

**DEMONOLOGY IN HEBREW AND JEWISH TRADITION.
A STUDY IN NEW TESTAMENT ORIGINS**

WILLIAM BRANDT BRADSHAW

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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DEMONOLOGY IN HEBREW AND JEWISH TRADITION

A Study in New Testament Origins

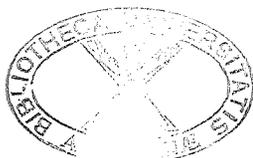
A Thesis by

William Brandt Bradshaw

Presented to

The University of St. Andrews

In Application for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree.

The research was carried out in St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews.



William Brandt Bradshaw

C E R T I F I C A T E .

I certify that William Brandt Bradshaw has spent nine terms at Research Work in St. Mary's College, the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinance No. 16 (St. Andrews), and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Matthew Black, Principal
St. Mary's College
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C A R E E R .

I enrolled in the University of Missouri in 1950 and followed a course leading to graduation in 1954 with a degree of Bachelor of Arts.

In 1954 I enrolled in the Divinity School of Yale University and followed a course leading to graduation in 1958 with a degree of Bachelor of Divinity.

In 1961 I commenced the research on "Demonology in Hebrew and Jewish Tradition: A Study in New Testament Origins," which is now being submitted as a Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

PREFACE

This dissertation, entitled "Demonology in Hebrew and Jewish Tradition: A Study in New Testament Origins," is meant to be more than just a study of ancient Hebrew and Jewish demonology--it is also intended to serve as a reference work. Included in the footnotes are most of the major references to the various aspects of this subject, so that anyone interested in pursuing a study of pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonology can refer to this thesis for the majority of earlier books and articles which are pertinent.

The references in the footnotes to books and articles are so numerous that an abbreviated form of citations has been used. Only an author's last name and, in most instances, only a portion of the title of a book (underscored) or of an article (in quotation marks) is given in the footnotes. However, enough of the title is given that there is never any doubt as to the work to which reference is being made. In the Bibliography (beginning below on page 355) complete information about all the books and articles is given.

The Bibliography is arranged for easy use. All references--books, articles, and personal correspondence--are arranged in alphabetical order under the author's name, and the names of the authors are also arranged

alphabetically. For example, when a reference is found in a footnote to Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, by looking under Burrows in the Bibliography it will be discovered that the author's full name is Millar Burrows and that the complete title of the book is An Outline of Biblical Theology. All the other publication data is also given.

Although the research for, and writing of, this thesis was done in Scotland, I have nevertheless used American spelling throughout. I found that I was not well enough acquainted with British spelling to be consistent, so I have used American spelling, according to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, 1963 edition. However, when quoting directly from a work which has been printed in Great Britain, the British spelling is never changed to American.

The overall format and style of this thesis, except for the abbreviated form of the footnotes, has been governed by A Manual For Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations (Revised Edition), by Kate L. Turabian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955).

I want to take this opportunity to thank those people at the University of St. Andrews who were responsible for giving me the opportunity of studying in Scotland. Not only was the entire experience of living in Scotland educational for my family and me, but more than that I consider it a privilege to have been a part of that great and ancient University and to have studied under the teaching staff of St. Mary's College.

I especially want to express my gratitude to two of the members

of the St. Mary's staff--Robert McLachlan Wilson (Lecturer in New Testament Language and Literature) and Robert Davidson (Lecturer in Old Testament Language and Literature)--for their interest, encouragement, and assistance. Both of these men gave me many hours of their time, and it is gratifying to find busy scholars who, nevertheless, are so willing to assist a struggling research student.

And, of course, this work would never have been completed had it not been for the wise and experienced guidance of Matthew Black, Principal of St. Mary's College. It would be misleading to suggest that it was easy to work under the direction of Principal Black. It was not. He is, himself, a precise, thorough, and dedicated scholar, devoted to the discovery and interpretation of truth. He, in turn, expects no less of his students. And, in some intangible way, he is able to instill in his students this same zeal for scholarship at its best. It has been a rewarding experience to have worked with this man.

It is hoped that this thesis may add to our knowledge of truth, so that the efforts of these people and myself will have been worthwhile.

William B. Bradshaw

Norfolk, Nebraska
August 27, 1963

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ABBREVIATIONS

A. Old Testament

1 Chron.	1 Chronicles	1 K.	1 Kings
2 Chron.	2 Chronicles	2 K.	2 Kings
Dan.	Daniel	Lam.	Lamentations
Deut.	Deuteronomy	Lev.	Leviticus
Eccles.	Ecclesiastes	Mal.	Malachi
Esth.	Esther	Mic.	Micah
Ex.	Exodus	Nah.	Nahum
Ezek.	Ezekiel	Neh.	Nehemiah
Gen.	Genesis	Num.	Numbers
Hab.	Habakkuk	Obad.	Obadiah
Hag.	Haggai	Prov.	Proverbs
Hos.	Hosea	Ps., Pss.	Psalms, Psalms
Is.	Isaiah	1 Sam.	1 Samuel
Jer.	Jeremiah	2 Sam.	2 Samuel
Jon.	Jonah	S. of Sol.	Song of Solomon
Josh.	Joshua	Zech.	Zechariah
Judg.	Judges	Zeph.	Zephaniah

B. New Testament

Acts	Acts of the Apostles	Mk.	Mark
Col.	Colossians	Matt.	Matthew
1 Cor.	1 Corinthians	1 Pet.	1 Peter
2 Cor.	2 Corinthians	2 Pet.	2 Peter
Eph.	Ephesians	Phil.	Philippians
Gal.	Galatians	Philem.	Philemon
Heb.	Hebrews	Rom.	Romans
Jas.	James	1 Tim.	1 Timothy
Jn.	John	2 Tim.	2 Timothy
1 Jn.	1 John	1 Thess.	1 Thessalonians
2 Jn.	2 John	2 Thess.	2 Thessalonians
3 Jn.	3 John	Tit.	Titus
Lk.	Luke	Rev.	Revelation

C. Apocrypha

Add. Esther	Additions to Esther
Bar.	Baruch
Bel	Bel and the Dragon
Ecclus.	Ecclesiasticus
1 Esdr.	1 Esdras
2 Esdr.	2 Esdras
Jth.	Judith
Let. of Jer.	Letter of Jeremiah
1 Macc.	1 Maccabees
2 Macc.	2 Maccabees
Sus.	Susanna
Tob.	Tobit
Wis. of Sol. or Wisd.	Wisdom of Solomon

D. Pseudepigrapha

Apoc. Mosis	Apocalypsis Mosis
Aris.	Letter of Aristeas
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses
2 Bar.	2 Baruch or Syriac Baruch
3 Bar.	3 Baruch or Greek Baruch
1 En.	1 Enoch or Ethiopic Enoch
2 En.	2 Enoch or Slavonic Enoch or Book of the Secrets of Enoch
Jub.	Jubilees
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Slav. Vita	Slavonic text of Vita Adae et Evae
Test. of Job	Testament of Job
Test. XII	Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs
Test. Ash.	Testament of Asher
Test. Ben.	Testament of Benjamin
Test. Dan	Testament of Dan
Test. Gad	Testament of Gad
Test. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
Test. Jos.	Testament of Joseph
Test. Jud.	Testament of Judah
Test. L.	Testament of Levi
Test. Naph.	Testament of Naphtali
Test. Reu.	Testament of Reuben
Test. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
Test. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun
Vita	Vita Adae et Evae

E. Miscellaneous

(The following are most of the other abbreviations used.)

chap., chaps.	chapter, chapters
cod.	codex
col., cols.	column, columns
con't.	continued
ed.	edition, editor
e. g.	for example
esp.	especially
f., ff.	following verse (s) or page (s)
G	according to the Greek
H	according to the Hebrew
i. e.	that is
LXX	the Septuagint
Mid.	Midrash
Ms., Mss.	manuscript, manuscripts
n.	footnote
p., pp.	page, pages
pl.	plural
Pt.	Part
R. S. V.	Revised Standard Version
Sect.	Section
sing.	singular
Tal.	Talmud
v., vv.	verse, verses
Vol.	Volume

INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the subject of Biblical demonology, and Biblical critics and theologians alike have directed attention to this topic. But there is not always agreement as to how this matter should be regarded.

Karl Barth, in referring to a discussion about demons, writes the following:¹

Why must our glance be brief? Because we have to do at this point with a sinister matter about which the Christian and the theologian must know but in which he must not linger or become too deeply engrossed. . . . Sinister matters may be very real, but they must not be contemplated too long or studied too precisely or adopted too intensively. It has never been good for anyone . . . to look too frequently or lengthily or seriously or systematically at demons. . . . It does not make the slightest impression on the demons if we do so, and there is the imminent danger that in so doing we ourselves might become just a little or more than a little demonic. . . . The very thing which the demons are waiting for, especially in theology, is that we should find them dreadfully interesting and give them our serious and perhaps systematic attention. . . . A quick, sharp glance is not only all that is necessary but all that is legitimate in their case.

James S. Stewart, on the other hand, would question the wisdom in this quotation. He contends that one of the neglected emphases in New Testament theology is the "dimension of the demonic." He writes:

I submit that in our Christian anthropology we have lost something vital here. Too much there has been lost the sense of a cosmic battle which emerges visibly on to the stage of world events. . . . We

¹Barth, Church Dogmatic, Vol. III, Pt. 3, p. 519.

have lost the emphasis . . . of the spirit forces of evil which are out to destroy the kingdom of Christ This is the insight which modern theological reconstructions have been apt to lose.¹

There are many other contemporary scholars who would agree that we need to pay more attention, not less, to the subject of demonology.²

And I would support this position.

There was a time in ages past when almost all Christians accepted without much question the idea that there existed in opposition to God a demonic kingdom--Satan and the demons--which was responsible for all suffering, tragedy, disease, sin, failure, etc. But as progress was made in areas of science and psychology, more reasonable explanations for such matters were offered and in the closing years of the last century and the first thirty-five or forty years of this century demonology was considered as a more or less out-dated religious doctrine--along with mythology or folklore--and was not taken very seriously by a majority of Christians.

¹ Stewart, "On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology," p. 293.

² The following are some of the more recent works on various phases of demonology (check the bibliography at the end of this study for complete publication data): Bamberger, Fallen Angels; Caird, Principalities and Powers; Cullmann, Christ and Time; Eitrem, Some Notes on Demonology of New Testament; Kallas, Significance of Synoptic Miracles; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, Good and Evil Spirits, and Satan, A Portrait; Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror; Ling, Significance of Satan; Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers"; W. Manson, "Principalities and Powers"; Morrison, The Powers That Be; Noack, Satan's und Soteria; Robinson, Problem of History in Mark; Schlier, Principalities and Powers in New Testament; Stewart, "On a Neglected Emphasis in New Testament Theology"; Unger, Biblical Demonology.

However, in the past fifteen or twenty years there has been an amazing revival in the interest of demonology, especially among European scholars. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact cause for this renewed interest in the demonic. It may quite possibly stem from an attempt to understand or explain the tragic and brutal course of world events over the past fifty years. A non-human demonic kingdom seems to be about the only answer--surely the so-called civilized human creature by himself and of his own power could never have been so inhuman and savage. But whatever the reason, the new interest is with us, and it seems to me to be a very healthy and encouraging development.

More Christians today are realizing that demonology is at the very heart of the doctrine of the atonement--that God's act in Christ cannot merely be considered a revelation of divine love and mercy (although, of course, it is this too), but also that it must be understood in terms of a struggle between Jesus and the demonic counter-kingdom of evil. In the Cross of Christ Satan and the demons were defeated, and now it is possible for mankind to be free from the domination and destruction of the demonic kingdom. As James Stewart puts it:

The really tragic force of the dilemma of history and of the human predicament is not answered by any theology which speaks of the Cross as a revelation of love and mercy--and goes no further. But the primitive proclamation went much further. It spoke of an objective transaction which had changed the human situation and indeed the universe, the kosmos itself. It spoke of the decisive irrevocable defeat of the powers of darkness.¹

Now here again emerges the crucial issue which has too often been overlooked. It is this. The New Testament insists that this will of

¹Stewart, "Neglected Emphasis in Theology," p. 294.

Jesus in His death is only to be understood in relation to the invisible powers dominating the universe and the life of man. The humiliation and sacrifice accepted in the Incarnation are not to be measured simply by the fact that there the Word was made flesh and became identified with sinful humanity . . . beyond that stands the fact that by His entrance into the world Jesus was brought into contact with, and in some measure made subject to, the invisible rulers of that world. . . . Christ's coming to earth . . . was an advance into enemy occupied territory. . . . It was only by meeting these forces on their own ground, only, that is, by getting into history where they were entrenched, that He could break their power.

This is indeed essential to the understanding, not only of the Incarnation, but of the life and teaching and ministry as recorded in the Gospels.¹

There is great need, at the present time, for someone to make a scholarly and detailed study of the demonology of the New Testament. Such an examination would be one of the most worthwhile contributions which could be made to Christian scholarship. It might be wondered why, if such a study is so badly needed, I have instead devoted my time to the study of pre-Christian Jewish demonology.

As strange as it may seem, this present paper was originally begun as a study of New Testament demonology, but it was soon realized that it is not possible to grasp the full significance of Christian demonic concepts without first having a thorough understanding of pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonic ideas, the very background and environment out of which Jesus emerged. After making a search for a reliable study of ancient Hebrew and Jewish demonology, I came to the conclusion that, at least in recent years, there has not been produced what one could

¹Stewart, "Neglected Emphasis in Theology," p. 297.

honestly call a scholarly, objective, and detailed examination of the demonic concepts of the pre-Christian Hebrew people. Even such noted scholars of demonology as W. O. E. Oesterley and Edward Langton--whose works will be examined--appear to come to the Old Testament with certain unjustifiable presuppositions. It has seemed advisable, therefore, to revert to a study of pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonology, and it is hoped that this work will serve as the background for a consequent study of the demonology of the New Testament.

It is very difficult to remain objective when discussing Biblical demonology. Whether we like to admit it or not, most of us are so much a part of this advanced and scientific age that we have some difficulty in thinking in terms of demons and evil spirits, of opposing cosmic realms of good and evil. But it must be remembered throughout the following pages that it is not our intention to consider in any way whether or not evil spirits actually do exist. We are concerned only with trying, as accurately as possible, to determine what the ancient Hebrew people believed about demons. Whether they were correct or incorrect in what they believed is not a subject to be discussed in this thesis. That matter will need to be decided by individuals for themselves, and to a large degree such decisions will depend upon one's regard for and evaluation of the integrity of the Biblical record, both the Old and New Testaments.¹

¹We might as well admit from the outset that whenever we are discussing matters pertaining to the invisible, we are necessarily dealing in realms of theory, not certainty. There is no way to prove or disprove the actual existence of spirits, either good ones or bad ones, and this includes God. We can have good reasons for believing that they exist, but we have no real proof. Such questions are solved only according to one's faith.

In the following chapters we will examine the demonology, or lack of demonology (as is the case in some instances), of: the Hebrew Old Testament, the Greek translations of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Rabbinic Literature. In the conclusion we will summarize our findings of these chapters and then try to evaluate their overall and compound significance.

It cannot be overstressed that we will only be concerned in this study with particular individualized spirits or specific groups of spirits, not with broad and impersonal concepts of evil, that is, the general and nonspecific demonic of the universe. We will not examine evil in general, but specifically the evil spirits--the demons. Nor will we become involved in the study of folklore, magic, mythology, or spiritualism. Although these subjects have much to say about demonology, they are outside the realm of Biblical demonology, and they will be discussed only as they pertain to our subject of pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish Demonology.

CHAPTER I

DEMONOLOGY IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

We will begin our study of pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonology by an examination of the demonic tendencies of the Hebrew Old Testament.

