark parts. A variant of this tradition in Firmicus Maternus suggests the positive and negative influence upon human affairs, people's characters or spirits, and their bodies.¹²¹

The interest of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* in the division of the zodiacal signs and their spirits seems to be governed by the need to have knowledge of the nature of people's zodiacal spirits. The division between light and darkness was a means for measuring this nature. The number of parts in the "house of light" and the "house of darkness" indicated the power and influence of the zodiacal spirits. With regard to individual people this may have been different each time on the basis of the astrological moment of birth. The zodiacal spirit's nature and its relationship to individual types of people were modified according to the circumstances at birth, *in casu* they depended on the division of the zodiacal sign. This means that the zodiacal spirit's nature could differ in just as many ways as the zodiacal sign could be divided. Each configuration thus corresponded to a type of person.

The text of *4QZodiacal Physiognomy* can be seen as an attempt to draw connections between different types of people and the natures of their zodiacal spirits. It structures and classifies these relationships in a list that connects the shape and appearance of the human body with the subdivisions of the signs and their spirits in the "house of light" and the "house of darkness." In this way, the text demonstrates an interest in knowledge of cosmic matters and relationships between heavenly elements and human beings. To have knowledge of these matters was to understand the power and influence

¹²¹ Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis* 4.22. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, 229-37; W. Gundel, *Neue astrologische Texte des Hermes Trismegistos: Funde und Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der antiken Astronomie und Astrologie* (ABAWPHA 12; Munich: Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1936), 50-73, 289-94; Hübner, *Grade und Gradbezirke*, 1:147-71.

of the signs and spirits upon people, which may have extended further than just the appearance of the body. The further relevance of this knowledge is explored in Chapter Five.