

## “Who Will Put My Soul on the Scale?”: Psychostasia in Second Temple Judaism

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### ABSTRACT

*“Psychostasia” is the notion that a divine or supernatural figure weighs and/or measures the souls of people when judging them. The present effort represents the second of three articles on psychostasia. The first article focused on the occurrences of psychostasia in the OT.<sup>2</sup> In the current article, attention is paid to the occurrences of psychostasia in apocryphal and pseudepigraphical Jewish writings from the Second Temple period, including the Qumran Scrolls. The current purpose is firstly to determine whether or not the concept of psychostasia was a recognised and recognisable feature of Second Temple Palestinian Judaism. Allowing for a positive answer to the latter, the second purpose of this article is to ascertain how the idea of psychostasia was understood by Palestinian Jews of the Second Temple period.*

### A THE CONCEPT OF “PSYCHOSTASIA”

“Psychostasia” is the academic term for the “weighing-of-the-soul” concept.<sup>3</sup> Put differently, “psychostasia” is the umbrella term for the ancient notion that a divine or supernatural figure judged ordinary people through weighing their worth on scales. Although the “soul” is most frequently associated with this concept in ancient literature, other items might also be weighed, like the “heart” or the “spirit.” Regardless of the exact item being measured or weighed, it was normally some or other symbol for a person’s inner being.<sup>4</sup> This idea had its inception in Egyptian mythology. It is well-known that the concept of psychostasia was an integral and widespread feature of Egyptian

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<sup>2</sup> Llewellyn Howes, “Measuring and Weighing Psychostasia in Q 6:37–38: Intertexts from the Old Testament,” *HTS* 70/1 (2014), [http:// dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.1952](http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/hts.v70i1.1952)

<sup>3</sup> Samuel G. F. Brandon, “The Weighing of the Soul,” in *Myths and Symbols: Studies in Honor of Mircea Eliade* (ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa and Charles H. Long; Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1969), 91.

<sup>4</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 91.

thought.<sup>5</sup> Yet, the earliest Egyptian texts about the afterlife, written during the Old Kingdom period (2425–2300 B.C.E.), do not utter a single word on psychostasia.<sup>6</sup> In those texts, post-mortem judgment is described in terms of symbolism and imagery taken from the earthly courtroom.

It is only during the First Intermediate period (2200–2050 B.C.E.), in the ancient Egyptian writing *Instruction for King Merikarē*, that a new element is added to the traditional imagery of a legal courtroom.<sup>7</sup> According to this text, the court proceedings would include the act of placing the good and bad deeds of the individual being judged in two respective heaps. This was done so that the deeds in each heap could be accurately measured. The fate of one’s judgment would then depend on which heap contained more deeds, the good heap, or the bad heap. Brandon argues that this new addition to court proceedings was introduced in Egyptian myths about the afterlife because people generally did not trust the earthly justice system.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, this act of measuring good deeds against bad deeds ensured that the imagined legal proceedings would be objective and impartial. People were not at the mercy of the supernatural judge and his potential misgivings, preconceptions and partiality. Rather, their own deeds and behaviour determined their ultimate post-mortem fate.

The idea of “weighing” first appeared in the Middle Kingdom period (2160–1580 B.C.E.) in a series of manuscripts known as the *Coffin Texts*.<sup>9</sup> In post-mortem judgment scenes, mention is made in passing of balances, scales, and weights.<sup>10</sup> It is only during the New Kingdom period (1580–1090 B.C.E.) that the concept of psychostasia became full-blown in Egyptian mythology. The Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (125) describes the final judgment as an act of

<sup>5</sup> Birger A. Pearson, “The Pierpont Morgan Fragments of a Coptic Enoch Apocryphon,” in *Studies on the Testament of Abraham* (SBLSCS 6; ed. George E. W. Nickelsburg; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 249. See Brandon, “Weighing,” 91–99, esp. 99.

<sup>6</sup> See Brandon, “Weighing,” 94–96.

<sup>7</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 96.

<sup>8</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 96. See also Ronald A. Piper, “The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q: A Study of Q 6:27–36,” in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995), 53–72. Peter Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1970). Cf. further Richard A. Horsley, “Social Conflict in the Synoptic Sayings Source Q,” in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge: Trinity, 1995), 45. Richard A. Horsley, *Archeology, History and Society in Galilee: The Social Context of Jesus and the Rabbis* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1996), 120.

<sup>9</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 96–97.

<sup>10</sup> *ECT*, Spells 44, 335 and 452.

weighing the hearts of the dead against *Maāt* on a pair of scales.<sup>11</sup> For Egyptians, the heart was more than just a vital organ. It was a cognisant entity that acted on its own, sometimes even against its owner. Some described the human heart as a little god that lived inside human beings.<sup>12</sup> The heart contained a person’s memory and intelligence, which is why it could act as a record of his or her life on earth.<sup>13</sup> More importantly, the heart symbolised the entirety of an individual’s moral centre and censor.<sup>14</sup> In Egyptian mythology, the goddess *Maāt*, who personified Egyptian ethics and cosmology, was the daughter of the sun-god *Rē*.<sup>15</sup> She represented the Egyptian idea of cosmic and social order, although the idea of cosmic order was ultimately personified by *Rē* himself. In her distinctive role as representation of *social* order, *Maāt* was viewed as the embodiment of “truth,” “justice” and “righteousness.”<sup>16</sup> The Egyptian word *maāt* could literally mean “truth,” “justice,” “righteousness,” “balance,” “cosmic law” or “order.”<sup>17</sup> In essence, *Maāt* (as well as *maāt* with a small letter) symbolised a criterion, benchmark or standard by which a person’s character and conduct in this world could be measured.

Thus, the final eschatological judgment was seen as a process of measuring and weighing a person’s moral worth. From the New Kingdom period onwards, the concept of psychostasia gradually started replacing the idea that post-mortem judgment was a judicial process comparable to an earthly courtroom. According to Brandon, this shift in emphasis is probably due to a growing need among Egyptians to emphasise the impartiality of eschatological judgment.<sup>18</sup> It is important to note, however, that the two different symbols of eschatological judgment were never mutually exclusive. To the contrary, they occasionally existed side by side in not only the same manuscripts (like the *Book of the Dead*), but also the same passages (like the *Instruction for King Merikarē* and the *Papyrus of Ani* 125).

The idea of psychostasia spread from Egypt to many other peoples and religions of the time.<sup>19</sup> Early Greek literature made regular use of the expression “weighing of the souls” to describe judgment.<sup>20</sup> In the *Iliad* (22.179), for

<sup>11</sup> Walter Wink, *The Human Being: Jesus and the Enigma of the Son of Man* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2002), 178. Geraldine Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27–28, 93, 160, 210.