Just to what extent demonology actually exists in the Old Testament is questionable, and opinions vary greatly. On the one hand there was C. H. Toy, who proposed that in the Old Testament there are no evil spirits to which is ascribed either physical or morally hurtful influence.¹ W. O. E. Oesterley² and Edward Langton,³ on the other hand, have found

¹Toy, "Evil Spirits in Bible," pp. 17-18; also consult Toy, Judaism and Christianity, Chap. III, esp. pp. 146, 154, 156. Very near to this position are Conybeare ("Christian Demonology," Jewish Quarterly Review, IX, p. 87) who wrote: "It is singular that the Old Testament is so free from demonology, hardly containing . . . more than two or three examples thereof"; and Burrows (Outline Biblical Theology, p. 124) who finds the Old Testament remarkably free from ideas of malignant spirits, and suggests only two positive identifications of such beings: Lilit (Is. 34:14) and Azazel (Lev. 16:8, 10, 26).

²See several works by Oesterley: "Angelology and Demonology in Early Judaism," pp. 340-347; "Demon, Demoniacal Possession, Demoniacs," pp. 438-439; "Demonology of Old Testament," Pt. I pp. 329-330, 332, Pt. II pp. 528-534; Jews During Greek Period, pp. 278-280; and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion: Origin and Development, pp. 110-112.

³Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 37-52.

all sorts of demons in the Old Testament, in both animal and human form, and even some which occupy a position between the animal and human.¹ And scattered between these two extremes, to various degrees, is the great bulk of opinions.²

It will be our endeavor to take a fresh look at several Old Testament passages and ascertain, as best we can, whether or not the original writers meant to infer demonism. It is difficult enough with any subject matter to deduct accurately, some two or three thousand years after something has been written, what was the intent of the original author. And in addition to the usual problems which crop up with such a study, Biblical demonology presents two particular obstacles: (1) the temptation to be led astray by more recent thought, and (2) the tendency to let ancient religious myths and traditions provoke faulty exegesis of Biblical passages.

Caution must be taken not to be led astray by subsequent Jewish ideas. It is a well-known fact that some later Jewish writers grossly exaggerated the demonic implications of the Old Testament. This subsequent

¹Oesterley wrote: "While willingly granting that the actual, direct references to the different categories of demons in the Old Testament are far fewer than one would expect, being perhaps not more than forty or fifty in number, the indirect references which testify to the popular belief seem to be very considerable" ("Demonology of O.T.," I, p. 317).

There are other scholars whose contentions are similar to Oesterley's and Langton's, also finding many demons in the Old Testament, for example Gaster, "Demon, Demonology," pp. 817-821; Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien, I. Åwån und die Individuellen Klagepsalmen, pp. 64-75 (deals primarily with the Psalms); Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," pp. 590-592.

²Consult the various Bible dictionaries, Biblical and religious encyclopedias, Old Testament commentaries, Old Testament theologies, periodicals, and books on demonology.

material¹ contains absurd exposition of certain Old Testament passages, as well as other fantastic demonic accounts. Unfortunately many students of Old Testament demonology lay too much store on these later interpretations and have either (1) neglected studying the original Biblical accounts, or (2) used these later writings to interpret the original passages, the result being that this later thought has been read back into the Bible where it does not belong.²

Many people who study the Old Testament often rely, sometimes quite heavily, on more recent translations and versions of the Bible. Although this is the only course left open to the non-Hebrew student, and the more convenient one for the less proficient linguist, the fact remains that most translations, whether rendered into English or some other language, are not a true representation of original Hebrew-Biblical thought. This is true of translations of all ages: for example, the Greek Version of the Old Testament, completed in the first century A.D.; the King James Version of 1611; and more recent ones like the American Standard Version, the Moffatt translation, the Revised Standard Version, the New English Bible, etc. Besides the difficulty of finding words in one language which adequately represent those of another, versions are colored by the theological positions

¹Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and Rabbinic Literature, the pertinent portions of which will be examined in later chapters.

²See below Chap. V, pp. 307-315, where this problem is discussed in more detail after the demonology of the later Jewish literature has been studied. In that chapter particular attention is paid to the approach used by Oesterley and Langton.

of the translators and editors, by general trends in the religious thought of the era, and by environmental influences.¹

Further, the development of science has made the study of Biblical demonology difficult. Modern generations tend not to realize that the Bible was written before there was any thought of science as we know it today, and, therefore, no part of it was meant as a scientific treatise. Thus when we criticize the doctrines of the Bible from the viewpoint of modern science, we are in error. We are not concerned, at this point of our study, with whether or not demons did or still do actually exist; we only are concerned with what the Old Testament writers had to say about them, and this confines us to the realm of Judaistic theology, not modern science.

It is obvious that in our study of Old Testament demonology, we must guard against being led astray by more recent thought. But an equally dangerous error is in being wrongly influenced by pre-Biblical thought. The extent to which ancient religious thought influenced Biblical writers is difficult to determine, and some understanding of the relation between them is necessary for an adequate study of Old Testament demonology. The following paragraphs are devoted to a brief discussion of this matter, and include the general position taken in this paper.

Hebrew religion and Christianity are what might well be termed as positive religions; their origins are traced to the teaching of great religious

¹For some of the problems which arise when translating from one language to another, see below, pp. 70-75, but esp. pp. 70-71.

innovators who spoke as the organs of divine revelation, and, in most instances, departed from past traditions, intentionally reshaping the religious thought of the people. In contrast to these were the earlier systems of ancient heathenism, which grew up under the influence of unconscious forces operating silently from age to age--forces not traceable to the influence of individual minds, but which were instinctively believed, as a matter of course, because they were handed down from previous generations. The Hebrew religion, and later Christianity, had to be established on these grounds already firmly occupied by older beliefs,¹ and the whole-hearted acceptance of the new, positive religions was slow and difficult.²

It was too much to expect the great bulk of people to forsake completely the age-long traditions of their forefathers, and, at the same time, to accept fully a new religion. What often happened then, as it still does today, was that the religious leaders held one view, while the great bulk of followers believed, in varying degrees, something else. Since the documents which eventually became what we know as the Old Testament were written and edited by religious leaders and scholars, it must not be assumed that the views presented in them were held, in their entirety, by

¹ Especially those of some of the early Semitic nations, that is, the heathen peoples of ancient Syria and Arabia. Actually, Semite is a purely linguistic term, not one to designate a race, and it is used in this paper of peoples of the ancient Near East who spoke Semitic languages: the Hebrews, Arabs, Babylonians, Assyrians, Aramaeans, Canaanites, and Phoenicians. Consult Smith, Religion of Semites, pp. 5-8.

² For the general thought of this paragraph, see Smith, Religion of Semites, pp. 1-2.

the majority of the Hebrew people. On the contrary, it seems very probable that there was a real difference between what the Old Testament says about demonology and what many people on a popular level actually believed.¹ But our ultimate concern is with the faith of Israel's religious leaders and the Old Testament attitude toward demonology.

In order to understand the Old Testament position toward demonology, it is necessary to be aware of the attitude Israel's leaders often showed toward some of the ancient Semitic demonic concepts. In discussing and recording the Hebrew faith, as found in the Old Testament, these leaders often intentionally borrowed terminology, figures of speech, traditions, stories, myths, etc. from the ancient Semitic religions,² and from the religions of their contemporaries in neighboring countries,³ so readers could experience some connection with the concepts which they had inherited from previous generations and with which they were well acquainted. But as these ancient and popular ideas were borrowed and put into their new framework of Israelite thought, they were re-interpreted and given new

¹It is not being suggested that practically no one believed the oral traditions and writings which eventually became the Bible. It is being suggested, however, that in addition to the views expressed in these, there was a very considerable number of people who held other opinions. This is especially noticeable in the Biblical books of the Prophets; most of these men obviously were bucking the tides of popular opinion. On this entire matter, see, for example: Childs, Myth and Reality in O. T., pp. 30-71; Hooke, "Myth and Ritual: Past and Present," pp. 13-21; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," p. 591.

²See above, n. 1, p. 11.

³Primarily from Babylonia and Persia, where the religions practised had many ancient roots, and perhaps also from Greece, though Greek influence on Biblical demonology, for the most part, was later.

meanings in keeping with the scholarly opinions of the Hebrew religion. Originally the ancient material portrayed one thing, but in a new context it had a different significance. Often the Hebrew scholars had absolute control of their material, keeping in delicate balance the ancient ideas and their new setting, while at other times tension was created because the original meanings struggled against and showed through their new context.¹

One needs to be acquainted with this general approach before examining the Old Testament passages which often are thought to refer to demons. There is no doubt that many creatures in the Old Testament which, on the surface, appear to be demonic do resemble similar creatures which definitely were demons in ancient myths. But admitting resemblance in language and thought is not assuming absolute identity in meaning.

In spite of the mythical flavor a passage may have, its overall Biblical framework must determine its role and meaning in the Scripture. It will not be assumed, in this study, that just because the ancient Semitic mind regarded a serpent, ostrich, goat, jackal, owl, raven, or any other creature as a demon that the Biblical writers automatically followed suit. Maybe they did and maybe they did not; however our decisions on these matters will not be based on mythological assumptions, but on sound exegesis. When a passage is studied it will be considered primarily from its Biblical

¹ Consult Childs, Myth and Reality in O. T., esp. pp. 30-71, but also references below in n. 1, p. 25 and n. 2, p. 63.

context and not from its ancient background, though, of course, the latter will be considered.

Certainly W. O. E. Oesterley and Edward Langton are two of the great scholars of demonology, yet one of their common weaknesses, when dealing with the Biblical material, is that they appear to come to the Bible looking for demonic passages and relying too heavily, for their standard of evaluation, on general trends and principles of ancient Semitic, Persian, and Greek demonology and, at the same time, paying too little attention to the exegesis of the passages in question.

These men¹ often appear to use only one criterion in deciding whether or not various Old Testament passages should be classified as demonic--similarity to more ancient demonic beliefs. For example, see what Oesterley says.

The presumption is that the Hebrews, being Semites, shared with the rest of the race, in the earliest stages of its history, all beliefs which evidence shows to have been common property.²

The fact that an elaborate system of demonology existed among the Canaanites, the Arabs and Babylonians, all closely connected, racially, with the Israelites, raises the natural presumption that these latter, too, had a like system, and that we should therefore expect to find traces of it in their literature.³

¹ Oesterley and Langton are not the only two men who interpret demonology in this way (see, for example, Gaster, "Demon, Demonology," pp. 817-821; Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien, I. Awän und die Individuellen Klagepsalmen, pp. 64-75, and Psalms in Israel's Worship, Vol. II, pp. 1-11; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," pp. 590-592), but attention is called to them because they have probably exerted more influence in the field of demonology than any other scholars. See below, pp. 313, 315.

² Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion: Origin and Development, pp. 110-111.

³ "Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 320.

It is also certain that . . . the part that belief in demons played among the Israelites is often obscured in the Old Testament, so that we have to look to these Arab and Babylonian analogies in order to understand the real meaning and significance of many an Old Testament passage or word.¹

They [the fiery serpents of Numbers 21:6] are not called evil spirits or demons, it is true, but the universal belief among the ancient Semites that serpents were demons makes it certain that demons were thought of here.²

The analogy of other races would prima facie support the inference that the Israelites also had their beliefs in demons.³

Langton takes the same general position as Oesterley. The first three chapters of his book, Essentials of Demonology, are devoted to a discussion of various aspects of ancient Semitic demonology. He vaguely points to the similarity between the demonic beliefs of the ancient Semites and those of the Hebrews. But in later chapters in which he deals with specific Old Testament passages, he frequently and precisely contends that the Old Testament was influenced by the more ancient Semitic beliefs, and he refers to the opening chapters of his book as evidence.

By approaching the Old Testament in this way, he frequently finds demons in Scriptural passages and interprets many ordinary animals as demons: for example, the serpents of Genesis chapter 3, of Numbers 21:6, 8, Deuteronomy 8:15, Isaiah 6:1ff, 14:29, 30:6; the hairy beings of Leviticus 17:7, 2 Chronicles 11:15, 2 Kings 23:8, Isaiah 13:21; and the other creatures of

¹"Demonology of O. T.," II, p. 534.

²Jews During the Greek Period, p. 279.

³"Demon, Demoniacal Possession, Demoniacs," p. 438.

Isaiah 13:21-22, 34:13-15.¹ He also contends that active demons are referred to by the pestilence and destruction of Psalm 91:5, the horseleech or vampire of Proverbs 30:15, Azazel in Leviticus 16:8ff, Lilith in Psalm 91:5 and Isaiah 34:14, and the demons of Deuteronomy 32:17 and Psalm 106:37.

This general approach--interpreting the Old Testament according to ancient Semitic beliefs--makes it very easy unintentionally to read demons into passages where initially they were not meant.² Scholars who tend to do this imply that ancient demonology was too deeply engrained in the people of that day for it not to be present in the Bible. An attitude like this takes for granted that there was little or no change in religious thought from one era to the next. To a degree this is correct, especially in more ancient times; but the very existence of the less primitive Israelite faith is, in itself, testimony of change.

However, we must not lose sight of the main objective of this part of our study, that is, to determine what the Old Testament has to say about demonology; but in order to do this it will be necessary, in some instances, to decide what differences exist between ancient and Biblical thought.

Let us now turn our attention to the Old Testament. The most logical place to begin is with the rare Hebrew word רַעַי, usually translated evil

¹See below, pp. 32-33, for Langton's exegesis of Is. 13:21-22, 34:13-15.

²This is exactly what I think Oesterley and Langton do quite often, and more examples will be given throughout this chapter. They also are troubled by relying on later thought. (See above pp. 8-9, and below, pp. 32-33, 307-315.)

spirit or demon;¹ it is used in the Bible only twice, in Deuteronomy 32:17 and Psalm 106:37, and both times in the plural, **שִׁדְדִים**. However, in these Biblical passages **שִׁדְדִים** does not refer to evil or hurtful spirits, as one usually thinks of demons.

One need only read Deuteronomy 32:15-18 to realize that in verse 17 **שִׁדְדִים** clearly does not refer to evil spirits, but to pagan gods to which the Israelites had been offering sacrifices. They had turned from their true God to worship the false gods of the heathen people, which, in the eyes of faithful Hebrew worshipers, were not gods worthy of worship. These were the **שִׁדְדִים**, that is, the so-called evil spirits or demons.

Compare this usage with Psalm 106:37, where again **שִׁדְדִים** does not refer to evil spirits. When verses 34-38 are read it becomes obvious that the **שִׁדְדִים** of verse 37 are pagan idols which, in contradiction to God's will, were being served by the Israelites and, evidently, to which even human sacrifices were offered.

In Deuteronomy **שִׁדְדִים** (demons) is used to designate false gods²

¹The Hebrew Lexicons used throughout this study are: Brown, Driver, and Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros: A Dictionary of the Hebrew Old Testament in English and German.

² Whitehouse ("Demon, Devil," p. 591) and Langton (Essentials of Demonology, p. 52) suggest that the reference in Deut. 32:17 about **שִׁדְדִים** (demons) being "no-gods" is not meant to denote the absolute non-existence of foreign deities, but to express the impotence and insufficiency of these other gods as compared with the one God of Israel. This is a correct emphasis, for the early Israelites were henotheistic instead of monotheistic; i.e., they acknowledged the existence of foreign gods, but held that the God of Israel, whom they called Yahweh, was superior to all other deities, and that only he should be worshiped by the Israelites (see n. 2, p. 26).

and in the Psalm to refer to pagan idols. In both instances שְׂרִיף does not represent active spirits of evil, but illegitimate objects of Israelite worship; nothing more is implied.

A brief look at the background of this word substantiates this conclusion.¹ The Hebrew שְׂרִיף (demon or evil spirit) is derived from shîdu, the word used by the ancient Assyrians and Accadians to designate spirits of all kinds, either good or evil,² but always spirits of a subordinate type, that is, not gods, but demi-gods or genii.³ Since the Hebrew religion taught that for Israel there was only one true God and all other spirits of any kind were subordinate to Him,⁴ שְׂרִיף was a very appropriate way to indicate false gods and pagan idols. They were relegated to an inferior position as compared to the Israelite God; they were not true gods, but subordinate spirits.

¹ The following were consulted for the background material: Barnes, Psalms, II, pp. 514-515; Barton, "Demons and Spirits," pp. 595-596; Gilmore, "Demon, Demonism," p. 400; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 949; Kohler, "Demonology," p. 515; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 17, 143; McCullough, "Psalms," p. 569; Moss, "Demon," p. 186; Morgenstern, "Demons," p. 531; Thompson, "Demons and Spirits," p. 570; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," p. 591; Wright, "Exegesis of Deuteronomy," p. 521.