<sup>12</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 59, 64.

<sup>13</sup> Janell Broyles, *Egyptian Mythology* (MAW; New York: The Rosen, 2006), 31.

<sup>14</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 92.

<sup>15</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 159.

<sup>16</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 92.

<sup>17</sup> Pinch, *Egyptian Mythology*, 159.

<sup>18</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 98–99.

<sup>19</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 99.

<sup>20</sup> Wink, *Human Being*, 178.

example, Zeus is described as weighing the respective fates of Achilles and Hector as they fight against the Trojans.<sup>21</sup> In this scene, there are two noteworthy exceptions to the Egyptian understanding of psychostasia. Firstly, it is not the hearts (or moral worth) of the Greek heroes that are weighed, but their individual fates. Secondly, the Egyptian post-mortem judgment is replaced here by a Greek notion of pre-mortem judgment. Hence, this depiction of psychostasia concerns itself not with the eschatological judgment of the dead, but with the destiny of the living in this world. This attests to the tendency in ancient literature to not only *adopt* the Egyptian notion of psychostasia, but to also *adapt* it to their own particular needs. Thus, it would seem as though the symbolism of psychostasia (including the concepts of weighing, measuring, balances and scales) was easily taken over by others, but that the exact application of that symbolism (including the time and nature of judgment, as well as the types of items being weighed) was modified to fit existing ideas of divine and/or supernatural judgment. This process of selective borrowing assured the successful assimilation of the psychostasia concept by many other peoples and religions.

Despite such varied application, the purpose of the weighing action remains the same in ancient literature: it was an *impartial* means by which some or other divine or supernatural figure determined how people should be *judged*.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, in all ancient versions of psychostasia, the symbolism finds expression in one of two ways. Either a representation of the individual under examination is weighed (sometimes, but not always, against something else), or a person’s good and bad deeds are weighed or measured against each other. A more precise phenomenological description of the concept of psychostasia in the history of different religions remains outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say, however, that this concept became very widespread in the ancient world, and that it was commonplace in many cultures and religions by the turn of the millennium. As such, it later became common practice in many religions, including Islam, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism and medieval Christianity, to describe impartial, post-mortem, divine judgment in terms of the imagery of psychostasia.<sup>23</sup>

## B APOCRYPHA

Non-canonical literature of the Second Temple period commonly use judicial courtroom language and imagery in descriptions of God’s this-worldly and other-worldly judgment.<sup>24</sup> The analysis of such texts falls beyond the scope of

<sup>21</sup> James V. Morrison, “Kerostasia, the Dictates of Fate, and the Will of Zeus in the Iliad,” *Arethusa* 30/2 (1997): 276–296.

<sup>22</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 99.

<sup>23</sup> Brandon, “Weighing,” 109–110.

<sup>24</sup> Some examples of such texts are: Wis 4:20; 11:8–10; 12:1–27; Sir 4:9; 5:5; 18:20; 41:2–3; EpJer 6:53–54, 64; Sg Three 3–5; *1 En.* 40:7; 41:9; 45:6; 63:9–12; 65:6; 68:4; 69:29; 96:4; 97:4, 99:2; 100:11; 104:8–10; *2 En.* 19:5; 34:1; 40:13; 41:2; 55:3; 62:3;

the current investigation, which will rather focus exclusively on the concept of psychostasia. This endeavour will commence with *apocryphal* literature of the Second Temple period.

In 2 Esd 3:28–36,<sup>25</sup> the author laments the fact that gentile nations like Babylon prosper regardless of how sinful, godless, and wicked they are. Conversely, Israelites keep God’s commandments, living virtuous lives, but still they suffer. This leads him to question the sapiential schema according to which God always rewards the righteous and punishes the sinful. Whereas the canonical book of Job addresses the theodicy question by comparing the lives of individuals with that of Job, 2 Esd 3:28–36 addresses the same question by comparing the lives of different nations with that of Israel. The pericope does not explicitly say so, but the obvious undercurrent is a wish for justice within the world, whereby people and nations are fairly and impartially judged by God according to their deeds (cf. 2 Esd 4:18).<sup>26</sup> It is within this literary context that we find v. 34, and the following statement:<sup>27</sup> “So weigh our sins in the balance against the sins of the rest of the world; and it will be clear which way the scale tips.” In this text, the item being weighed is not the “heart,” “soul” or “spirit,” but the sins of the different nations. Also, the judgment referred to here is apparently pre-mortem, and not post-mortem. Nevertheless, the purpose remains the same, namely to ensure fair and impartial judgment by God (cf. 2 Esd 4:18).<sup>28</sup>

In ch. 4, the angel Uriel answers Ezra and explains that God will produce justice for Israel at the apocalyptic judgment. Although God’s (pre-mortem) judgment might seem unreasonable in this world, the future (post-mortem, post-apocalyptic) judgment will be wholly fair and impartial. Ezra is

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65:5–6; 66:2; 71:6, 8, 10; 72:4; *Sib. Or.* 1:274; 2:215–219, 233–251; *Apoc. Zeph.* 8:5; 4 *Ezra* 16:65; 2 *Bar* 13:8, 11; 19:1, 3; 31:6; 40:1; 44:4; 83:2–3; 84:1–2, 6–7; *Apoc. Ab.* 24:7; 26:1–7; *Apoc. Adam* 3:16; 5:2–3; *T. Ab. [A]* 13:8; *[B]* 11:2, 5–8; *T. Mos.* 3:12; *Jub.* 4:22–23; 10:17; 31:32; *Jos. Asen.* 21:11–21; *L.A.E.* 32:2; 39:3; *Ps.–Philo* 11:2, 12; 19:4, 11; 22:6; 23:7; 24:3; 29:4; 32:8–9, 14–18; 62:10; *Ps.–Phoc.* 52; *Pr. Man.* 5, 10; *Pss. Sol.* 5:4; 10:4; 17:43; Qumran Scrolls: 1 QM XI:16; XVII:2; 11Q13 II:13–14; 4Q157 1, ii:2; 1QpHab V:3–5; X:3–5; XII:5; 4Q171 IV:7–10; 4Q372 1:28; 4Q227 1:3; 4Q215 2, II:4–5; 4Q542 II:5, 12; 4Q381 31:5; 45:4; 76–77:8–13; 1QH XVII:14–15; XXV 5:10–13; 4Q511 1:4; 10:11; 18:8–10; III:3; 4Q418 126, II:3–4; 4Q504 VI:2–8. In this article, all abbreviations adhere to the SBL Handbook of Style.

<sup>25</sup> Within 2 Esd, chs. 3–14 as an entity is sometimes also referred to as 4 Ezra. The very same text is therefore referenced by both of the following designations: 2 Esd 3:28–36 and 4 Ezra 3:28–36. The current work conforms to the former referencing convention.

<sup>26</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 98, 99, 110.

<sup>27</sup> All translations of Jewish apocrypha are taken from the NEB.

<sup>28</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 98, 99, 110.

still not satisfied, and asks Uriel in v. 33 how long Israel must wait and suffer in this world before God decides to introduce apocalyptic judgment. In vv. 36–37, Uriel answers Ezra’s question about when the apocalyptic event will transpire by quoting the archangel Jeremiel: “As soon as the number of those like yourselves is complete. For the Lord has weighed the world in a balance, he has measured and numbered the ages.” Thus, God weighs not only the deeds and inner being of each individual, but He also measures the number of righteous individuals. According to this text, the exact number of people who will be rewarded at the final judgment has been pre-ordained by God. Before this number has not been achieved, the apocalyptic event will not take place. In 2 Esd, God is the one who judges, and the symbolism of “weighing” and “measuring” is invoked in reference to both his this-worldly judgment (cf. 2 Esd 3:34) and his apocalyptic judgment (cf. 2 Esd 4:36–37).

The apocryphal writing *Wisdom of Solomon* is a prime example of how wisdom and apocalypticism became integrated genres during the Second-Temple period. In vv. 15–20 of ch. 11, this writing describes how God, if He so wished, could have punished the Egyptians with more than ten plagues, and how God could have obliterated them with a single breath. Yet, God chose not to do so, because it was not part of his plan. This latter idea is expressed in v. 20 with the statement: “. . . but thou hast ordered all things by measure and number and weight.” In a word, the author expresses the belief that God’s judgment against the Egyptians was *measured*. In vv. 21–26, the author continues to explain that God is powerful, and that He is in full control of his judgment. If He shows mercy to a person or nation, it is because He loves his creation, and because He chooses to spare it.

It is within this context that the author says in v. 22: “. . . for in thy sight the whole world is like a grain that just tips the scale.” The idea that, to God, the whole world is merely a grain (of sand?) communicates his unfathomable strength and power (cf. v. 2). The phrase “that just tips the scale” is unnecessary for the communication of this analogy. It is highly likely that this phrase is introduced to the statement of v. 22 in order to allude to God’s judgment. This understanding is reinforced by the conjunction  $\delta\epsilon$ , with which v. 23 begins. After saying that the world is to God like a grain that tips the scales, v. 23 states: “But ( $\delta\epsilon$ ) thou art merciful...” The mercy of God is therefore described as the opposite of whatever is meant by “tipping the scale.” The most obvious counterpart of God’s mercy is his judgment. Despite the exact nature of their interrelationship, there is an astonishing number of Jewish texts – from the OT,<sup>29</sup> the Dead Sea Scrolls,<sup>30</sup> other contemporary Jewish intertexts,<sup>31</sup> and the

<sup>29</sup> Gen 19:15–25; Exod 15:12–13; 20:5–6; 34:5–9; Num 14:11–19; Deut 5:9–10; 7:2, 9–11, 12; 13:17; 21:6–9; 32:43; Judg 1:24–25; 2 Sam 7:14–15; 24:14–15; 1 Kgs 3:6–9; 1 Chr 16:33–34; 21:13–14; 2 Chr 1:8–12; 20:21–22; 30:8–9; Ezra 9:7–9; Neh 1:5–11; 9:26–32; Pss 6:1–5; 9:11–20; 13:1–6; 18:20–25; 18:47–50; 21:7–13; 25:1–22;

NT<sup>32</sup> – that mention the words and/or concepts of “judgment” and “mercy” in the same breath.<sup>33</sup> The argument that the reference to a “scale” symbolises God’s judgment is further supported by the literary context of ch. 11 as a whole, which deals, overtly and directly, with the subject matter of God’s judgment and mercy.<sup>34</sup> The central point of vv. 15–26 is that God has the power to exert judgment and/or show mercy whenever and however he pleases. The same symbolism is expressed in Wis 12:26; only on this occasion in reference to God’s judgment *in the world to come*: “. . . but those who do not take warning from such derisive correction will experience the full weight of divine judgment.” Here, God’s other-worldly, post-mortem judgment is pertinently mentioned, and the degree thereof expressed in term of *weight*. To be sure, this ancient Jewish text uses each of the images of “measure,” “weight” and “scale” as a shorthand-symbol for God’s judgment, not only in this world, but also the world to come.

We find a similar saying to the one in Wis (12:26) in the apocryphal writing called the (Wisdom of Jesus ben) Sirach<sup>35</sup> (5:6): “To him [meaning God] belong both mercy and wrath, and sinners feel the weight of his retribution.” Also here, God’s judgment is pertinently mentioned, and the degree

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30:9–10; 32:10; 36:5–6; 37:21–33; 51:1–4; 57:1; 59:1–17; 62:11–12; 67:1–4; 69:13–29; 77:7–10; 78:38; 85:1–7; 86:13; 89:14, 19–37; 94:12–23; 98:1–3; 101:1; 102:10–13; 103:1–18; 106:1–48; 109:1–31; 119:41–44, 57–64, 75–77, 121–125; 136:1–26; 143:12; Isa 9:17–21; 16:5; 27:11; 30:18; 47:6; 54:6–10; 60:10; Jer 3:12; 13:14; 16:5–6; 21:7; Lam 3:26–36; Ezek 39:23–29; Dan 2:18; 9:4–19; Hos 1:6–7; 2:19; 12:6; Mic 6:8; 7:17–20; Hab 3:2; Zech 7:9.

<sup>30</sup> 1QS II:8–9, 14–15; IV:4–5; V:3–4; VIII:2; X:16, 20; XI:12–13; 4QS<sup>b</sup> 4:1–2; 1, I:3; IV:1–3; 1 QM XVIII:11–13; 4QM<sup>a</sup> 8–10, I:1–6; 1QpHab VII:16; 4Q176 19–20:1–4; 21:1–4; 11Q5 XVIII:16–18; XIX:3–5, 11; 11Q6 a:4–8; 4Q381 33:4–9; 4QH<sup>a</sup> IV10–11; V:4–5, 11–12, 23; VI:1–7; VII:19–24; VIII:17; IX:29–33; X:24–25; XII:30–32, 36–40; XIII:1–4, 21–22; XIV:9; XV:26–30, 35; XVII:3, 8–10, 14–15, 30–31, 34; XVIII:5–9, 18, 29–32; XXI:10; 1QH<sup>b</sup> 1:1–2, 11; 4QH<sup>a</sup> 1:1–2; 7, I:21–23; II:12–15; 4Q511 III:1–4; 4Q418 81:7–8; 4Q521 2, II:9; 4Q403 I:18, 23–27; 4Q405 23, I:12; 4Q434 1, I:1–8; 4Q502 16:1–2.