²

In Assyria and Babylonia the shîdu seemed most often to be thought of as divinities, represented by statues of winged-bulls which were believed to be divine guardians and placed at the entrances of temples and houses to keep away intruding harmful spirits. The Chaldeans used it of the seven evil storm deities, represented in ox-like form.

³ Kohler ("Demonology," p. 515) disagrees; he suggests שְׂרִיף came to the Hebrews from the Chaldeans, who used it only of evil spirits, and that its root is שְׂרִיף, devastation or violence.

⁴ See n. 2, p. 17, and n.2, p. 26 for monotheistic beliefs.

Our conclusion is that the **שְׂדֵיִם**, as used in the Bible, do not refer to active evil spirits which harm or seduce mankind or which actively oppose God's reign. It is true that the Israelites went astray after them, but they did so on their own accord. The spirits were passive; they did not entice the people to worship them; they are not portrayed as being actively evil. The Hebrew people were the active evil agents, as they made these pagan gods and idols objects of their worship and devotion.¹

A similar word is **שָׂעִיר**, used in the Old Testament many times as an ordinary he-goat; but we are concerned with five

¹ Agreeing with these conclusions are: Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, p. 124; Driver, Deuteronomy, pp. 262-263; Gray, "Demons," col. 1069; Kaufmann, Religion of Israel, pp. 63, 105; Toy, "Evil Spirits in Bible," p. 20, and Judaism and Christianity, pp. 142 (n. 3), 155; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," pp. 591-592.

In partial agreement: Addis ("Psalms," p. 391) thinks the writer of this Psalm oscillates between the belief that heathen deities are lifeless blocks and malignant spirits. Barton ("Demons and Spirits," pp. 595-596) agrees with the conclusion about Deuteronomy, but contends that **שְׂדֵיִם**, used by the Psalmist of heathen idols, is a synonym for demons (p. 598). Barton (Psalms, II, p. 353) says the **שְׂדֵיִם** of Ps. 106:37 "amounts to about the same as demons."

In complete disagreement are the following, who conclude that **שְׂדֵיִם** in both Deut. 32:17 and Ps. 106:37 were meant to be regarded as active hostile spirits: Gilmore, "Demon, Demonism," p. 400; Kohler, "Demonology," p. 515; Langton, Essentials of Demonology pp. 51-52; Oesterley, "Angelology and Demonology," p. 343, and "Demon, Demoniacs," p. 438, and Jews During Greek Period, pp. 279-280; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 225; Pfeiffer, Religion in O. T., p. 25.

In a non-committal position is Foerster ("δαίμων, δαιμόνιον," p. 11), who says we cannot be sure whether the **שְׂדֵיִם** in Deut. 32:17 and Ps. 106:37 are insulting titles for pagan gods and idols or whether they are meant as demons.

passages¹ in which it does not carry this usual meaning.

In three of the verses--Leviticus 17:7, 2 Kings 23:8, 2 Chronicles 11:15--שָׁעִיר² (hairy being) is used as a title for foreign deities, portrayed as false objects of worship, a usage very similar to that of דִּמּוֹן (demon), at which we have just been looking.

Chapter 17 of Leviticus³ is part of the Holiness Code, so designated because of the recurring theme of holiness in both the moral and ritual

¹ Lev. 17:7; 2 Chron. 11:15; Is. 13:21, 34:14 (used in the singular only here); and probably 2 K. 23:8 (most scholars agree that the original form did not read הַשְּׁעָרִים [gates] but הַשְּׁעִירִים or הַשְּׁעָרִים [plural of שָׁעִיר]-- see the lexicons; the commentaries; and Kittel, Biblia Hebraica, p. 601). This paper includes and assumes 2 K. 23:8, though it is not important one way or the other for a general study of Old Testament demonology.

² "Hairy being" is the translation used in this paper; however, שָׁעִיר often is rendered as satyr, demon, or evil spirit (see above n. 1, p. 17).

³ This portion of Scripture probably received its final form about 550 B.C., but it represents traditional material stretching far into the past, comprising primeval customs and cultic ordinances.

Occasionally it is relatively easy to date an Old Testament source or book, but more often it is difficult to fix accurately a precise date, and sometimes it is nearly impossible. A date refers only to "a certain point in the history of a literary complex" (Bentzen, Introduction O. T., II, p. 61). The final forms of the books as they appear in the Old Testament are the result, in most cases, of a long process of development; usually (though not always) they start as oral traditions and eventually become literature. These written documents may then be edited one or several times. To what stage of this development do we assign a date? The dates given passages in this study will be those which mark the time when the material in question seems to have become fairly stable, but this does not rule out some later changes.

Such dating is controversial and opinions vary. In addition to the commentaries, the following are used in arriving at the dates used throughout this chapter: Anderson, Critical Introduction O. T.; Bentzen, Introduction O. T., Vol. II; Driver, Introduction Literature O. T.; Kuhl, O. T.; Oesterley and Robinson, Introduction Books O. T.; Pfeiffer, Introduction O. T.; Rowley, "Introduction O. T."; Weiser, Introduction O. T.

laws. Verses 3-6 discuss the proper procedure for slaughtering and sacrificing domestic animals. In contrast, verse 7 condemns and prohibits any further devotion to foreign gods: the Israelites no longer shall slaughter their sacrifices for the פְּעֻרִים (hairy beings), with whom they have been committing fornication (הִזְנִיחַ). The context alone is enough to show that פְּעֻרִים (hairy being), as used here, refers to idolatrous worship by the Hebrews, and the use of הִזְנִיחַ (to commit fornication)¹ substantiates this. This verb (הִזְנִיחַ) is used often in the Old Testament to indicate religious infidelity--the worship of deities other than God.²

2 Kings 23:4-20³ describes Josiah's religious reform, which took place soon after the "book of the law" was discovered in 622/1 B. C. In accordance with this document, every effort was being made to rid Israel's worship of all foreign or idolatrous elements. A part of this reform consisted in the destruction of the high places of the hairy beings (פְּעֻרִים) located at the gate of the governor's house (verse 8).

The identification of the פְּעֻרִים (hairy beings) with the גְּבוּלֹת (high places) is significant; although at one time high places had been considered legitimate places of worship for Israel, from the seventh century B. C. onward they came to indicate not only unlawful places of worship for Israel, but ones

¹ See n. 1, p. 17.

² For example, Ex. 34:15, 16; Lev. 17:7; 20:5, 6; Deut. 31:16; Judg. 2:17, 8:27; 1 Chron. 5:25; Ezek. 6:9; 20:30. Moore (Judges, p. 72) writes: "The figure [הִזְנִיחַ] suggests the sin of unfaithfulness and shame of prostitution."

³ This passage probably was first written about 625 to 600 B. C. and then was edited about 550 B. C. See n. 3, p. 20.

entirely dedicated to the service of foreign gods.¹ As 2 Kings 23:8 is considered in the context of Josiah's reform measures, we again conclude that שָׁעִיר (hairy being) is used to designate pagan deities which the Israelites had been honoring instead of God.

As we turn our attention to 2 Chronicles 11:15,² it must be remembered that Chronicles was written from the viewpoint of the southern kingdom (Judah) and, agreeing with the narrative in 2 Kings, brands Jeroboam as idolatrous and apostate, damning him for setting up rival shrines in the northern kingdom (Israel).³ Although chapter 11 primarily discusses the reign of Rehoboam,⁴ verses 14b-15 make brief reference to this blasphemous action of Jeroboam: he has dismissed all the Levite priests in Israel and has appointed new ones for the high places (בָּמֹת), for the hairy beings (שָׁעִירִים), and for the calves (עֲגֻלֹתִים) which he has made. In this context שָׁעִירִים obviously refers to false deities which the Israelites have been serving.

¹ For high places, see: Allen, "High Place"; Curtis, Chronicles, p. 368; Davies, "High Places, Sanctuary"; Harper's Bible Dictionary, pp. 260-261; Hirsch, "High Place."

² This verse received its final form some place between 325 and 275 B. C., although its date of origin probably was at least one hundred years earlier. See n. 3, p. 20.

³ There is good reason to believe that in all reality Jeroboam, king of Israel, did not actually desert Yahweh worship by erecting these shrines, but simply tried to establish it in the northern kingdom where there was no temple in which to worship. However, whether he did or did not lead the people into idolatrous practices is not the point; the writers of Kings and Chronicles interpreted his action as if he did (see Anderson, Understanding O. T., pp. 193-195; Bright, History of Israel, pp. 217-218).

Cooke ("Jeroboam," p. 583) disagrees, contending that the writer of Kings, whatever his historical value, was fully justified in his condemnation of Jeroboam, "who made Israel to sin."

⁴ King of Judah.

In all three of these passages--Leviticus 17:7, 2 Kings 23:8, 2 Chronicles 11:15--שָׁעִיר (hairy being) is used to designate foreign deities which had been, but no longer should be, worshiped instead of Israel's true God.

But so far nothing has been said concerning the nature of these hairy beings. Were they demons, that is, active, evil, malignant spirits? There is nothing in these passages which, in any way, implies that the intent of the original writers was to suggest demonism. In these three verses שָׁעִיר (hairy being) is used as a title only, to designate the pagan gods which no longer should be worshiped; our exegesis has shown that nothing more is implied or intended.¹

Several scholars² ignore the contexts of these passages and

¹ Agreeing with these conclusions concerning שָׁעִיר are: Burney, Kings, p. 359; Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, p. 124; Kaufmann, Religion of Israel, pp. 64, 105; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 39-41; Toy, "Evil Spirits in Bible," p. 18.

Many disagree, contending that שָׁעִיר was used to connote demons: Casanowicz, "Satyr," p. 74; Curtis, Chronicles, p. 368; Foerster, "δαίμονες δαιμόνων," p. 11; Kennedy, Leviticus and Numbers, p. 121; Moss, "Devil," p. 188; Gray, Isaiah, p. 244; Oesterley, "Demon, Demoniacs," p. 438, and Jews During Greek Period, p. 279, and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion, p. 113; Post, "Satyr," p. 412; Skinner, Kings, p. 419; Snaith, "Kings," p. 322; Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament, p. 502 (mention is made only of Lev. 17:7); Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," p. 591; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 225.

Koehler (O. T. Theology, p. 160) is much more reserved, suggesting that we cannot be sure what was meant, since these שָׁעִיר (hairy beings) are some of the creatures in the Bible which were "not borrowed and tolerated but inherited and suppressed."

² Casanowicz, "Satyr," p. 74; Kennedy, Leviticus and Numbers, p. 121; Smith, Religion of Semites, pp. 120, 441.

Barnes (Chronicles, p. 182) is not so definite; he writes that the שָׁעִיר "seem to be" identified with the ancient jinn.

contend that שְׂעִרִים (hairy beings) are definitely demons because they resemble so closely the ancient Semitic¹ jinn. But it is a mistake to leap to conclusions before looking more carefully at some ancient conceptions.

The ancient Semite² more or less divided the world between (1) the beasts and demons, and (2) men and gods. To the former belonged the uninhabited places with all their perils, the untrodden wilderness where only the boldest men dare venture; to the latter belonged the regions occupied by mankind. As men gradually drove back the wilderness, the gods drove back the demons.

The difference between the gods and demons was not in their nature or power, but in their relation to man. There was no essential physical difference between demons and gods; there was, however, the fundamental moral difference that demons were strangers to men, and thereby enemies, while the gods were familiar, helpful, and friendly spirits. Ancient Semitic demons would have made good heathen gods had they had a circle of human dependents and worshipers; and conversely the gods which lost their worshipers fell back into the ranks of the demons.

The demons were portrayed as dwelling in various desolate places: in the wilderness, desert and waste lands, mountain glades and passes,

¹ See n. 1, p. 11.

² For the information about ancient Semitic thought in this and the succeeding paragraphs, the following were particularly consulted: Smith, Religion of Semites, esp. pp. 120-131, 441, 539; Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, esp. pp. 1-34; Nöldeke, "Arabs"; Oesterley, Immortality and Unseen World, pp. 24-34, and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion, pp. 108-110; Thompson, "Demons and Spirits."

seldom-used pasture lands, unfamiliar paths, dense thickets in the moist areas of the valleys, burial grounds, and deserted ruins. Since these areas usually were inhabited by various types of wild beasts and creatures, they became nearly synonymous with the demons. Thus demons often were portrayed as hairy animals--goats, unicorns, jackals--but also as snakes, lizards, scorpions, ostriches, owls, and ravens; all were creatures typical of the more desolate regions.

People who contend that the שַׁעֲרִיט (hairy beings) are the Hebrew counterpart of the ancient jinn probably are correct, but they go astray when they assume that just because a word is derived from earlier thought its meaning cannot change in later times.¹ These passages² appear to be additional examples of the literary process examined earlier, whereby ancient ideas and language were partially retained, but given a new connotation by the Biblical writers.³ The שַׁעֲרִיט (hairy beings) resemble, in many ways, the ancient jinn, but our exegesis has shown that in these Biblical verses they are not portrayed as active evil spirits. Misunderstanding has arisen because of the conflict which exists between the old demonic and new non-demonic character of these creatures.⁴

¹Smith (Religion of Semites, p. 19) points out that writers often gave ancient myths and forms new meanings, and that these later uses were the "falsest of false guides to the original meaning of the old religions." Wright (Old Testament Against Environment, p. 28) writes: "Even though the writers borrowed widely from every source, they radically transformed all that was borrowed." See above pp. 12-16.

²Lev. 17:7; 2 K. 23:8; 2 Chron. 11:15.

³See n. 1, this page.

⁴See above, pp. 12-13.

These Biblical writers quite possibly used this word (שַׁעִיר--ha'iry being), which calls to mind the ancient jinn, in order to emphasize symbolically that, for the Israelites, the foreign gods which they had been honoring are now to become like the ancient jinn, inasmuch as they no longer are to have any worshipers. But this does not necessarily mean that they were considered demons. Granted, the ancient Semitic mind would have gone this one step further; having concluded that these creatures were no longer being worshiped, their status automatically would have been reduced from gods to demons, since gods which lost their worshipers were so degraded.¹ But this is not the intent of these Israelite writers.

The religious leaders of the Hebrews could say that foreign gods are no longer to be worshiped by the Israelite people and not necessarily degrade them to demons; these foreign deities could either (1) just remain foreign gods which, from then on, are to be shunned by the Israelites (which probably is the case in Leviticus 17:7 and 2 Kings 23:8)² or (2) be considered

¹See above, pp. 24-25.

²In the times when Lev. 17:7 and 2 K. 23:8 were written (see n. 3, p. 20, and 3, p. 21), the Israelites probably were not strict monotheists; they were henotheists. They acknowledged the existence of other gods, but held that Israel must worship only Yahweh, her one true God. In practice Israel was monotheistic, but in theory she was not. Hence foreign gods could exist alongside Yahweh, and not have to be reduced to the status of demons.

We are not sure when monotheism first emerged in Hebrew religion. It is not until we come to second Isaiah (dated between 550 and 525 B. C.-- see n. 3, p. 20) that we find monotheism clearly and vigorously defended (Is. 40:18-26; 41:1-10, 21-29; 42:8-9; 43:9-13; 44:6-20; 45:5, 7, 11-12, 13, 16, 18; 46:1-11). It may be that it existed earlier, (con't. next page)

as no gods (see 2 Chronicles 13:9), false deities or meaningless idols (which probably is the meaning in 2 Chronicles 11:15).¹ In either instance they are not demons, that is, active evil spirits.

We conclude, therefore, that שְׂעִיר (hairy being) is used in Leviticus 17:7, 2 Kings 23:8, and 2 Chronicles 11:15 as illegitimate objects of worship, not as evil spirits or demons. It has been suggested that שְׂעִיר be translated "hobgoblin," since in these three verses its use should be interpreted as a "scoffing allusion to the debased ancient deities."²

Attention also should be directed to two other passages in which שְׂעִיר (hairy being) is used: Isaiah 13:21 and 34:14. Isaiah chapter 13 is concerned with the doom of Babylon, and the closing verses describe her

(footnote con't.) but in all probability true monotheism did not become fully developed until sometime during the Babylonian Exile--597-538 B.C.