<sup>31</sup> Tob 3:2; Wis 11:8–9; 12:22; Sir 5:6; 16:11–14; 35:19–20; Sg Three 1–27; 2 Macc 1:24; 7:35–38; 8:5; *1 En.* 50:1–5; 60:25; 61:11; *Sib. Or.* 1:81–82; *4 Ezra* 2:27–32; 7:45 [115]; 14:27–36; *2 Bar.* 48:17–18; 61:6–7; 84:10–11; *T. Lev.* 15:2–4; *T. Jud.* 23:1–5; *T. Zeb.* 8:1–6; 9:1–9; *T. Naph.* 4:1–5; *T. Gad* 5:11; *T. Ab. [A]* 10:13–14; 12:1–18; 13:9–14; 14:1–15; *T. Mos.* 6:1–9; 11:17; *Let. Aris.* 207–209, 211–213; *Jub.* 1:20; 5:12–19; 10:1–6; 20:6–10; 23:22–23, 31; *L.A.E.* 27:1–5; Ps.–Philo 22:6; 51:5; *4 Macc.* 8:14, 20–22; *Pss. Sol.* 2:6–10, 32–37; 4:24–25; 5:1–2; 8:23–34; 9:1–11; 10:1–8; 15:10–13; 17:3, 9–10; 18:1–9.

<sup>32</sup> Matt 12:7, 37; 18:23–35; Luke 1:71–80; 18:13–14; Rom 9:13–29; 11:30–36; 1 Cor 7:25; Heb 2:14–18; 4:11–16; 10:26–31; Jas 2:13; 3:17; 5:9–11.

<sup>33</sup> Howes, “Sayings Gospel Q,” 258.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. esp. Wis 11:8–10.

<sup>35</sup> Also on rare occasions referred to as “Ecclesiasticus.”

thereof expressed in terms of *weight*. The present tense of this maxim implies that this-worldly judgment is meant. Another saying from Sirach (37:8) uses the same imagery in reference to God’s other-worldly judgment. After advising his audience to be wary of a man who offers advice, the author says: “His advice will be weighed in his favour and may tip the scales against you.” The future tense implies apocalyptic and/or post-mortem judgment. Ancient people saw the act of offering advice (with the right intention) as a virtue, which explains why this act will be weighed in someone’s favour when the future judgment takes place. However, if the one who received said advice ignores it, and, in doing so, transgresses against God, the scales will be tipped against that person when the future judgment takes place. The impact of the advice depends on the reaction of the person who receives it, which is why the text says that it may (or may not!) tip the scales against that person.

Sirach 47:23–25 explains the exile of Israel as the inevitable result of her sins against God. Verse 24 starts with the statement: “Their sins increased beyond measure, until they were driven into exile from their native land.” Verse 25 reiterates the same idea in different words: “. . . for they had explored every kind of wickedness, until retribution came upon them.” In this context, the retribution can be nothing other than the exile itself. The mention of the word “measure” implies that the sins of Israel were so numerous that no man could measure it. The twofold use of the word “until” implies that God *could* and *did* indeed measure Israel’s sins.<sup>36</sup> The direct result of this measuring act was God’s this-worldly judgment in the form of an exile. As with the other apocryphal texts, Sirach uses the words “measure,” “weight” and “scale” to speak about God’s judgment. Also like the other apocryphal works, the subject of the judging action is consistently God, and the judgment in question happens either within the confines of history, or thereafter.

There is one text in Sirach (9:14), however, that applies the language of psychostasia to the *moral* judgment of one human being upon another: “Take the measure of your neighbours as best you can, and accept advice from those who are wise.” Like Sir 37:8, this text is about taking advice. Unlike the latter text, however, this text has a human being, and not God, as the subject of judgment. Although the word “judgment” is absent, to “take the measure of your neighbour” certainly here implies judging his moral integrity and sapiential expertise.

## C PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

We now turn to pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple period. On more than one occasion, Pseudo-Philo speaks of people’s sins “reaching full measure

<sup>36</sup> Cf. also 2 Macc 6:14–16 and 4 Macc. 5:19–25.

(against them).”<sup>37</sup> Elsewhere, Pseudo-Philo (45:3) speaks of people’s sins being “multiplied against them.” These texts suggest that people’s sins are measured during their lives on earth, and that the sum-total will at some stage be held against them.<sup>38</sup> These notions are supported by Pseudo-Philo 33:3, which describes the finality of death as a time or state during which “the measure and the time and the years have returned their deposit.” It is not absolutely certain what the word “measure” refers to in this text. It could have something to do with apocalyptic judgment, seeing as the subject matter of v. 2 is people’s earthly deeds. However, it could just as well refer to the measured time span of one’s life. The association in v. 3 of the word “measure” with the words “time” and “years” strongly suggests the latter interpretation. Nevertheless, the use here of the word “deposit” supports the deduction made above, that people’s sins are measured during their lives on earth, and that the sum-total will at some stage, whether it be in this world or the next, be held against them. The noun “deposit” is repeated twice more in v. 3, and used in a similar fashion.

The idea that people “store up credit” with God, who measures and counts people’s daily (good and bad) deeds is also expressed elsewhere by Jewish texts, which tend to use words and terms like “account,” “credit,” “debt,” “store up,” “record,” “count,” “write down,” “treasure in heaven,” “heavenly tablets,” “heavenly book,” “preserved,” “kept” and “recompense” in apocalyptic contexts.<sup>39</sup> This idea is developed even *further* in some texts, which declare that God “tests” people in their daily lives on earth in order to provide a fair balance of good and bad deeds.<sup>40</sup> Some light may further be cast by two other texts from the same pseudepigraphical document.

In Pseudo-Philo 40:1, Jephthah asks the following rhetorical question to his daughter after returning home from a victorious battle: “And now who will put my heart in the balance and my soul on the scale?” Jephthah does not seem

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Ps.-Philo 26:13; 36:1; 41:1; 47:9. All current translations of Jewish pseudepigrapha are from James H. Charlesworth, *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983) and James H. Charlesworth, *Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judea-Hellenistic Works* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. also 2 Macc 6:14–16, 4 Macc. 5:19–25 and *Pr. Man.* 9–10.

<sup>39</sup> Examples of some such texts are: 2 Esd 8:29–33; 16:64; Wis 1:9; 3:10; 4:6; Sir 3:14; 12:1; 27:16; 29:10–11; 1 En. 81:9; 96:4; 97:7; 98:5, 8; 100:7, 9, 10; 103:3; 104:7; 108:7; 2 En. 19:5; 40:13; 43:1; 45:2; 65:4; *Sib. Or.* 4:155; 2 Bar. 14:6–7; 48:14; 52:7; 59:2; 84:6; *Jub.* 5:15; 24:33; 30:20, 23; 31:32; 36:10–11; 39:6; *Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 9:19–23; *Jos. Asen.* 11:10; 15:4; Qumran Scrolls: CD IV:5–6; 4QD<sup>b</sup> 18, V:16; 4QD<sup>c</sup> 1, I:8; 1QH IX:25–26.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. e.g. Wis 11:8–9; Ps.-Philo 40:5; *T. Ab.* 12:14; Qumran Scrolls: 1QS V:24; 1QM XVI:15; XVII:1–2, 8–9; 4QM<sup>a</sup> 11, II:12.

to associate this imagery with any kind of judgment. Instead, he seems to use it as a metaphor for measuring his own joy, as the rest of v. 1 suggests: “And I will stand by and see which will win out, whether it is the rejoicing that has occurred or the sadness that befalls me.” Be that as it may, this text still illustrates familiarity with the imagery of weighing one’s “heart” and “soul” with “balances” and “scales.” This imagery is indeed pertinently linked to God’s judgment in Pseudo-Philo 63:4, where David explains the consequences of killing Goliath: “And would the judgment of truth be placed in the balance so that the many prudent people might hear the decision.” Whereas the first cluster of texts from Pseudo-Philo made notion of a future judgment, during which measured sins will be held against their perpetrators, the current text overtly connects the imagery of “balances” with God’s this-worldly judgment.

The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides (9–21) exhorts the powers—that-be to judge fairly and impartially. Words like “justice,” “injustice,” “just,” “judge” and “judgment” permeate this pericope, occurring no less than 9 times, if combined. In the midst of this exhortation (vv. 14–15), the following admonitions appear: “Give a just measure, and an extra full measure of all things is good. Do not make a balance unequal, but weigh honestly.” There is an outside chance that these admonitions are speaking of honesty during everyday barter exchanges, but given the subject matter of the literary context, this seems unlikely. It is much more likely that, in this text, the phrases “make a balance unequal”, and “weigh honestly” symbolise, respectively, unjust and just acts of judgment by mortal judges. Likewise, the most natural reading of v. 14 is that a judge should be fair and merciful in his judgments. Thus, images of “measure,” “weight” and “balance” are used to symbolise the procedure of judicial judgment. Unlike the other texts in this section, the subject of judgment is not God, but a human judge.

One of the most direct and unambiguous references to psychostasia appears in the Psalms of Solomon. The first three verses of the fifth psalm praise God for his “righteous judgments” and mercy. Verse 4 continues with this statement: “For an individual and his fate [are] on the scales before you; he cannot add any increase contrary to your judgment, oh God.” In this sapiential saying, images of psychostasia are straightforwardly, undeniably, and inextricably linked to God’s judgment. The phrase “before you” also reminds one of the courtroom.<sup>41</sup> It is not clear from this quotation whether the reference is to this-worldly or other-worldly judgment, but vv. 8–19 certainly suggest that the former is in view here.<sup>42</sup>

Another pseudepigraphical writing that speaks just as openly and unequivocally about psychostasia is the apocalyptic work 1 Enoch.<sup>43</sup> Enoch 41:1,

<sup>41</sup> Howes, “Sayings Gospel Q,” 281–283.

<sup>42</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 99.

<sup>43</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 100.

which forms part of the Similitudes of Enoch, says: “And after that, I saw all the secrets in heaven, and how the actions of the people are weighed in the balance.” Clearly, the apocalyptic event during which God will judge the people of this world is in view here. 1 Enoch 61:8–9 is just as unequivocal and deserves to be quoted in full:

He placed the Elect One on the throne of glory; and he shall judge all the works of the holy ones in heaven above, weighing in the balance their deeds. And when he shall lift up his countenance in order to judge the secret ways of theirs, by the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits, and their conduct, by the method of the righteous judgment of the Lord of Spirits, then they shall all speak with one voice, blessing, glorifying, extolling, sanctifying the name of the Lord of the Spirits.

2 Enoch (44:5) continues in the same vein, and also deserves to be quoted in full. The following quotation comes from manuscript J:

Because on the day of the great judgment [*text missing*]. Every weight [*text missing*] and every measure and every set of scales will be just as they are in the market. That is to say, each will be weighed in the balance, and each will stand in the market, and each will find out his own measure and each shall receive his own reward.

Like the previous text from 1 Enoch, this text from 2 Enoch has the apocalyptic, future judgment of God in mind. What is interesting about this text is that an overt association is made between the measuring of goods in the marketplace and the event of being measured at the future judgment. This association implies that there was no contradiction in Jewish thought between the two points of referral. In fact, in this text, the two ways of understanding the imagery are deliberately combined in such a way that they complement one another. 2 Enoch elaborates further in 49:2–3 and 52:15 (manuscript J):

And I make an oath to you – “Yes, Yes!” – that even before any person was in his mother’s womb, individually a place I prepared for each soul, as well as a set of scales and a measurement of how long he intends him to live in this world, so that each person may be investigated with it. [. . .] For all these things [will be weighed] in the balances and exposed in the books on the great judgment day.

Like the books of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Zephaniah also describes an apocalyptic journey through heaven. In ch. 8, Zephaniah is surrounded by a host of angels.<sup>44</sup> Verse 5 has the following to say: “Now, moreover, my sons, this is the trial because it is necessary that the good and the evil be weighed in a balance.” Another work of this nature is the Book of the Apocalypse of Baruch, The Son of Neriah, more commonly known as 2 Baruch. In ch. 41 of this work,

<sup>44</sup> Pearson, “Pierpont Morgan Fragments,” 250–251.

Baruch asks about the ultimate fate of the proselytes, seeing as they lived in sin before converting to Judaism.<sup>45</sup> In v. 6, Baruch formulates the question like this: “Their time will surely not be weighed exactly, and they will certainly not be judged as the scale indicates?” In other words, Baruch is concerned that the proselyte Jews’ former sinful lifestyles will be counted and weighed against them at the final judgment. The use of the verb “judged” with the verb “weighed” and the noun “scale” indicates a deliberate and necessary relationship for the author between the final judgment and the imagery of psychostasia.