For good discussions concerning monotheism, both for and against the position taken in this study, see: Albright, Archaeology and Religion of Israel, pp. 116-119, and From Stone Age to Christianity, esp. pp. 257-272; Bentzen, Introduction O. T., II, p. 42; Burrows, "Review of Archaeology and Religion of Israel," pp. 475-478, and Outline Biblical Theology, pp. 54-60; Jacob, Theology O. T., pp. 43-67; Meek, "Monotheism and Religion of Israel"; Morgenstern, "Angels," p. 304; Pfeiffer, Religion in O. T., pp. 146, 171-172; Robinson, "Council of Yahweh," and Religious Ideas of O. T., pp. 59-60; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, pp. 175-180; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," p. 591; Wright, O. T. Against Environment, pp. 28-41.

¹This verse is probably to be dated (see n. 2, p. 22) well after true monotheism was firmly established. In this passage the foreign gods are not to be worshiped simply because they do not exist; there is no such thing as a god other than Yahweh.

²Montgomery and Gehman, Kings, p. 532.

future desolation. No human will ever live in this land again (verse 20), but it will be inhabited only by certain types of wild creatures, all of a rather mysterious or undesirable nature (verses 21-22).¹

Chapter 34 of Isaiah is very similar, portraying the destroying wrath of God in general for many nations, and in particular for Edom. It shall be a waste land from now on and no people will ever pass through it (verse 10). It will be possessed and lived in by a number of animals (verses 11-15),² some similar to, and others identical with, those mentioned in 13:21-22.

Included in the lists of animals in both of these chapters are the שְׂעָרִים (hairy beings), whose general character is portrayed as being the same as the other animals mentioned. There is no indication that the שְׂעָרִים (hairy beings)³ were believed to be demons and all the others to be ordinary animals; apparently all were demons or all were animals.

A closer study reveals that of the six types of animals mentioned in Isaiah 13:21-22, five are used in other passages and by different writers, but all with the same emphasis--as typical inhabitants of ruinous places.⁴

¹ See n. 4, this page, for the animals listed in Is. 13:21-22.

² See n. 1, p. 30, for the animals listed in Is. 34:11-15.

³ Used in the plural in Is. 13:21 and the singular in Is. 34:14.

⁴ Some of these creatures are very difficult for us, in this day and age, to identify. Although opinions differ, the following English translations of the Hebrew words seem to be most nearly correct. (In addition to the lexicons and the commentaries, consult: Driver, "The Meaning of שְׂעָרִים and קַנְדָּה in Hebrew"; Oesterley, "Demonology (con't. next page)

There is nothing in this Isaiah passage, or in the other verses where these animals are mentioned, which indicates that they were thought to be demonic; they are, instead, used for indicating literally God-forsaken, desolate areas.

Again the ancient Semite might have reached a different conclusion. For him any regions not inhabited by gods and men would have been populated with demons--thus these various animals probably would have been demonic. But the Biblical writers only say that God does not abide in these lands and that they are desolate except for these creatures. This is a far cry from assuming that they are demonic. This seems to be another example of ancient ideas and phraseology being set into a new framework and given new meaning, but being unable entirely to adapt to their new role.

Most of what has just been said about chapter 13 holds for Isaiah 34:11-15. Twelve types of animals are mentioned as the only inhabitants of the desolate ruins of Edom, and eight are used elsewhere in a similar

(footnote con't.) of O. T.," Pt. II, pp. 529-533; Torrey, Second Isaiah, pp. 286-293.

צִיָּוִם--wild beasts (a specific species of animal, but impossible to establish its identity)--used in Is. 13:21, 23:13, 34:14; Jer. 50:39.

אֵתֵּי אֵי--howling creatures--used in Bible only in Is. 13:21.

בָּנוֹת יַעֲנֵב--daughters of greed, i.e., ostriches (as gluttonous birds)--used in Is. 13:21, 34:13, 43:20; Jer. 50:39.

שֵׁעֲרֵי שֵׁם--hairy beings--used in Is. 13:21, 34:14.

אֵיֵי--jackals (not hyenas)--used in Is. 13:22, 34:14; Jer. 50:39.

אֵיֵי--jackals--used in Is. 13:22, 34:13, 35:7 (?), 43:20; Jer. 9:11 (H--9:10), 10:22, 49:33, 51:37; Mal. 1:3.

manner.¹ But the problem in this passage is the mention of לִילִית (Lilith) in verse 14.

לִילִית (Lilith)² is the Hebraized form of an ancient Babylonian

¹See n. 4, pp. 28-29 for general information and sources.

תַּיִט--probably some kind of an owl or jackdaw (considered to be unclean [Lev. 11:18, Deut. 14:17])--used in Is. 34:11; Ps. 102:6 (H--102:7); Zeph. 2:14.

קַפְזוֹד--hedgehog or porcupine (perhaps it could be some kind of owl)--used in Is. 34:11, 14:23; Zeph. 2:14.

תַּיִט--probably some kind of an owl (considered to be unclean Lev. 11:17, Deut. 14:16)--used in Is. 34:11.

עֵבֶר--raven (unclean [Lev. 11:15, Deut. 14:14])--used in Is. 34:11; Zeph. 2:14.

אֲיָמָל--jackals--see n.4 , p. 28 .

אֲיָמָל--ostriches--see n.4 , p.28 .

אֲיָמָל--wild beasts--see n.4 , p.28 .

אֲיָמָל--jackals (not hyenas)--see n.4 , p.28 .

אֲיָמָל--hairy being--see n. 4, p. 28.

לִילִית--Lilith--see text below, pp.30 -34 .

אֲיָמָל--probably some kind of owl (though many say an arrow-snake)--used in Bible only in Is. 34:15.

אֲיָמָל--undefinable forbidden birds (probably some kind of black vultures, perhaps kites [see Lev. 11:14; Deut. 14:13])--used in Is. 34:15.

² For the following information about לִילִית, along with the lexicons and commentaries, consult: Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, p. 124; Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," No. 2, p. 82; Foerster, "δαίμωνες, δαιμόνιοι," p. 11; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 47-48; "Lilith," Encyclopaedia Biblica; "Lilith," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia; Oesterley, "Angelology and Demonology," p. 343, and Jews During Greek Period, p. 280, and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion, pp. 117-118; Pfeiffer, Religion in O. T., p. 25; Selbie, "Lilith"; Toy, "Evil Spirits in Bible," p. 19; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 225; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," p. 590.

demon, Lilitu, who, with her husband, Lilu, and his maidservant, Ardat Lile, probably were powerful storm demons. In Jewish folklore and Rabbinic Literature, Lilith was a fierce female demon, and through false etymological conclusions she was especially associated with night.¹

The word is used in the Bible only this once, so that it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about it. But in the context of Isaiah 34: 11-15 לַיְלִיטִים (Lilith) appears to be nothing more than one of the ordinary animals which will live in the desolate ruins of Edom. There is no indication that לַיְלִיטִים (Lilith) is different in character from the other creatures mentioned in this passage. The only reason for thinking of לַיְלִיטִים (Lilith) as a demon is that the word is derived from the name of an ancient demon. Although in pre-Biblical thought לַיְלִיטִים (Lilith) was a demon,² the writer of Isaiah seems to use the word as a designation or name for some kind of an animal living in the wilderness regions;³ it is possible that originally it was some type of a fierce monster which was greatly feared and gradually acquired the title of לַיְלִיטִים (Lilith).⁴ It is used here in conjunction with the other

¹Resemblance of לַיְלִיטִים to לַיְלִיטִים (night) is incidental.

²And, for that matter, in the minds of many people during the Old Testament times, and certainly the later Judaism as represented by Rabbinic Literature.

³Both C. H. Toy ("Evil Spirits in Bible," p. 19) and John Skinner (Isaiah, I, p. 110) agree with this conclusion.

⁴Just as today we may call a person (or animal) a devil, a little demon, Satan, a monster, a monkey, a tiger, etc., even though we know he or she is not actually one of these creatures; but there is something about the person's general character that resembles, in some way, one of these beings so we apply the title. Often such nicknames become permanent.

animals to express the total absence of human life.

Again let it be stressed that in Isaiah 13:21-22 and 34:11-15 there is no reason to believe that some of the creatures are portrayed as demons and others as ordinary animals. The contexts of the verses lead us to think that they all are either demons or animals. There is a total of thirteen different kinds of creatures mentioned in these verses, and there seems no question that eleven refer to ordinary animals; there remains doubt about only two: the hairy beings (שׂרָפִים) and Lilith (לִילִית).

Edward Langton¹ contends that the hairy beings and Lilith, and in fact all eleven of the other creatures as well, refer to demons, but his exegetical method could certainly be questioned. He starts by assuming that Lilith in Isaiah 34:14 is a demonic creature because she "appears as a notable demon in Babylonian demonology" (pp. 39-40). Since the hairy creatures in Isaiah 34:14 are mentioned along with Lilith the implication is "that they are viewed as belonging to the same category of supernatural or demonic creatures" as Lilith (p. 39). Then he assumes that since all the other animals in 34:14 "are mentioned along with the" hairy beings they too are demons (pp. 40, 41-43). In a more or less apologetic manner he assures his readers that the mention of the many "well-known animals" along with the hairy beings "creates no difficulty in view of the close association of demons and wild animals in Egyptian, Arabian, and Baby-Assyrian religion" (p. 40). Finally, since the hairy beings of verse 34:14 are demons, he assumes that they are likewise in Isaiah 13:21, and thus that all the creatures in Isaiah 13:21-22

¹Essentials of Demonology, pp. 39-43.

are also demons (pp. 41-43).

Langton's entire position centers around the fact that Lilith (לִילִית), or some variation of the name, was a demon in Babylonian demonology. He admits that the hairy beings (שֵׂרִיפִים) in Leviticus 17:7 and 2 Chronicles 11:15 are not demons, but that they are considered demonic in Isaiah because they are used in one verse with Lilith. He further admits that all of the other creatures mentioned in Isaiah 13:21-22 and 34:11-15 are usually used as "well-known animals," but in these verses they are demons because they appear in connection with the supposedly demonic hairy beings.¹

Langton, in using this approach, completely ignores such matters as context of the verses, intention of the Hebrew author, comparison of similar passages, usage of vocabulary in other Biblical books, etc., and, instead, he is guided solely by the fact that in pre-Biblical thought Lilith was depicted as a demon.

I would suggest turning the argument around. Since eleven of the creatures mentioned in Isaiah 13:21-22 and 34:11-15 are never used in other verses as demons, we can assume they are not demonic in Isaiah. And since the hairy beings (שֵׂרִיפִים) are used alongside of these other non-demonic creatures, we can assume the hairy beings likewise are not demons, especially since they are not considered demonic in any other Biblical verses. Finally, since all of the other creatures in these verses are not demonic, then we can assume that Lilith must not be a demon either, especially since

¹Oesterley also suggests that all of the creatures in these verses are demons, and he relies entirely on ancient Semitic demonology for his evidence ("Demonology of O. T.," Pt. II, pp. 528-534).

the name is not used in any other passage in the Old Testament. Toy sums it up briefly and, I think, accurately: "The lilith of Isa. xxxiv, 14 appears to be a wild animal, and not a demon; it occurs in a list of animals, and does not seem to be in any way distinguished from the others."¹ This entire line of thought is supported by our exegetical findings.

We conclude that דַּרְבָּנוֹת (hairy beings), לִילִית (Lilith), and all the other animals mentioned in Isaiah 13:21-22 and 34:11-15 are portrayed as ordinary animals which might be expected to dwell in uninhabited regions, not as demons, and this position is supported by C. H. Toy and John Skinner.² These various creatures are used in these passages to typify complete desolation--absence of God and mankind. Misunderstanding has surrounded these words because their ancient meanings have tended to remain with them. Werner Foerster correctly points out that there is ancient superstition connected with some of these creatures, but that

¹"Evil Spirits in Bible," p. 19.

²See Toy, "Evil Spirits in Bible," p. 19, and Skinner, Isaiah, I, p. 110.

Several writers, however, contend that some are demons (particularly Lilith) and others ordinary animals: Brown, Driver and Briggs, Lexicon; Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, p. 124; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon; Pfeiffer, Religion in O. T., p. 25; Scott, "Isaiah," pp. 258, 357; Torrey, Second Isaiah, pp. 286-293, Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 225.

Some scholars contend that all of the creatures mentioned in these verses are demons: Gray, Isaiah, p. 244; Oesterley, "Demonology of O. T.," Pt. II, pp. 528-533, Jews During Greek Period, pp. 279-280, and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion, pp. 114-117; Wade, Isaiah, pp. 92, 97; and, as mentioned in the text, Langton, Essentials of Demonology.

Actually out of all these references only three people have made detailed studies of demonology: Toy, Oesterley, and Langton, and Toy is the only one of the three to use a sound exegetical approach.

the Biblical writers using these terms paid no attention to their demonic backgrounds.¹

Another Hebrew word causing much controversy is אֲזַזֵּל, usually translated Azazel.² It is used in the Bible in the laws pertaining to the Day of Atonement in Leviticus chapter 16.³ On this occasion two goats are to be set apart, and by casting lots one shall be designated as a sin-offering for Yahweh, the other for אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel). After the goat for Yahweh is offered in the ordinary way as a sin-offering for the people, the high priest is to put his hands on the head of the other goat, confess the sins of the Israelites, so as to place them on the animal's head, and send it into the wilderness for אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel). The question confronting us is who or what is אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel)? Is this some demonic creature?

Although Leviticus 16 is considered by most scholars to be one

¹Foerster, "δαίμων, δαιμόνιον," p. 11. Also see above n. 1, p. 25.

²For the information concerning this word consult: the lexicons; the commentaries; "Azazel," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia; Benzinger, "Azazel"; Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, p. 124; Cheyne, "Azazel," and "Date and Origin of 'Scapegoat'"; G. R. Driver, "Three Technical Terms in Pentateuch," pp. 97-98; S. R. Driver, "Azazel"; Farnell, Evolution of Religion, pp. 88, 116-117; Gaster, "Azazel"; Gilmore, "Demon, Demonism," p. 400; Kohler, "Azazel," and "Demonology," p. 515; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 43-46 (relies heavily on pre-Biblical material); McCurdy, "Azazel"; Morgenstern, "Demons," p. 532; Oesterley, "Demon, Demoniacs," pp. 438-439, and Jews in Greek Period, p. 279 (relies heavily on post Old Testament Jewish literature), and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion, pp. 113-114; Pfeiffer, Religion in O. T., p. 25; Smith, Religion of Semites, pp. 416-423, 467; Toy "Evil Spirits in Bible," pp. 18-19, and Judaism and Christianity, pp. 144-145; Vriezen O. T. Theology, p. 225.

³vv. 8, 10, 26.

of the latest developments in the Priestly Code,¹ the ideas surrounding the use of אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel) appear to be very ancient. We have here one of the few examples in the Bible² of the retention of a type of very primitive ceremony known as transference of sin, "whereby the sin can be extracted as if it were a substance from the person of the sinner and transferred into another man or animal or even an inanimate object."³ This is a much earlier stage in the development of religion than is found in most of the sacrificial practices of the Old Testament. "In ordinary burnt-offerings and sin-offerings the imposition of hands is not officially interpreted by the Law as a transference of sin to the victim, but rather has the same sense as in acts of blessing or consecration [Gen. 48:14; Num. 8:10; Deut. 39:9; cf. 2 Kings 2:13 ff.] where the idea no doubt is that the physical contact between the parties serves to identify them, but not especially to transfer guilt from one to the other."⁴

¹Probably around 500 B. C. or a little later; see above n.3, p.20 .

²Compare Lev. 14:1-9, 48-53; Zech. 5:5-11.

³Farnell, Evolution of Religion, p. 116. Also consult Frazer, Scapegoat, pp. 1-71. The original purpose of such primitive ceremonies was to purify man by providing a channel for the removal of his sin. This was accomplished by transferring his sin to an animal, which was then led into a nearby wilderness, where it either wandered around by itself until it met its death, or was pushed over a cliff.