The most vivid and detailed description of psychostasia in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, reminding one of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, comes from the Testament of Abraham.<sup>46</sup> The document describes the scene of the final judgment in chs. 12–14 (Recension A). Because of its elaborate description of psychostasia, as well as its testimony to how it was adopted, understood and transformed by contemporary Jews, it is worthwhile to quote significant portions from these chapters:

And between the two gates there stood a terrifying throne with the appearance of terrifying crystal, flashing like fire. And upon it sat a wondrous man, bright as the sun, like unto a son of God. Before him stood a table like crystal, all of gold and byssus. On the table lay a book whose thickness was six cubits, while its breadth was ten cubits. On its right and on its left stood two angels holding papyrus and ink and pen. In front of the table stood a light-bearing angel, holding a balance in his hand. [On his] left there sat a fiery angel, altogether merciless and relentless, holding a trumpet in his hand, which contained within it an all-consuming fire [for] testing the sinners. And the wondrous man who sat on the throne was the one who judged and sentenced the souls. The two angels on the right and left recorded. The one on the right recorded righteous deeds, while the one on the left [recorded] sins. And the one who was in front of the table, who was holding the balance, weighed the souls. And the fiery angel, who held the fire, tested the souls. And Abraham asked the Commander-in-chief Michael, “What are these things which we see?” And the Commander-in-chief said: “These things which you see, pious Abraham, are judgment and recompense. And behold, the angel who held the soul in his hand brought it before the judge. And the judge told one of the angels who served him, “Open for me this book and find for me the sins of this soul.” [. . .] And the sunlike angel, who holds the balance in his hand, this is the archangel Dokieli, the righteous balance-bearer, and he weighs the righteous

<sup>45</sup> Albertus F. J. Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch (early Second Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 633 n. 41b, c.

<sup>46</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 104–105. Pearson, “Pierpont Morgan Fragments,” 251–252.

deeds and the sins with the righteousness of God. And the fiery and merciless angel, who holds the fire in his hand, this is the archangel Purouel, who has authority over fire, and he tests the work of men through fire. And if he burns up the work of anyone, immediately the angel of judgment takes him and carries him away to the place of sinners, a most bitter place of punishment. But if the fire tests the work of anyone and does not touch it, this person is justified and the angel of righteousness takes him and carries him up to be saved in the lot of the righteous. And thus, most righteous Abraham, all things in all people are tested by fire and balance.<sup>47</sup>

Despite all the obvious images of both the judicial courtroom and psychostasia, the idea that people build up credit with God during their daily lives is also expressed in this passage. Particularly noteworthy in this respect are words like “record,” “recompense” and “book.” Similarly, the idea that people are “tested” also finds expression here.

#### D THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Our attention now turns to the Dead Sea Scrolls. Much of the rules and regulations of this sectarian Jewish community are expounded in the *Rule of the Community*. 1QS IX:12-26 deals particularly with the regulations for the so-called Instructor. One of the tasks of this individual was to judge and determine whether the community priests – often in the Dead Sea Scrolls referred to as the sons of Zadok or the sons of justice – were righteous and virtuous enough for their duty. It is in this context that we find the following text from the Rule of the Community:

. . . he [the Instructor] should separate and weigh the sons of Zadok / justice according to their spirits; he should keep hold of the chosen ones of the period according to his will, as he has commanded; he should carry out the judgment of each man in accordance with his spirit.<sup>48</sup>

The last of the three instructions could be interpreted as referring either to all community members or to the priests in particular. Regardless, it is clear that this document understood the verb “weighing” as a shorthand for the concept of “judging.” This could be seen as evidence of psychostasia being applied to a process of *moral* judgment.

The sons of Zadok, in turn, formed part of the so-called Community Council, which oversaw a number of community matters, including the imple-

<sup>47</sup> *T. Ab.* 12:4–17; 13:10–14.

<sup>48</sup> 1QS IX:14–15; 4QS<sup>e</sup> III:10–12. All translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are from Florentino, G. Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English: The Most Comprehensive One-Volume Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls Available* (2nd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1996).

mentation of “truth, justice, judgment, compassionate love and unassuming behaviour” within the community.<sup>49</sup> 1QS VIII:3–4 describes this practice and its purpose as follows: “. . . doing justice and undergoing trials in order to walk with everyone in the measure of truth and the regulation of time.”<sup>50</sup> In this way, the implementation of justice and judgment filters down from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom. According to this text, the most important goal of “doing justice” and “undergoing trials” is to ensure that the whole community “walks in the measure of truth.” In other words, “truth” is something that can be *measured*, and it is measured by means of a process of judicial judgment. Thus, it would seem as though this community had adopted images from psychostasia, and had applied them to their own internal juridical process. Hence, words like “measure” and “weigh” were employed to express the processes and acts of both *moral* and *judicial* judgment within the community. The rationale behind this association is expressed clearly in 4Q424 3:4: “Do not send the hard of hearing to investigate the judgment, for he will not weigh up the men’s dispute.”

The words “measure” and “judgment” (repeated three times) appear within the same literary context in 1QH<sup>a</sup> IV:1–6. Unfortunately, the text is extremely damaged, making it impossible to determine either the larger literary context or the specific internal relationship between the words in question.<sup>51</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> XI:27–29, on the other hand, has remained intact: “When the measuring line for judgment fails, [. . .] then the torrents of Belial will overflow their high banks...” Here, apocalyptic judgment is delivered with the assistance of a “measuring line.” The exact meaning of this metaphor is not entirely transparent. It could refer to a line of string or rope, used as a measuring implement during construction, and functioning to ensure that walls and rows of bricks were absolutely straight and level. It could just as easily refer to something else entirely. The exact purpose of a “measuring line” is not as important for our purposes as acknowledging the fact that a measuring implement of some kind is linked to apocalyptic judgment. That this poem deals with and expounds a future apocalypse should not be questioned. Hence, there is a slight notion in this apocalyptic poem that the final judgment would involve some or other measuring act.

These hints at the act of being measured at the final judgment find full expression in a fragment from the poetic texts of the Dead Sea Scrolls: “And with the scales of justice God measures all [*text missing*] he separates them in

<sup>49</sup> 1QS VIII:2.

<sup>50</sup> 1QS VIII:2; 4QS<sup>e</sup> II:10–11.

<sup>51</sup> The same applies to 4Q434 1, I:5–11, where the words “judge” and “judgment” occur together with the words “measure” and “scales.” Although more of the text is available here, pieces of text crucial to our inquiry are missing.

truth. He positions them and examines their delights.”<sup>52</sup> The verbs “position” and “examine” remind one of the judicial courtroom. Although the verbs of this text are in the present tense, there should be no doubt that the future, apocalyptic judgment is in view. The use of the present tense is probably explicable on account of the statement’s gnomic nature. That futuristic judgment is meant is made clear by vv. 6–8, which continue to describe the apocalyptic judgment:

[*text missing*] judgment to carry out vengeance on all the evildoers and the visitation [*text missing*] to confine the wicked for ever and to lift up the head of the weak [*text missing*] with eternal glory and perpetual peace, and the spirit of life to separate [*text missing*].

The mention of “all” the evildoers, as well as the usage of words like “for ever,” “eternal glory” and “perpetual peace,” leave no question marks behind the exact meaning and intention of this passage. The description is of an apocalyptic and universal judgment – one that will result in a new and everlasting status quo. In v. 10, the text continues to describe this post-apocalyptic condition with future tense verbs: “They will bow down the whole day, they will always praise his name.” Thus, the community (or communities) represented by these Dead Sea Scrolls was familiar with symbols from psychostasia, and applied these symbols, specifically, to describe not only judicial judgment by men on earth, but also apocalyptic judgment by God in heaven.

## E PSYCHOSTASIA IN SECOND TEMPLE PALESTINIAN JUDAISM

The significance of these Jewish texts depends to some degree on the date and provenance of each of them. It is therefore worth our time to briefly look at the date and provenance of each. The book of 4 Ezra, which constitutes chs. 3–14 of 2 Esdras, was probably written somewhere in Palestine, around 100 C.E., in reaction to the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>53</sup> The Wisdom of Solomon was almost certainly written somewhere in Egypt, likely Alexandria, and could have been conceived at any stage between the second century B.C.E. and 70 C.E.. The date and provenance of the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach (or Ecclesiasticus) have been determined with a greater degree of confidence. Although the Greek translation of this writing was made in Alexandria, the Semitic original was composed in Judea, most probably in Jerusalem, during the second century B.C.E. Even though some scholars have dated Pseudo-Philo to a time just after 70 C.E., it seems much more likely that it was composed in Palestine before the Temple was destroyed, perhaps even as early as 135 B.C.E..<sup>54</sup> Proposed dates

<sup>52</sup> 4Q418 126, II:3–4. Cf. also 4Q418 127:5–6.

<sup>53</sup> Bruce M. Metzger, “The Fourth Book of Ezra (Late First Century A.D.) with the Four Additional Chapters: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 520.

<sup>54</sup> Daniel J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo (First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Phil-*

for the origin of Pseudo-Phocylides have varied widely, but the most probable dating seems to be between 30 B.C.E. and 40 C.E..<sup>55</sup> Conversely, there is widespread agreement that its place of origin was Alexandria. Internal evidence indicates that the individual Psalms of Solomon were most likely formulated for the first time in Jerusalem, during the first century B.C.E..<sup>56</sup>

1 Enoch was familiar to the Qumran community, and was almost certainly composed in Judea.<sup>57</sup> The same provenance probably applies to the Similitudes of Enoch as well. Nevertheless, the Similitudes should be dated to a period after 70 C.E., even if the rest of 1 Enoch predates the destruction of the Temple.<sup>58</sup> No measure of agreement exists regarding either the date or the provenance of 2 Enoch.<sup>59</sup> It could possibly predate 70 C.E., and might have been written in Palestine, but neither of these claims can be made with any degree of certitude, or even probability. The Apocalypse of Zephaniah was probably written in Egypt, sometime between 100 B.C.E. and 175 C.E., with slight internal evidence suggesting a date before 70 C.E..<sup>60</sup> 2 Baruch can be

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*osophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judea–Hellenistic Works* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Darton, Longman & Todd: London, 1985), 299–300.

<sup>55</sup> Pieter W. van der Horst, “Pseudo-Phocylides (First Century B.C. – First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judea–Hellenistic Works* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Darton, Longman & Todd: London, 1985), 567–568.

<sup>56</sup> Robert B. Wright, “Psalms of Solomon (First Century B.C.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judea–Hellenistic Works* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Darton, Longman & Todd: London, 1985), 640–642.

<sup>57</sup> Ephraim Isaac, “1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Second Century B.C. – First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 7–8.

<sup>58</sup> Delbert Burkett, *The Son of Man Debate: A History and Evaluation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 72. Mogens Müller, *The Expression “Son of Man” and the Development of Christology: A History of Interpretation* (London: Equinox, 2008), 337. See Howes, “Sayings Gospel Q,” 31–32. *Contra* Brandon “Weighing,” 100.

<sup>59</sup> Francis I. Andersen, “2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch (Late First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 94–97.

<sup>60</sup> Orval S. Wintermute, “Apocalypse of Zephaniah (First Century B.C. – First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth;

dated fairly accurately to the beginning of the second century C.E., and can be placed somewhat confidently in Palestine.<sup>61</sup> Recension A of the Testament of Abraham was likely written in Egypt around 100 C.E..<sup>62</sup> Lastly, it is widely accepted today that all the Dead Sea Scrolls were composed before 70 C.E. at Khirbet Qumran, which is on the north–western shore of the Dead Sea in Judea.<sup>63</sup>

In order to establish whether or not the concept of psychostasia existed in Palestine during the Second Temple period, it is necessary to carefully weigh in the balance and narrow down our list of non–canonical Jewish sources. Only those texts dating to a period before 70 C.E. should rightly be considered. Moreover, the probability of Egyptian influence on local Jewish traditions forces one to refrain from considering any texts that originated in Egypt, regardless of their date of conception. Despite this cutback, we are still left with four independent witnesses to a familiarity with the concept of psychostasia in Palestine before the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. These witnesses are Sirach, Pseudo–Philo, Psalms of Solomon, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Although these four witnesses most frequently describe God as the subject of judgment, the Rule of the Community also links images of psychostasia with both moral and judicial forms of judgment. Sirach 9:14 also associates the word “measure” with both mortal and moral judgment. Where God is the subject, the imagery and vocabulary of psychostasia are associated indiscriminately with either this–worldly or other–worldly judgment. Nevertheless, God’s apocalyptic role as judge at the final judgment seems to be the preferred application of the concept of psychostasia by these sources. If this evidence is combined with evidence from the OT,<sup>64</sup> we are left with a very strong cumulative argument, emphatically confirming that the concept of psychostasia existed in Palestine before 70 C.E.. The OT evidence, in fact, strongly suggests that this concept was already a feature of Jewish mythology long before the birth of Jesus. Brandon believes that the Jewish expression of the idea can be traced back as far as the second century B.C.E..<sup>65</sup>

The texts that provide proof of familiarity with the concept of psychostasia before 70 C.E. can all be placed either in Judea specifically or in Pal-

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Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 500–501. Cf. also Pearson, “Pierpont Morgan Fragments,” 250 n. 66.