⁴Smith, Religion of Semites, pp. 422-423. Also see Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel, where he writes the following about the laying of hands on the head of a sacrificial victim: "This action is not a magic gesture to establish contact between God and man, nor is it a symbolic action implying that the victim is a substitute for the man, whose sins are thereby transferred to the victim for expiation. . . . Nor is this laying of hands on the victim a simple manumissio or abandoning of the victim to God: rather, it is a solemn attestation that this victim (con't. next page)

Probably the role of אַזַּזֵּל (Azazel) in Leviticus 16 is the survival of older, pre-Israelite practices,¹ which apparently were too deeply rooted in ancient folk-practice to permit their complete expulsion; so they were engrafted on, and accommodated to, the sacrificial system of the Hebrews, but only after they had been stripped of much of their original, pagan character.² If we are accurate in assuming a very early date for such purgation rites, probably the mention of a specific demon (Azazel) is a feature which was added later.³ But we cannot be sure; we know absolutely nothing of the date of origin or the original meaning or character of אַזַּזֵּל

(footnote con't.) comes from this particular individual who is laying his hands on it, that the sacrifice which is going to be presented to God by the priest is offered in his name, and that the fruits of this sacrifice shall be his" (p. 416).

¹See Frazer, Scapegoat, pp. 170-228 for examples of similar ceremonies in various countries.

²Cheyne ("Azazel," cols. 395-396, and "Date and Origin of 'Scapegoat'") is one of the few writers who disagrees at this point. He suggests one of the objects of this ritual was to do away with the cultus of the שַׂרְפָּיִם (hairy beings), and this was accomplished by intentionally substituting a personal angel--Azazel (evil by nature, but hindered from action)--for the horde of impersonal hairy beings which was so often honored by the Israelites. Thus Azazel is of literary and not popular origin and comes from the school of speculative students of Scripture which was responsible for the names of angels, both good and evil, in later literature; it can be dated as late as the fourth century B.C. He further suggests the original spelling of the word was אֱלֹהֵי־יָמֵן (God strengthens) but was deliberately changed out of a reverent desire to conceal the original name of this fallen angel.

³In very early Semitic thought demons were not individualized and did not have specific names; they were but a class of evil spirits set apart from civilization. At first there would have been no particular demon distinguishable either by a name, such as Azazel, or by a function, such as to receive the animal bearing man's guilt; such conceptions probably would have come into existence after the original form of this primitive ceremony was first practised.

(Azazel). The etymology of this word is very uncertain.¹

We still have not answered our main question: is אַזַּזֵּל (Azazel) a demon? In all probability the answer is he was, because in Leviticus אַזַּזֵּל seems to be portrayed as some kind of an inactive evil spirit. The

¹ Several different etymologies have been offered for אַזַּזֵּל but all are only speculative and none is really satisfactory. Seven of the most well-known suggestions are listed below. I do not know that any one is the most accurate or logical (consult n. 2, p. 35 for the sources of these etymologies).

(1) אַזַּזֵּל comes from the Arabic 'azāla (to remove), and in Lev. 16 it means "entire removal," designating the overall theme of the goat ritual.

(2) אַזַּזֵּל is the intentional phonetic softening of אַזַּזֵּל, and therefore means "avertor or remover" of evil; this interpretation also traces אַזַּזֵּל back to the Arabic 'azāla (to remove).

(3) Again it is suggested that אַזַּזֵּל comes from the Arabic 'azāla (to remove), and originally it was a collective designation of spirits in the desert which "separated" or "diverted" desert travelers, and finally it became a single evil spirit.

(4) אַזַּזֵּל has gone through a series of corruptions. Originally it was אַזַּזֵּל, then אַזַּזֵּל, and finally אַזַּזֵּל. Hence, it means "shaggy fleece."

(5) אַזַּזֵּל simply means "goat" (אֵז) "of departure" (אֵזֵל), making Azazel the goat which goes into the wilderness to be sacrificed instead of the being which already is in the wilderness to receive the sacrificial goat.

(6) אַזַּזֵּל is derived from the Arabic 'azāz (rough ground or a rugged cliff) or 'azza (to be rugged), and therefore it does not designate an animal or spirit, but is the name of the place in the wilderness to which the sacrificial goat goes; it means "jagged cliff or precipice." This interpretation is influenced primarily by later Rabbinic Literature.

(7) Originally אַזַּזֵּל was אַזַּזֵּל (God strengthens), but was deliberately changed out of a desire to conceal the original name (see n. 2, page 37). Compare below, p. 115, esp. n. 1.

construction of the passage calls forth this interpretation.

The priest is to cast lots upon the two goats, and one goat is for Yahweh and the other for אֲזַזֵּל . אֲזַזֵּל appears to be pictured here as the antithesis of Yahweh. Since Yahweh is a good supernatural being of a personalized nature, in order to keep the parallelism of the passage, אֲזַזֵּל needs to be interpreted as an evil supernatural being of a personalized nature. Hence, אֲזַזֵּל appears to be the name of some kind of evil spirit or demon which dwells in the wilderness.¹ But it should be emphasized that אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel) is not depicted as an active demon which attempts to harm mankind and frustrate God. It is nothing more than a passive creature of the wilderness, and it plays no role in Old Testament theology.

We will look briefly at one other narrative which often is thought to

¹This is by far the majority opinion, but certainly not the only one. See n. 2, p. 37 for Cheyne's suggestion that אֲזַזֵּל was not a real spirit but is of purely literary origin. McCurdy ("Azazel," p. 367) suggests that this creature was a demon in ancient thought, but the early Hebrews elevated it to a position of a god, and it is as such that it appears in Lev. 16.

But the main counterproposals are only three in number.

(1) אֲזַזֵּל is a symbolical name, meaning "entire removal," and it is used to refer in general to the overall theme of the goat ritual. Hence אֲזַזֵּל is not a goat or the place where the goat goes; it is a word used to designate the ceremony itself and the forgiveness accomplished by the ceremony. See proposed etymology number (1) in n. 1, p. 38.

(2) אֲזַזֵּל is the name of the goat, not an evil spirit. This idea appears in different variations. See proposed etymologies numbers (2), (4), (5) in n. 1, p. 38.

(3) אֲזַזֵּל means the place to which the goat goes in the wilderness. This interpretation is primarily based on later Jewish interpretations, mostly from Rabbinic Literature, and G. R. Driver ("Three Technical Terms in Pentateuch") is about the only modern scholar to support it. See proposed etymology number (6) in n. 1, p. 38.

refer to a demon: the story of Adam, Eve, and the serpent in the Garden of Eden (Genesis, chapter 3). By a process of reasoning similar to that which we have been employing, we must conclude that there is no inference to Satan or a demon.¹

In Genesis 3:1 we are told that the serpent simply is the most subtle of God's creatures; yet the character and behavior of the serpent in the following verses hardly match this description.² Again we can be confused by the tension which exists between ancient mythological and popular conceptions and those of the Hebrew faith. Since antiquity the serpent had been dreaded and feared, pictured as possessing supreme wisdom, as being cunning, wicked, and destructive; it is the elimination of these undesirable characteristics in the Biblical narrative which causes much of the ambiguity surrounding the serpent of the Garden of Eden. The Hebrew scholar(s)

¹ Although they use various means, the following are a few of the scholars who reach the same conclusion: Baab, Theology O. T., p. 230, n. 1; Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, p. 126; Childs, Myth and Reality in O. T., pp. 43-48; Driver, Genesis, p. 44; Koehler, O. T. Theology, pp. 175-177; Robinson, Religious Ideas of O. T., pp. 179-180; Ryle, "Early Narratives of Genesis"; Schaff, "Devil"; Skinner, Genesis, pp. 71-73, and "Fall," p. 258.

There are some scholars, on the other hand, who believe the serpent is Satan; Gruenthaner, "Demonology of O. T.," pp. 8-15; Kaufmann, Religion of Israel, pp. 65-66; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, p. 37; Smith, Religion of Semites, p. 442; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," p. 591, and "Satan," p. 407.

For general information on this subject, besides the works already mentioned in this note and other commentaries on Genesis, see: Lelyveld, "Fall of Man"; Masterman, "Serpent"; and "Serpent," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia.

² E.g., the serpent talks, has knowledge of what has gone on between God and Adam and Eve, knows about the tree, seems to dislike God, has exceptional persuasive ability, etc.

responsible for this story in Genesis attempts to reduce the evil serpent of the past to an ordinary creature of God, but the complete fusion of the two ideas is not accomplished.

Bewilderment also can be attributed to the very nature of the subject matter being treated--the origin and nature of sin. This narrative is concerned with the problem of how disobedience can be accounted for in a world which was originally created as a harmonious whole by God. This narrative tries to analyze "the process of temptation so the beginning of sin could be assigned to a source which is neither in the nature of man nor in God."¹ Because of his supreme subtlety, the serpent is assigned this role. Yet in order to keep out cosmic dualism,² the serpent is made to be a creature of God; he has not been in coexistence with God since the beginning, yet he owes his existence to Him. But when this happens, God then becomes indirectly responsible for the origin of disobedience since He created the serpent.

In other words, there is "a tension which cannot be resolved, an incomprehensibility which rejects all rationalization, a mystery which resists unveiling. Evil is not created by God nor is it outside God's power; nevertheless, sin is an active power, a demonic force. It is an incomprehensible hatred toward God which revolts against his authority."³

We affirm our earlier conviction that the serpent in Genesis chapter 3 is not portrayed as an evil spirit. In fact, even though the serpent had been

¹ Skinner, Genesis, p. 73.

² For dualism, see below n. 2, p. 62 and n. 1, p. 63.

³ Childs, Myth and Reality in O. T., pp. 47-48.

greatly feared in ancient pre-Biblical days, there is no evidence that this creature had ever been thought of as a demon. It seems very probable that the serpent was feared because people believed it was responsible for robbing man of immortality, and shortening the years of his life, but not because it was demonic. There are many ancient traditions to verify this.¹ But whatever its earlier use, there is absolutely no indication that the serpent is portrayed as an evil spirit in Genesis.² There is a certain lack of clarity about the narrative, but this is due to the tension which exists between pre-Biblical and Biblical ideas surrounding the figure of the serpent, and the ambiguity surrounding the subject matter of the story.

We have examined the passages of the Old Testament which most often are thought to contain demonic references.³ The general conclusion

¹See, for example, Frazer, Folk-Lore in Old Testament, Vol. I, pp. 49-65, and Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts, pp. 96-97 (Tablet XI of "The Epic of Gilgamesh").

²See below, pp. 217-219, for the first time the serpent is identified with the Devil.

³However, it has been suggested, by a variety of writers, that quite a number of other Old Testament passages also refer to demons. We have not examined such verses for three reasons: (1) they are so numerous that to do so would require many added pages of unnecessary reading, (2) most reliable scholars agree that the majority of them are not demonic, and (3) when a careful exegetical study is made of each passage, one becomes fairly certain that there is no real basis for suggesting that any one of these passages actually refers to demons, though in some verses this is less apparent.

Perhaps part of the problem hinges around passages (e.g., Gen. 6:1-4; Pss. 58, 82; Is. 14:12-15, 24:21-23) which hint of disobedience and trouble in the ranks of the celestial (i.e., non-human) beings. Passages like these deal with the larger problem of evil, but not with demonology, and there is a difference. These early writers find the cause for existing evil in both human and superhuman creatures, but this does not mean the superhuman creatures are demons. They are portrayed as celestial beings which have gone astray--no (con't. next page)

reached is that in the Old Testament there are no references to independent, active, evil spirits, although many Biblical passages draw upon older demonic myths and beliefs and sometimes the demonic elements of these stories are not entirely eliminated as they are transferred to their new, non-demonic, Biblical framework. If there are any references to demons in the Old Testament, they are merely the passive wilderness creatures, which man always had feared--those wild animals about which he knew so little, because they dwelt in the dangerous, uninhabited regions surrounding civilization.

Thus far our decisions have been based on exegetical studies of a few pertinent passages. The same conclusions, however, can also be supported by a consideration of general Old Testament theology.

The recognition of suffering and calamity occupies a prominent position in Old Testament thought. Just how is one to account for infliction and oppression, especially in a world created and sustained by a righteous and loving God? In almost every book of the Old Testament¹ this question

(footnote con't.) more is implied.

It is these types of passages which many post Old Testament Jewish scholars interpret as demonic (as we will see in succeeding chapters), and, to this day, some people follow their example.

Following are many (though by no means all) of the verses suggested by different people as referring to demons: Gen. 4:7; 6:1-4; 14:3; 35:4; 38:18, 25; Ex. 28:33; Num. 15:38; 21:6, 8; Deut. 8:15; 18:11; 22:12; 32:8; 33:13; 2 K. 23:4; Job 3:8; 5:22-23; 9:13; 14:13; 26:12-13; 33:22; chap. 41; Pss. 58; 74:13-14, 18-19; 82; 87:4; 89:10; 91:5-6; 109:6; Prov. 30:15; Is. 3:20-22; 14:12-15, 29; 24:21; 27:1; 30:6; 51:9-10; Jer. 50:39; Ezek. chaps. 38-39; Dan. 7:8, 25; 9:27; 10:13, 20-21; 11:31, 36-45; 12:11; Zech. 13:2.

¹E.g., Gen. chap. 3 (Garden of Eden); chaps 6-9 (the flood); 18:16-19:23 (destruction of Sodom and Gamorrah); Ex. 32:9-10, (con't. next page)

is resolved by the straightforward doctrine of reward and punishment: a good life brings divine reward, an evil one brings punishment, which consists of misfortunes of all kinds.¹

The principle is stated clearly in Deuteronomy 11:26-28, "Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: the blessing, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you this day, and the curse, if you do not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn aside from the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which you have not known."²

This concept of divine reward and punishment is not developed by these early thinkers merely from the standpoint of logic, philosophy, or speculation, but it comes into being through the attempt to interpret history in terms of theology. The sinful life of a people is responsible for the judgment of God, in the guise of adversity.

It must be remembered that the idea of "corporate personality" was

(footnote con't.) 21-35; Lev. 26:14-45; Num. 11:1-3; chap. 12; 14:10-45; 16:20-22; 20:12; Deut. 11:26-28; chap. 28 (see esp. vv. 1-2, 15); 30:15-20; Josh. 1:7-8; Judg. 2:6-3:11; 1 Sam. chap. 15; 16:14-23; 18:10; 19:10; 2 Sam. chap. 24; 2 K. 17:6-23; 1 Chron. 2:14-15; 21:7; Pss. 1; 11; 15; 37; 49; 55:22-23; 73; 92:5-15; 112; Prov. 2:21-22; 10:27-32; 11:5, 8, 19-21; 12:2-3, 7, 12-13, 21, 26-28; Is. 3:10-11; 24:4-13; chap. 26; 40:1-2; 45-7; Jer. 12:1-3; chap. 15; 25:8-11; 31:27-30; Lam. chaps. 1-4; Ezek. chap. 18; Dan. 4:27; 9:13-14; 12:1-4, 10; Hos. 4:7-10; 6:1; 8:3; 10:11-12; Joel; Amos; Obad.; Jon., esp. chaps. 1, 3; Mic. 3:9-12; Nah.; Hab. chaps. 1-2; Zeph.; Hag. 1:5-11; Zech. 1:2-6; Mal.

¹E.g., death, war, military defeat, deception, falsehood, mental agony, ravages by wild beasts, fire, consumption of crops by enemies, harvest failure, famine, pestilence, blight, drought.

²R. S. V.

especially characteristic of early Hebrew thought,¹ and the individual was considered not so much as a single person, but as a part of the group to which he belonged.² The group, in turn, was characterized not as several individuals, but as a single unit, with a sort of personality of its own.³ Hence, one person or even a group within a nation might lead righteous lives, but they would be held legally responsible for, and even contaminated by, the sinful lives of the other people. To some extent we think this way today, but the notion of the social organism was much more pronounced then.⁴

The doctrine of retributive suffering as the penalty of sin could be "accepted by all serious minds without question, so long as the religious unit was, primarily, the nation. There would always be enough evil visible

¹For the Hebrew idea of "corporate personality," see, e.g.: Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, pp. 143-145; Knudsen, Religious Teaching of O. T., pp. 316-350; Robinson, Religious Ideas of O. T., pp. 87-91; Mowinckel, Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, pp. 42-46, 37-39; Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, pp. 263-264; Pfeiffer, Religion in O. T., pp. 147-149; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, pp. 212-220.

²The group could be the family, community, nation, etc.

³Rowley (Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 32) writes: "It was characteristic of Israelite thought to pass from the collective to the individual . . . and to represent the group by the single figure and then go on to treat this as a real individual."

⁴When one member of a family commits serious offenses and appears in public court and goes to prison, the entire family suffers, to some degree, social disgrace. However, the modern mind does not think of the remaining members of the family as actually being guilty, but more as the unfortunate victims of circumstance. The same is true of a nation which starts a war and suffers defeat, such as Germany; the great mass of people were victims of a fanatical government, yet the entire population pays the consequences. But in early Hebrew thought there were no innocent victims of circumstance; all were considered guilty. The sins of some members of a group were considered the sins of all its members.

in the national life, past or present, to make suffering seem just to the more thoughtful minds; that it was shared by the righteous and the unrighteous was amply explained by the principle of the solidarity of the nation, its corporate personality before Yahweh."¹

But with the gradual emergence of individualism,² this theory was ultimately to break down.³ It is one thing to apply such a conception to the life of a nation, and quite another to apply it to the individual lives of people. "In the case of individual men, glaring inconsistencies arose between the apparent deserts and the visible fortunes."⁴ Too often the wicked prospered and the righteous suffered.

The prophet Jeremiah, due to the experiences of his own life, probably was the first writer to raise serious doubts about this doctrine. He writes:

Righteous art thou, O LORD,
when I complain to thee;
yet I would plead my case before thee.

¹Robinson, Religious Ideas of O. T., pp. 170-171.

²A noticeable emphasis on individualism begins to appear in Jer. 12: 1-3, 31:29-30, written about 600 B.C., followed only a few years later by Ezek. 18:1-20 and chap. 33. But traces of the idea are found in much earlier sources, e.g., Ex. 32:33 (about 700 B.C.) and Deut. 24:16 (700 to 650 B.C.). There are good reasons for suggesting that Gen. 18:22-33 and 2 Sam. 24:17 are later insertions and belong to period after 600 B.C., but we cannot be sure (consult the commentaries). See above n. 1, p. 45, and n. 3, p. 20.

³I would not want to give the impression that in early Hebrew thought the individual was completely ignored. This would be an inaccurate assumption. But certainly the early predominant emphasis was on collectivism and not individualism; gradually and increasingly the problems of the individual came to the fore.

⁴Robinson, Religious Ideas of O. T., p. 171.

Why does the way of the wicked prosper?
Why do all who are treacherous thrive?
Thou plantest them, and they take root;
they grow and bring forth fruit;
thou art near in their mouth
and far from their heart.
But thou, O LORD, knowest me;
thou seest me, and triest my
mind toward thee.
Pull them out like sheep for the slaughter,
and set them apart for the day of slaughter.¹

But as is clearly seen from other passages,² Jeremiah does not reject the idea of divine reward for the righteous and punishment for the wicked; he merely raises the question of God's justice in dealing with people in this manner, and offers no solution. Several Psalms strike a similar note.³

Many of the other Old Testament books⁴ handle this difficulty by assuring that although at the present time the wicked prosper and the righteous suffer, sometime in the future Yahweh will bring true justice to bear.⁵ Genesis 18:22-19:23, on the other hand, maintains both God's justice and the idea of reward and punishment by separating the righteous from the wicked before the latter are punished, but this is not a common theme in the

¹Jer. 12:1-3, R. S. V. Also read Jer. 31:29-30.

²Jer. chap. 15; 18:1-12; 25:8-11; 31:27-30.

³Pss. 10; 13; 44.

⁴E.g., Pss. 37, 49, 73, 92:5-15; Prov. 11:21; Is. chap. 26; Dan. 12:1-4; Joel; Amos; Obad.; Hab. chaps. 1-2; Zeph.; Mal. esp. 3:16-4:6.

⁵In several of these passages "the future" is characterized as being imminent, while in others it is more delayed.

Old Testament.¹

Probably there are only two verses in the Old Testament, Isaiah 26:19 and Daniel 12:2, which are definite expressions of a belief in individual, bodily resurrection after death.² Both are an outgrowth from the problem of suffering. They point to a life beyond this one, in which the just will be properly rewarded, thereby giving hope and purpose to the martyrs and other righteous sufferers. In the Daniel passage the wicked also will experience resurrection, for the purpose of receiving their due punishment.

Job seems to be the only book of the Old Testament in which there is an actual denial of the idea that a good life brings divine reward and an evil one brings punishment. Yet this writer does not offer any alternative solution--God is still held responsible for Job's afflictions, even if they do not appear to be a fair and just reward for Job's devotion and faithfulness to Yahweh.

So far we have said that most people believed that morality was repaid by divine reward and wickedness by punishment. Such a concept was adhered to without much question until individuality commenced to appear in Hebrew

¹See, for example, Davidson, "Pattern of Christian Ethics," esp. Pt. I.

²Personal resurrection in the Old Testament is a complex subject, about which there exist considerable differences of opinions. There are several other possible references in the Old Testament to resurrection (e.g., Job 19:25; Ps. 49:15; Ezek. 37:1-14; Hos. 6:1-3; 13:14), but Is. 26:19 and Dan. 12:2 appear to be the only verses pertaining to individual, rather than corporate or national, resurrection. Besides the commentaries, consult such books as: Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, pp. 203-204; Baab, Theology of O. T., pp. 217-221, 223-224; Davidson, Theology O. T., p. 528; Jacob, Theology of O. T., pp. 309-313; Oesterley and Robinson, Hebrew Religion, pp. 352-365; Robinson, Religious Ideas of O. T., pp. 97-98; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 204, n. 1.

thought. After that time some serious thinkers began to question, alter, and deny the doctrine. But in the whole of the Old Testament God is responsible for man's affliction and adversity; this is true whether such misfortunes are considered the just punishment of man's sin, or whether no explanation is offered. In all such instances either God Himself, or some human or superhuman agents, appointed by Him and acting at His direction, bring about these afflictions.

This certainly is not the place to enter into a prolonged explanation of all the superhuman beings mentioned in the Old Testament,¹ but it is necessary for our purposes to be aware of the "existence of beings not creatures of God such as men are, but standing in moral relations to Him as men do, and as all beings in the universe must do."² Hence, Yahweh is not the sole celestial, divine, or non-human being in existence, but He is sovereign.³

There is no question about this throughout the Old Testament-- every creature or being, human or non-human, is subordinate and inferior

¹See, e.g., such expressions as: angels; the angel of the Lord; other angels of various kinds (of destruction, pestilence, death); sons of God; ministers; messengers; seraphim; cherubim; spirits; host of heaven; Lord of lords; God of gods.

²Davidson, Theology O. T. p. 290.

³See Kallas Significance of Miracles, pp. 38-57. Although some of his terminology (esp. his use of monotheism, compare above n. 2, p. 17 and n. 2, p. 26) tends to distract from the quality of his work in this chapter, Kallas has an excellent discussion on the superhuman beings, subordinate to, and used by, the God of Israel. See also Davidson, Theology O. T., pp. 289-300; Burrows, Outline Biblical Theology, pp. 119-124, 128-130; Jacob, Theology of O. T., pp. 68-72; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, pp. 224-227.

to the God of Israel. Yahweh uses other creatures, both earthly and celestial, to help Him carry out His work--and sometimes they become instruments of divine punishment. Nations often are summoned to defeat Israel, as a just reward (or should we say punishment) for her sin.¹ Numerous times God uses different angels and spirits to bring about evil, death, destruction, and even falsehood.² Occasionally animals become agents of His wrath.³ These various activities may, on the surface, seem rather harsh or cruel, yet they are all a part of God's righteous--if sometimes puzzling--design.

In summary we can say Old Testament theology tells us that: (1) the existence of suffering and calamity most often is explained as being God's righteous punishment for man's sin; (2) such distress is brought to bear on mankind by God Himself, or by His use of both human and non-human agencies; (3) this belief begins to break down as "individualism" appears in the place of "corporate personality"; and (4) regardless of the explanation offered or the agency used, God Himself is either directly or indirectly responsible for such afflictions.

If these conclusions are correct, then there is no need for evil and harmful active spirits, such as demons. Because of man's sin, for which

¹E.g., Lev. 26:17, 25, 39; Deut. 28:25; Judg. 2:13-15, 3:7-8; 2 K. 17:6-8, 19-23; Is. 5:26-30, 8:5-8, 9:8-12; Jer. 25:8-11; Hos. 9:1-3; 11:5, 13:16; Amos 3:11, 5:27, 6:14, 7:9.

²E.g., Gen. 19:1, 13; Ex. 12:23; Judg. 9:23; 1 Sam. 16:14-23, 18:10, 19:10; 2 Sam. 24:16-17; 1 K. 22:19-23; 2 K. 19:35; 1 Chron. 21:12, 15; Is. 37:36.

³Jer. 15:3.

he himself is responsible, God is justified and obliged to punish him by misfortunes. God uses various agencies, such as earthly armies and celestial angels and spirits, to carry out his judgements. Although such creatures are portrayed as instruments of destruction and affliction, they also are portrayed as obedient and morally good servants of a righteous God. If the epithet "evil" is applied to any of them, it describes the nature of the task assigned, not the character of the divine agents.¹ They are acting according to God's direction. There is, therefore, no place or purpose for demons in such a theology.

Much of what we have just been saying is also well illustrated by an examination of the concept of Satan. In the New Testament the demons are not just an unorganized group of evil spirits working haphazardly, but they are under the direction and leadership of one figure, Satan. However, he has not always played this role as the predominant, personified leader of evil; this is the result of gradual development, only the beginning of which is found in the Old Testament.

Satan is the transliteration of a Hebrew noun, שָׂטָן, meaning either: (1) an adversary or opponent in general, either personal or national, terrestrial or celestial, or (2) a specific superhuman adversary.²

¹See Toy, Judaism and Christianity, p. 146.

²See n. 1, p. 17. This noun probably is derived from the verb שָׂטַן, meaning to oppose, antagonize, or be hostile to. Tur-Sinai [Torczyner] (Job, pp. 41-44, and "How Satan Came into the World") disagrees, suggesting that originally it was not שָׂטָן (Satan) but שָׂטוֹן (Shaton), from the verb שָׂטַן, to rove about. As Tur-Sinai makes this assertion he points out that initially there was no distinction made between שָׂטַן and שָׂטוֹן. Thus Satan originally was "the one who goes to and fro," like a roaming spy or secret policeman. (con't. next page)

This Hebrew noun, יָצִיט , is used a number of times in the Old Testament with the first meaning.¹ In these passages יָצִיט is used as a common noun--an enemy, an opponent, an adversary²--not as the proper name for one specific being, for example, Satan.

There are only three passages in the Old Testament in which יָצִיט is used with the second meaning, that is, referring to a specific super-human personality: Zechariah 3:1, 2 (two times); Job, chapters one and two (several times each); and I Chronicles 21:1. These passages are relatively late, probably post-exilic, and can be dated³ about 519 B.C., 500 to 450 B.C.,⁴ and 325 to 275 B.C. respectively.

Zechariah is the earliest Biblical writer to use יָצִיט in reference to a distinct celestial being, but, even here, it is not used as a proper name. It appears as a descriptive title with the article-- יָצִיטִי , that is, the Satan, the Adversary, the Opponent.

(footnote con't.) He claims this interpretation is by far the most logical, especially since such roving emissaries undoubtedly existed at the courts of all oriental kings.

¹Num. 22:22, 32; 1 Sam. 29:4; 2 Sam. 19:22 (H--19:23), 1 K. 5:4 (H--5:18), 11:14, 11:23, 11:25; Ps. 109:6.

²Num. 22:22, 32--"the angel of the Lord" is sent by God as an adversary (יָצִיט) to Balaam; 1 Sam. 29:4--David is accused by the Philistines of being an opponent (יָצִיט); 2 Sam. 19:22--David says the "sons of Zeruah" are not an enemy (יָצִיט); 1 K. 5:4--Solomon says he has not an enemy (יָצִיט), referring to other countries as national enemies; 1 K. 11:14--the Lord uses Hadad the Edomite as an opponent (יָצִיט) for Solomon; 1 K. 11:23, 25--the Lord uses Rezon as an adversary (יָצִיט) against Solomon; Ps. 109:6--there is mention of an accuser or plaintiff (יָצִיט) in an earthly court trial.

³See n. 3, p. 20.

⁴The date of Job is very questionable; estimates by competent authorities run between 900 and 200 B.C.

In this passage the Adversary seemingly is a celestial being¹ whose job it is to accuse sinful men before God or one of His representatives. In this instance Joshua, the high priest, is being accused and prosecuted by the Adversary, and just before he (the Adversary) presents his charges to the angel of the Lord, the Lord interrupts and rebukes him. We do not know what the charges are or why the Adversary is not allowed to present them. Bearing in mind that this passage is short and obscure, we proceed with caution in drawing the following conclusions.

The purpose of Zechariah chapter three is to convey that God has chosen to save and use Joshua, in spite of his sin.² The Adversary (יָצִיטִי) ³ is stopped from presenting the charges, not because they are incorrect or unfair, but because they are unnecessary. God already is aware of Joshua's unrighteousness; his filthy garments are symbolical of his iniquity. But God chooses to remove the old garments, put on new ones, and use Joshua anyway. Hence, the Adversary (יָצִיטִי) is not portrayed as an independent evil spirit, but as a servant of God trying to carry out his job as man's accuser; he is rebuked because he is unaware of God's

¹Tur-Sinai [Torczyner] (Job, pp. 44-45) suggests "the Satan" in Zech. 3:1 is not necessarily a celestial spirit, but a human agent, the only supernatural figure being the judge. Compare Tur-Sinai's views below in n. 1 and 2, p. 54, and n. 1, p. 56.

²It may be that Joshua is here presented as a symbol of the nation Judah. However, it is not necessary for our purposes to distinguish whether Joshua is portrayed as an individual or a nation; the role of the Adversary remains the same.

³Whenever יָצִיטִי is used as a descriptive title (with the article) and not a proper noun, it would be more appropriate to translate it into English as "the Adversary," not as "Satan." The latter, however, is used in many versions of the Bible.

purpose for Joshua. The most one can say is that he is a little over anxious to do his work as an accuser of evil men.

In Job chapters one and two, יָצִיט still is not used as a proper noun, but as a descriptive title with the article יָצִיטִי , that is, the Adversary.¹ His role here is similar to the part he plays in Zechariah, inasmuch as both writers portray him as a celestial being, subordinate to God, who works as an accuser of men.²

¹Tur-Sinai [Torczyner] (Job, p. 45) suggests that the Adversary (יָצִיטִי) in Job may not refer to the one Adversary in the Bible, but simply to one mentioned earlier in a lost portion of the story of Job. Also see n. 3, p. 53.

²The Adversary (יָצִיטִי) is portrayed by this writer as one of "the sons of God" (sometimes translated "the sons of the gods")-- בְּנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים . This term is used to denote members of the category of gods, i.e., celestial or divine beings, in contrast to human beings. Just as "the sons of the prophets" (1 K. 20:35) means members of the prophetic guild, and "the sons of men" (Gen. 11:5, 1 Sam. 26:19) refers to the human race or mankind, "the sons of God" designates the non-human race, so to say, Godkind. This phrase is not used often (Gen. 6:2, 4; Job 1:6, 2:1, 38:7; cf. Pss. 29:1, 89:6 [H--89:7]), and it is similar to "sons of the most high" (Ps. 82:6).

The writer of Job uses "the sons of God" in the sense of Yahweh's celestial council or cabinet of ministers, which meets to discuss and plan the work of the heavenly creatures, as directed by Yahweh.

It has been suggested (see, for example, Gruenthaner, "Demonology of O. T.," p. 15) that the adversary is not presented in Job 1:6 and 2:1 as one of "the sons of God," but only as an occasional visitor to that group (see Driver and Gray [Job, p. 11] where this argument is refuted). Also it is conjectured that the Adversary is not any kind of a celestial being, but an earthly creature (see Tur-Sinai [Torczyner], Job, pp. 44-45 and this paper n. 1, p. 53 and n. 1, p. 56). One might argue with limited success that the Adversary is not one of the sons of God, but there seems no reasonable way to conclude that he is an earthly creature instead of some type of superhuman being.