<sup>61</sup> Klijn, “2 (Syriac Apocalypse of) Baruch,” 616–617.

<sup>62</sup> Ed P. Sanders, “Testament of Abraham (First to Second Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1983), 874–875. Brandon “Weighing,” 104.

<sup>63</sup> Martínez, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, xlv–xlvi.

<sup>64</sup> See Howes, “Measuring and Weighing,” 1–9.

<sup>65</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 99.

estine generally. It follows that there is no direct evidence of familiarity with this concept in Galilee before 70 C.E.. This is to be expected, however, given the general and pervasive scarcity of extant literature from Galilee for the time before 70 C.E.. Two additional considerations support the likelihood that Galileans were also familiar with the concept of psychostasia. The first is the historical association of rabbinic Judaism with Galilee.<sup>66</sup> Tannaitic literature, like the Mishnah and Tosefta, apply images of psychostasia, similar to the ones encountered above, to their descriptions of judgment scenes.<sup>67</sup> Although these texts are from a much later period, they do provide evidence of Galilean familiarity with the concept of psychostasia. Granted, this evidence is not determinative, but it is, nonetheless, highly suggestive. The second consideration is much more decisive. Galilee was completely destroyed and depopulated during the Assyrian invasion, only to be repopulated by Judeans from the South during the Hasmonean period.<sup>68</sup> Some Judeans were still uprooting themselves and moving to Galilee at the turn of the millennium. Now, seeing as the great majority of Galileans were ethnically and religiously Judean, it is extremely likely that inhabitants of Galilee shared religious and mythological customs and traditions with Judea, including the concept of psychostasia. If these Galileans were ignorant of certain Judean traditions, whether it be as a result of moving away or as a result of intentional disregard, they could easily re-familiarise themselves

<sup>66</sup> Richard A. Horsley, *Galilee: History, Politics, People* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity, 1995), 94.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. e.g. *t. Qidd.* 1:13–14 and *t. Sanh.* 13:3. See Ed P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977), 128–147.

<sup>68</sup> Seán Freyne, *Galilee and Gospel: Collected Essays* (WUNT 125; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2000), 11, 177, 179, 219–220. Markus Cromhout, *Jesus and Identity: Reconstructing Judean Ethnicity in Q* (Eugene: Cascade, 2007), 234–235. See Zvi Gal, *The Lower Galilee during the Iron Age* (ASORDS 8; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992). Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 2000), 29–39. John S. Kloppenborg Verbin, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 215, 221–222. Mark A. Chancey, *The Myth of a Gentile Galilee* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 32–36, 43. Douglas R. Edwards, “Identity and Social Location in Roman Galilean Villages,” in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition* (WUNT 210; eds. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2007), 359–361. Carl E. Savage, “Supporting Evidence for a First-Century Bethsaida,” in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition* (WUNT 210; eds. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2007), 194–196. Milton Moreland, “The Inhabitants of Galilee in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods,” in *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition* (WUNT 210; ed. Jürgen Zangenberg, Harold W. Attridge and Dale B. Martin; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2007), 143–147.

with such traditions during one of their pilgrimage visits to Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> Hence, even though we have no literary proof that Galileans knew about psychostasia before 70 C.E., the existence of such knowledge is extremely likely, given the historical and archaeological information we have about the region.

## F CONCLUSION

The concept of psychostasia was in all likelihood a recognised and recognisable feature of Second Temple Palestinian Judaism. Although the imagery of psychostasia could be employed to describe moral judgments by humans upon other humans, or to symbolise earthly judicial proceedings, it was most commonly used to describe judgment by God. In both the sapiential and the apocalyptic streams of Jewish tradition, psychostasia offered a means by which the judgment of God could be explained more vividly. The apocalyptic literature from Israel used images from psychostasia to describe either God’s this-worldly or his other-worldly judgment. In the latter case, God was described as judging individuals or nations in *heaven* at the *end* of history, which correlates best with the original Egyptian descriptions of psychostasia.<sup>70</sup> In the former case, God was described as judging individuals or nations *on earth within the confines* of history. In both cases, however, the judgment of God was part and parcel of a universal apocalyptic event that brought finality, and that separated the old era from the new era.<sup>71</sup>

The sapiential literature from Israel also used images from psychostasia to describe either God’s this-worldly or his other-worldly judgment. The latter usage was similar to the way in which apocalyptic literature applied this imagery. The former use, however, differed from apocalyptic literature in that it described God’s judgment of the individual within the *causal* schema of day-to-day life. In other words, there was absolutely no indication that God’s judgment (1) was part of a universal apocalyptic event (2) that brought any type of finality (3) and separated an old era from a new era. Rather, the causal consequences of daily choices was equated with the judgment of God.<sup>72</sup> In both its

<sup>69</sup> See Seán Freyne, *Galilee, Jesus and the Gospels: Literary Approaches and Historical Investigations* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 178–187; 2000:130, 154. Reed, *Archaeology*, 57–58. Cf. Luke 2:41, 44, as well as Josephus: *Ant.* 2.280; 17.254–258; 20.118, 123 and *J.W.* 2.237.

<sup>70</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 91–99.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Marcus J. Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* (Valley Forge: Trinity, 1994), 73. Dale C. Allison “Jesus and the Victory of Apocalyptic,” in *Jesus and the Restoration of Israel: A Critical Assessment of N. T. Wright’s “Jesus and the Victory of God”* (ed. Carey C. Newman; Carlisle: Paternoster / Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1999), 129. Dale C. Allison, *Constructing Jesus: Memory, Imagination, and History* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2010), 32. See Howes “Sayings Gospel Q,” 55–59.

<sup>72</sup> Brandon “Weighing,” 99.

apocalyptic and its sapiential application, the this-worldly judgment of God was experienced only indirectly, as the consequences of something or someone else. Nevertheless, God ultimately directed and controlled this process behind the scenes.<sup>73</sup> Thus, there was no conceptual contradiction between God’s judgment and man’s judgment, seeing as the latter was a direct result of the former. Being wronged by another individual ultimately stemmed from God’s judgment of the one being wronged. The differentiations between the sapiential and the apocalyptic applications of psychostasia became increasingly slimmer as these genres moved closer to one another, ultimately becoming almost indistinguishable around the time of Jesus.

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<sup>73</sup> Cf. e.g. Qumran Scroll 1QS X:17–18. Cf. P. Maurice Casey, *Jesus of Nazareth: An Independent Historian’s Account of His Life and Teaching* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2010), 289–290.

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