For further study, consult the commentaries on Genesis, Job, and the Psalms; the dictionaries; the encyclopedias; and Knudsen, Religious Teaching of O. T., pp. 193-195.

But in Job the account given of the Adversary's (יָצִיט) character and activity is much fuller, and the scope of his work increased. In addition to being an accuser, he is a kind of inspector who goes over the entire surface of the earth, discovering and keeping track of the sinful actions of men; he then reports his findings to God. He carries out his work with great zeal, and one has the impression that the Adversary receives far too much satisfaction in pointing out to God those people who are unfaithful to Him.

When he finds Job faultless, and is not able to charge him with any sin, the Adversary successfully urges God to put Job to test, seeking to determine whether or not Job will remain righteous even under grim and loathsome conditions. The Adversary is allowed by God to administer the testing, and he inflicts Job with a number of catastrophes, in hopes of provoking him to delinquency.

Edward Langton points out two facts which stand out clearly in this narrative.

In the first place, Satan is evidently one of the angel-ministers of Yahweh. He appears in Yahweh's presence among the other 'sons of Elohim' to give account of his activities and to receive further Divine commissions. He never acts without God's permission, and his ministry is evidently included in the Divine will. Satan cannot injure man unless God allows him to do so. Moreover he is never really censured by God even when he acts with the utmost rigour against Job, and Job stands the test. The second important fact is that there appears to be an element in the character of Satan which is contrary to the will of God. God delights in the deep piety of Job the perfect man; Satan, on the other hand, would be pleased if he could prove that God's confidence in Job was misplaced. Even though he is acting with God's permission, he finds joy in his anti-human ministry.¹

¹Essentials of Demonology, p. 54.

In I Chronicles 21:1, שָׂטָן finally makes its initial appearance in the Old Testament as a proper name, without the article. Here it is not a descriptive title, but the name of a specific celestial being--Satan.¹

In this verse, Satan persuades David to take a census, an action which turns out to be contrary to God's will. God reacts by sending punishment, in the form of a pestilence which kills seventy thousand men, upon the Israelites.

These verses are particularly interesting because the source for this story in I Chronicles 21 is the similar passage in 2 Samuel 24, written some three or four hundred years earlier.² The two versions of the same story bear a close resemblance, except in 2 Samuel 24 it is God Himself who incites David to number the people and then He sends a pestilence, the implication being that God creates for Himself the excuse and opportunity for punishing the Israelites. In 2 Samuel God is responsible for leading astray David; in I Chronicles Satan is to blame.³

¹Burrows (Outline Biblical Theology, p. 126) is less sure on this point. "Whether the absence of the definite article here means that the word now becomes a proper name, or whether we should translate 'an Adversary' cannot be determined." Almost all scholars, however, agree that it is a proper name.

Again Tur-Sinai [Torczyner] (Job, pp. 44-45) goes to the extreme by suggesting Satan is not an heavenly being in this passage, but a human agent, probably a false prophet. Compare n. 1, p. 53; n. 1, p. 54; and n. 2, p. 54.

²The dating of both books of Samuel is very difficult, since they are composite works. The original version of 2 Sam. 24 probably is rather early, though we are not sure how many times it has been edited (see above, n. 3, p. 20).

³It has been suggested that Satan originally (con't. next page)

What is the significance of this change in emphasis? Actually the change is more apparent than real. If one looks only at 1 Chronicles 21, it would seem that Satan is here portrayed as an independent evil spirit, not working under God's direction, but free to tempt people as he pleases. There is no hint of his dependence on, or subordination to, God. But it is here that we must strike a note of caution.

In 1 Chronicles 21 very little is revealed about Satan. We are informed only that he incites David to take a census against God's will--no more is said. Absolutely nothing of Satan's nature or character is described, and no explanation for his action is offered. It is impossible to know with any certainty what "manner of being" Satan is here considered to be. We can do no more than speculate as logically as possible, taking into consideration what other information we have about Satan, and this leads to several possibilities.

For example, are we sure that Satan is not still considered to be one of "the sons of God," that is, a spirit working under God's direction? As the Chronicler reworked the narrative in 2 Samuel, he quite probably was troubled by the rather unfavorable role God plays. He could have substituted Satan, one of God's ministers, the result being to put God in a more favorable light, even though God still would be indirectly responsible for David's sin.

Or, the evil nature of Satan might have developed in Hebrew thought

(footnote con't.) was also in the text of 2 Sam. 24, but this contention finds no support in textual criticism (see Curtis [Chronicles, p. 246] and Harvey-Jellie [Chronicles, pp. 137-138] where this suggestion is refuted).

to the place that he was still considered one of "the sons of God," but one which sometimes erred and went beyond God's instructions. At the time this passage was written, the concept of Satan quite possibly had developed to a stage some place between that which is found in Job and that which is found in post-Old Testament Jewish literature--more evil than "the Adversary" of Job and less evil than "Satan" of the later writings.¹ He might well have been thought of as a minister of God which so delighted in evil that he sometimes went beyond his appointed work.

Another possibility, and the one I prefer, falls more or less between the last two. The Chronicler was not concerned about the nature of Satan, but of God. His sense of the holiness of God was more advanced and he was disturbed by the action attributed to God by the writer of 2 Samuel. In an attempt to put God in a better light, he substituted Satan as the instigator of David's sin.² If this theory is correct, Satan was of little concern to the writer and was used merely as a means of clearing God's good name. The emphasis was on God, not Satan. The only thing mentioned about Satan's general nature, and this indirectly, was that he tended, on occasions, to oppose God and to influence others to do likewise.

So far we have only been theorizing about the various possibilities

¹ See the following chapters of this study for the development of Satan in later Jewish thought, where eventually he becomes the leader of the evil spirits which actively oppose God.

² It should not be supposed that the use of Satan was merely an arbitrary choice. Probably the nature and character of this figure had developed in such a way and to the degree that Satan was the most logical being to which to assign this task.

of this passage, and have made no attempt to draw any definite conclusions about Satan's moral character. It seems most likely, for a number of reasons, that Satan is not thought of in 1 Chronicles as an active evil spirit independent of God's control, but as one of God's ministers, the actions of which, however, seem to contradict His wishes and purposes.¹

If Satan is portrayed here as an evil spirit which is no longer subordinate to God nor working under His direction, it is the only instance of such freedom for a celestial being in the whole of the Old Testament. Granting that this passage is relatively late and not far removed from the time when Hebrew thought definitely does attribute such action to various kinds of evil spirits,² such a step does not yet appear to have been taken in 1 Chronicles. As pointed out earlier,³ in the Old Testament God is in complete control of the entire universe and is responsible for prosperity and suffering; this holds true in 1 and 2 Chronicles⁴ as well as in the other Old Testament books of

¹Currie ("Satan," p. 569) agrees with this conclusion. A number of other scholars, however, disagree in different ways. Some say Satan in Chronicles is independent of God (Blau, "Satan," p. 69; Morgenstern, "Satan," p. 380; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 156, who qualifies this position by saying that although Satan works independently of God in this world, he nevertheless is subordinate to God). Barton ("Demons and Spirits," p. 598) and Gray ("Satan," col. 4298) say that Satan becomes responsible for all evil in Chronicles. Two other writers are less committal, saying only that Satan is God's enemy in this passage (Eerdmans, Religion of Israel, pp. 296-297; Koehler, O. T. Theology, p. 177 who adds that Satan is almost anti-God).

²Such thought is found in the intertestamental period, the literature of which will be examined in later chapters. See n. 1, p. 58.

³See above pp. 43-51, esp. p. 50 where the findings of these pages are summarized.

⁴E.g., 1 Chron. 10:14; 13:10; chap. 14; 21:14; 2 Chron. 8:19-22; chap. 12.

the same and later dates.¹ A number of celestial beings exist, but they are subordinate to God.

G. B. Caird put it well when he wrote: "The chronicler, therefore, by his alteration of the text, has provided the first indication of a feeling, which was later to grow to a conviction, that to God's servant Satan may be ascribed activities which are unworthy of God himself, and that Satan's work, though it is done in the name of God, is in some way contrary to the real divine purpose."²

This is a significant development, because "Satan" (שָׂטָן) of 1 Chronicles is a product of post-Exilic Judaism, whereas "the Adversary" (הַיָּשָׁר) of Zechariah and Job come to us from the pre-Exilic religion of Israel.³ It is in Judaism, not the more ancient Hebrew religion, that Satan is first used as a proper name, and it is in Judaism--primarily in the intertestamental literature--that we see the development of dualism. Here in 1 Chronicles is the earliest Jewish passage in that direction.

Actually this writer represents a period of change and uncertainty in the religious thinking of Israel. God is in the process of being considered more holy and the evil spirits are developing into independent creatures which oppose God; but in the case of both God and the spirits the process

¹Ezra; Neh.; Zech., chaps. 9-14; Eccles.; Esth.; Dan.; (see above n. 3, p. 20).

²Caird, Principalities and Powers, pp. 32-33.

³"What we know as Judaism, as distinct from the ancient religion of Israel, is a post-exilic phenomenon, emerging towards the close of the Persian period, at the time of the Restoration under Ezra and Nehemiah" (Black, "Development of Judaism in Greek and Roman Periods," p. 693).

of change is still going on and the ideas expressed are not clear-cut. In all probability one good reason there seems to be a certain ambiguity to some of the passages we have been studying is because the original writers themselves were somewhat vague in their thoughts.

Now what can be said, in the form of a summary, of the conclusions we have drawn so far in this study? After pointing out the danger of being led astray by legends, general thought, and literature which existed both prior to and after the Old Testament period,¹ we approached the study of Old Testament demonology from three different avenues.

First,² an exegetical study was made of many passages often thought to contain demonic references, but we concluded that the Hebrew thought of this era rejects the belief in demons, that is, as independent evil spirits; this is a marked departure from much of the earlier and contemporary demonic thought.

Secondly,³ by examining Old Testament theology it was discovered that throughout this first section of the Bible God is portrayed as being in complete control of the world and responsible for all events which take place therein; He uses morally good and obedient celestial beings as divine instruments to carry out His righteous judgments of destruction and affliction, a work which a dualistic⁴ theology would have attributed to evil gods or

¹See above pp. 8-16.

²See above pp. 16-43.

³See above pp. 43-51.

⁴See n. 2, p. 62.

spirits, that is, demons.

Thirdly,¹ we traced the development of the Satanic concept from a common noun to a proper name, noting how Satan gradually becomes the celestial divine agent which no longer can be trusted to carry out God's purposes. Also we saw how some of the less benevolent tasks, which previously had been attributed to God but seemed so out of keeping with His general character, begin to be blamed onto Satan; this latter development is a product of post-Exilic Judaism.

Although dualism,² as such, does not exist in the Old Testament, we have noted the gradual emergence of tendencies in this direction, tendencies which become fully developed in certain schools of Jewish thought soon after some of the later portions of the Old Testament are written.

What brought about the appearance of these new ideas? It is impossible to trace them to any one cause, for they are the outcome of historical circumstances as well as progressive theological development.

Certainly the Babylonian Exile (597-538 B.C.) was one factor, for the Israelites came into contact with a different culture,³ part of which was

¹ See above pp. 51 - 61.

² I.e., a belief in the existence of both good and evil gods or spirits, which exist independently and work toward opposite ends.

³ There seems little reason to doubt the traditional interpretation of the Exile, as an event which actually did cause a considerable shift in population from Judah to Babylonia (see Albright, Stone Age to Christianity, pp. 322-323). Frost (Old Testament Apocalyptic, p. 4) probably was correct in writing that the "Exile is the watershed of Hebrew history" and ". . . no event before or since has left so deep a mark on the Jewish national character."

a belief in cosmic dualism of the Zoroastrian type.¹ We know from the past history of the Hebrew people how easy it was for them to accept some of the beliefs and customs of a foreign people,² and there is reason to believe that this happened during the Exile. Prior to the Exile there was no hint in the religion of the Hebrews of a malevolent being in the celestial council of Yahweh; the figure of Satan as a specific divine minister emerges after this period.³ Probably the appearance, even in a very limited form, of dualistic principles in post-Exilic Judaism is, to some degree, a result of the contact the Hebrew people had with the Babylonian culture during this period.

But it would be a mistake to attribute this new emphasis solely to the Exile. The long-range development of Jewish theology also is an important factor.

Religious thought seldom remains stagnant, but is constantly being re-interpreted. And so it was with the religion of the Hebrews. Over the span of years general theological trends gradually, but constantly, changed

¹Zoroaster taught that from the beginning there existed two independent spirits: Ahura Mazda, the supreme good being, and Angra Mainyu, the evil one. Both spirits possessed creative power. Ahura Mazda created several minor deities, and, to oppose these, Angra Mainyu created several evil spirits. The two spirits are in constant conflict, but eventually Ahura Mazda will prevail over the forces of evil. (See any good encyclopedia or book on Zoroastrianism.)

²Particularly when they came into contact with the Canaanites. Consult: Gray, Legacy of Canaan; Hvidberg, Weeping and Laughter in O. T.; Hooke, Labyrinth, and Myth and Ritual, and Myth, Ritual, and Kingship; Smith, Religion of Semites, p. 4.

³Compare the dates of Zechariah (about 519 B.C.), Job (500-450 B.C.), and Chronicles (325-275 B.C.) with the date of the Exile (597-538 B.C.).

with the times, and became less and less primitive. These changes naturally affected such problems as the "origin of evil" and the "cause of suffering." By the time of the Exile it was becoming increasingly unsatisfactory to attribute all evil and affliction in the world to Yahweh, the righteous and compassionate God of Israel.¹

During the Exile the Israelite people came into contact with a belief in cosmic dualism, with its ideas of two opposing realms of good and evil. Although they probably did not fully comprehend or accept these new conceptions, the general idea of an anti-godly power in the universe would have been a welcome solution to the mystery of suffering and evil. So we account for the origin of dualistic themes in the Old Testament--themes which go hand in hand with demonology--as being the result of inherent tendencies of Hebrew theology coming into contact with foreign influence, especially during the Exile.²

¹See Barton, "Demons and Spirits," p. 597; Knudsen, Religious Teaching of O. T., pp. 266-289; Langton, Satan, p. 10; Toy, Judaism and Christianity, pp. 166-167; Vriezen, O. T. Theology, p. 156.

²Agreeing with the conclusions of this paper, in assigning the gradual emergence of dualism in Hebrew thought to both the Exile and intrinsic theological developments, are: Baron, Social and Religious History of Jews, I, p. 359; Gruenthaner, "Demonology of O. T.," p. 19; Knudsen, Religious Teaching of O. T., p. 213; Oesterley, "Demon, Demoniacs," p. 438, and Jews During Greek Period, p. 278; Toy, "Evil Spirits in Bible," pp. 25-26. Langton (Essentials of Demonology, pp. 58-59) agrees as far as Satan is concerned, but suggests that the general belief in demons came from ancient and foreign influence.

There are some scholars who think that these dualistic ideas came only from the influence of Babylonian and Persian thought, with which the Israelites came into contact during the Exile: Eerdmans, Religion of Israel, pp. 296-297; Kohler, "Demonology," pp. 514-515; (con't. next page)

These new ideas were slow in being fully developed, and in the Old Testament they are found only in their very early stages. Hence, the Old Testament alone does not furnish an adequate background for understanding New Testament demonic thought. We must see what the Jewish scholars between the Old and New Testaments did with these trends, which just begin to appear in Hebrew thought during the closing days of the Old Testament era, but appear fully developed in the opening events of Jesus' ministry.

(footnote con't.) Morgenstern, "Demons," pp. 531-532, and "Satan," p. 379; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," pp. 591-592.

Langdon ("Babylonian and Hebrew Demonology") thinks this new pattern of thought is due only to Babylonian influence; he rules out any Persian elements.

CHAPTER II

DEMONOLOGY OF THE SEPTUAGINT

In the preceding chapter we examined the demonology of the Old Testament as it appears in the Hebrew text. Among other things, we came to two general conclusions: (1) for all practical purposes Hebrew religion of the Old Testament period rejected the belief in demons, and (2) although we found slight traces of dualistic thought in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, we pointed out that these marked only the very first stages of a trend which later--primarily in Judaism during the intertestamental period--developed into exaggerated and varied systems of demonology. In this chapter we turn our attention to the demonic teachings of the Septuagint, the earliest and most important translation of the Hebrew text into Greek.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to deal, in detail, with the critical problems of background and development of the Greek Old Testament; the pursuit of these matters is a study in itself, as there are many questions surrounding the Septuagint to which have been found no suitable answers. There are, however, a number of things which, most scholars agree, can be stated with a considerable degree of certainty. In the following paragraphs some of these conclusions are

briefly noted.¹

From about the tenth century B.C. onward, and especially from the beginning of the Babylonian Exile (597 B.C.), Jewish communities gradually began to appear in countries other than Palestine.² A considerable number of Jews settled in Egypt during these years, but it was during the early part of the Greek Period (333-63 B.C.) that the "Jewish population of Egypt grew by leaps and bounds."³ Soon Alexandria became a center of world Jewry and, in fact, became the largest single dwelling place of Jews outside of Palestine.

These Jews gradually learned and used Greek, since it was the official language of Alexandria and was used by all in daily life and

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For the content of the following paragraphs, general information about the Septuagint, and bibliographies for further study, see: Andrews; "The Letter of Aristeas"; Bright, History of Israel, esp. pp. 389-412; Hadas, Aristeas to Philocrates, esp. pp. 66-90; Kahle, Cairo Geniza, pp. 209-264; Katz, "Septuagint Studies in Mid-Century"; Kuhl, O. T., pp. 22-26; MacGregor and Purdy, Jew and Greek, pp. 11-40, 143-158; Noth, History of Israel, esp. pp. 299-354; Oesterley, Jews During Greek Period, esp. pp. 1-55, and History of Israel, II, pp. 175-201; Orlinsky, "Present State of Proto-Septuagint"; Pfeiffer, Introduction O. T., pp. 104-114; Roberts, O. T. Texts and versions, pp. 101-187, and "Ancient Versions of O. T. "; Swete, Introduction O. T. in Greek; Thackeray, Grammar of O. T. in Greek, esp. pp. 1-73, and The Letter of Aristeas; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 339-340, 368-380, 413-415; Wevers, "Septuagint."

²See Swete (Introduction to O. T. in Greek, pp. 3-4) for evidence that Hebrew people dwelt in Egypt as early as the tenth century B.C. Also consult: Cowley, Aramaic Papyri Fifth Century, pp. xvi-xvii; Kraeling, Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri, and "Elephantine Papyri"; Simpson, "Book of Tobit," p. 187.

³Bright, History of Israel, p. 398. At first such Jewish settlements were, for the most part, the result of either (1) forcible deportation of captives after military defeat, or (2) intentional flight by the people to avoid the prior. In later years, however, many went voluntarily as mercenaries or as emigrants in search of opportunity.

business. By the third century B.C. the great bulk of these Jews¹ and their converts, because they either had grown up using Greek or else had neglected using Hebrew in recent years, were unable to read, speak, or understand Hebrew. Hence, there was needed, both for private study and especially for public worship, a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek.

Such a translation, which was by no means a unified piece of work, was produced by the efforts of many Egyptian-Jewish translators, working over a period of years representing several generations; the Pentateuch was completed about 250 B.C., the Prophets by 150 B.C., and most of the Writings by 130 B.C. (all of them before the time of Christ and probably as early as 100 B.C.).² This complete Greek translation, or rather, collection of translations (perhaps, in some instances, recensions of earlier Greek translations), is the Septuagint.³

¹This, of course, cannot be said of all the Jews in Alexandria or Egypt.

²For some time now it has been recognized that the account of the translation of the Septuagint contained in The Letter of Aristeas is mostly fictitious.

³There are several later Greek translations, some based on the initial Septuagint or subsequent Greek versions, others on the Hebrew text, and most of them are the work of Christians. But these are not to be confused with the Septuagint. Pfeiffer (Introduction to O. T., p. 107) writes: "Strictly speaking, the Septuagint (LXX) about which we have been speaking is an unknown entity. It is uncritical to speak of the printed editions of the Greek Bible or even of the Greek text preserved in manuscripts as 'the LXX,' although this practice is well-nigh universal. . . . The Bible of the Alexandrian Jews during the last centuries before the Christian Era, which alone should be (con't. next page)

It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the importance of this version of the Old Testament. Since initially it was the official Bible of Hellenistic Judaism, it now serves as a guide for comparing Palestinian Judaism as represented by the Hebrew text with later Hellenistic Judaism of Egypt (particularly Alexandria).¹ Since the Septuagint also was the Bible of the first Christians, it would have influenced their thinking and, thus, in an indirect way, influenced the New Testament. Although Jesus Himself quite possibly used the Hebrew text, there seems little doubt that the writers of the Gospels used the Septuagint, and this might well have influenced the way (both language and thought) in which they interpreted the life and teachings of the Master.

Let us now see what bearing the Septuagint has on our study of demonology. As we examine the same passages looked at in the

(footnote con't) called the LXX, no longer exists."

There are many manuscripts of the Septuagint in existence today and some are quite good. But one of the most controversial areas of Septuagint research centers around the problem of what constitutes the original. Roberts (O. T. Texts and Versions, p. 104) states the problem well: "The fact that quotations from a Greek version or versions still to be found in the New Testament and the works of Josephus and Philo do not tally with the present Septuagint implies that there existed a number of early texts in Greek, and the problems raised by this fact are various and intricate. Is it more correct to speak of a variety of early Greek Targumim? Or, again, were there various recensions of an original Septuagint?" Also see: Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 128-130; Kahle, Cairo Geniza, esp. pp. 210-214, and Orinsky, "Present State of Proto-Septuagint."

¹ Because of its popularity in the Early Christian Church, the Septuagint lost all authority among the Jews by 100 A.D. See below, the last paragraph of n. 1, p. 96 (con't. on p. 97), and n. 1, p. 101.

previous chapter, as well as some additional ones, we will discover that in the Septuagint there are some verses which can be labeled demonic, while in the Hebrew text the same verses cannot be so classified. On the other hand, we will see that there also are a few passages in the Septuagint which tend to be less demonic than they are in the Hebrew. Nothing much more definite can be said.

But why are there differences in the demonology of the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament, and what factors are responsible for bringing about these changes?

Questions of this nature are very difficult to answer; they belong strictly to the realm of speculation.¹ We can do no more than call attention to the specific verses in which the vocabulary used implies a change in thought,² and then suggest several possible explanations for what might have been responsible for these modifications. Frustrating as this may be, we cannot be more definite. In other words, we are only able to point to the visible changes which have taken place; we cannot be sure how or why they have occurred.

¹There is much about the Septuagint which is still unknown, and, in fact, until more information is discovered, we have no way of finding out. The reasons for, and significance of, changes in vocabulary and thought from the Hebrew text to the Greek translation fall into this category of the unknown. It is in the best interests of scholarship to admit at the outset, and therefore avoid misunderstanding, that adequate solutions to such matters are impossible; here we are dealing in the realm of probability or possibility, not of certainty.

²I intentionally use "implies a change in thought," because an alteration in vocabulary does not necessarily always indicate a parallel modification in reflection. See the following paragraphs of the text.

For example, suppose we come to a passage in which the Greek used does not seem to convey properly the original Hebrew meaning. There are many plausible explanations, any one or combination of which might be true.

(1) The technical problems of translation must always be considered. Frequently it is not possible to find a word in one language which accurately expresses the meaning of a word in another language.¹ The translators of the Septuagint might have understood the original meaning of the Hebrew text, but occasionally found difficulty in expressing it in Greek. In such instances the changes in words and thoughts from the Hebrew to Greek would be more apparent than real, owing to technical difficulties of translation.

(2) Some differences in these two versions of the Old Testament can quite likely be traced to the fact that both the Hebrew and Greek texts, as they exist today, are not in their original forms. The Septuagint probably was translated from Hebrew texts which differed in places from the Masoretic text of today.² Unknown to us, the Greek could be an

¹ The difficulty of translating from one language to another has long been recognized. The problem is even mentioned in the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, written about 132 B.C. Also see: Freudenthal, "What is Original Language of Wisdom?," pp. 722-725; Glasson, Second Advent, pp. 70-71.

² The Hebrew text in the form we have it today is known as the Masoretic text, named after the schools of Masoretes, those Jewish scholars, active from the sixth to twelfth century A.D., who were responsible for fixing the text and pronunciation of the Hebrew Bible. The only complete extant text of the Hebrew Bible is the (con't. next page)

accurate translation, but appear inaccurate, since we do not have the original texts from which it was translated. Or, the initial Septuagint rendition could have been unerring, but, in its present form, lead us to believe it was faulty.¹

(3) As we examined the later portions of the Hebrew text in the previous chapter, we noted the emergence of the first stages only of dualistic thought within Judaism. It may be that the Septuagint, being later in date, reflects the further development of these dualistic tendencies. Demonology can be read back into many passages of the Hebrew Old Testament if they are interpreted from a dualistic viewpoint. This probably helps to account for the proneness toward increased dualism and demonology which is typical of some verses of the Greek. In these cases the differences in thought would be real, not apparent, and would be the result of a continued process of theological growth and expansion.

(footnote con't.) Masoretic, the best printed edition of which is Biblia Hebraica, edited by Rudolf Kittel and others (11th edition).

There has been little doubt for many years that parts of the Septuagint are based on a pre-Masoretic text of the Old Testament, but it has long been assumed that we would never find any remaining examples of these ancient manuscripts. With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, this assumption was proved false. Among the Scrolls there are examples of pre-Masoretic manuscripts of nearly all of the books of the Hebrew Old Testament, and often they agree with the Septuagint reading against the Masoretic text. See especially Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 124-145; but also consult others, for example: Kenyon, Bible and Ancient Manuscripts, pp. 31, 97-134 (esp. 132-134); Roberts, "Ancient Versions of O. T.," p. 85 (67 a-b), and O. T. Texts and Versions, pp. 172-187; Weavers, "Septuagint," pp. 276-277.

¹ See n. 3, pp. 68-69.

(4) It is not likely that the translators, being products of a Greek culture, were able to render the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek without some infiltration of Hellenistic ideas. With some of these men such an admixture probably came about accidentally, as they unintentionally misinterpreted the Hebrew teachings; with others it was likely a conscious endeavor, because either (a) they felt the Greek concepts to be nearer the truth, or (b) they hoped to make a more favorable impression on the Hellenistic mind. But in the case of demonology it is impossible to know how much Greek influence can account for the differences in the Hebrew and Septuagint texts.

(5) Some modification of ideas we find exemplified in the Septuagint may be the result of Hebrew and Greek ideas influencing each other. At this point let us quote Bleddyn Roberts.

In the first instance, the Septuagint must be visualized as the expression of the Hebrew Old Testament through the medium of the Greek language and of the Greek mind. Whereas the translation as a whole remained dependent, even in its vocabulary and largely in its style, on the Hebrew text, the principle behind its translation was the Hellenistic spirit and tendency within Judaism. Naturally, then, there was a bilateral interchange of influences at work. The basic Hebrew vocabulary gave new meanings or shades of meaning to Greek words, and Hebrew ideas received a new turn when expressed in Greek thought.¹

This suggests we have in the Septuagint a certain amount of hybrid thought-- combinations and modifications of Hebrew and Greek, a sort of synthesis of the two. Under such circumstances we would naturally expect the

¹ O. T. Texts and Versions, p. 172.

Septuagint to differ in places from the Hebrew Old Testament.

(6) Many Greek words, and *δαίμονιον* is one of them, had more than one meaning.¹ Where such words were used, a change in thought could be either real or apparent, depending on which meaning was intended by the respective translators, a factor we have absolutely no way of determining.

(7) Since the Septuagint is not a unified piece of work, but was produced by the labors of many scholars of different generations, the particular Greek words selected by earlier translators to represent specific Hebrew words might well have influenced the choice of later translators, especially in cases where one of several Greek words could have been used, or when it was extremely difficult to find a word which exactly represented the Hebrew thought. In some instances later translators probably correctly understood the Hebrew text but, influenced by their predecessors, used a word which failed to connote the correct significance; at other times they probably were deceived into misunderstanding by prior usages.

How is it possible to assess accurately the significance of the demonology of the Greek Old Testament when we have before us these

¹The Lexicons consulted throughout this chapter for Greek words are: Abbott-Smith, A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament; Arndt and Gingrich, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament; Cremer, Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek; Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon; Moulton and Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament; and Thayer, A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament.

many possible circumstances, any one or combination of which could be considered valid influences on the final form of the Septuagint text? Even more frustrating is the realization that, as mentioned just above, the Septuagint is the work of numerous men working at different times. In one passage in which a particular Greek word is used, one or more of the above alternatives might be the key to a proper understanding, while in other verses in which the same word is used, having been translated by other persons, different combinations of factors could be pertinent. Under such conditions it is obvious that we have no way of knowing what actually did take place.

We must be content, then, with comparing the Greek and Hebrew texts, pointing out the differences, and suggesting possible influences.

The first Greek word we will look at is *δαϊμόνιον*, one of marked interest for our study. Before considering its usage in the Greek text, let us first look closely at the word itself.¹

Δαϊμόνιον is the substantive neuter of the adjective *δαϊμόνιος* (divine). During the period of years the Septuagint was in the making, *δαϊμόνιον* was used with four different emphases, somewhat related, but clearly distinct in meaning.

(1) It could mean the divine power, deity, or divinity. Before

¹ For the information in the following paragraphs about *δαϊμόνιον* see: the lexicons listed in n.l p. 74; Foerster, "δαίμων, δαϊμόνιον," section A. pp. 1-10; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, Chap. IV. For the use of *δαϊμόνιον* in Greek classics, consult: Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon; and the works by Foerster and Langton just cited in this note.

the time of Homer it was used as an absolute synonym for θεός (god or deity), but from Homer onward it was used more in terms of divine agency in general, the working of a higher power which made itself felt, without referring to any definite or nameable being.

Θεός came to designate the person of a divine being, and δαίμωνιον indicated divine might, power, will, or sway--either of a saving or destructive nature.

(2) Δαίμωνιον also was used as a spirit or divine being, either good or evil, which existed in a category some place between the divine and human--inferior to God but superior to man. By the Tragic Poets especially, but also in prose, δαίμωνιον was used to denote the force controlling the destiny of individuals--hence, one's lot, fate, or fortune. The Greeks did not think of this power simply as an inanimate influence, but more in terms of guardian and attendant spirits, mediators between the divine and human, which were instrumental in determining the events in man's life. Since these spirits were independent of his control, yet prevailed over him, man's natural reaction was one of dread and fear, and eventually this led to the feeling that these intermediary spirits were more evil than good.

(3) In the Septuagint especially (as we will see), δαίμωνιον was used to designate foreign gods and pagan idols. The application of δαίμωνιον as a title for such objects was a way of casting doubt and ridicule, and thereby relegating them to inferior and undesirable positions; in some instances they even were portrayed as being non-existent, that

is, figments of popular superstition or the imagination. This does not mean that the use of δαιμόνιον characterized these spirits as being evil or immoral--such a matter was not implied one way or the other--but simply that these gods and idols were helpless, useless objects, if, in fact, not non-existent.

(4) Finally, δαιμόνιον could mean what it does to most people today--an independent and active evil spirit, that is, a demon. It was used with this meaning occasionally in Greek classics and, as we will see, also in the Septuagint, but frequently in the New Testament.

Now that we have examined its possible meanings, let us see how δαιμόνιον is used in the Septuagint.¹ It appears in eight Old Testament verses of the Greek as a translation for five different Hebrew words.²

Δαιμόνιον is used in the plural in Deuteronomy 32:17 and Psalm 106:37 (G--105:37) for דַּיְמוֹן, the plural of דִּמּוֹן. In the previous chapter we concluded that דַּיְמוֹן (usually rendered demons) in Deuteronomy 32:17 is used to designate false gods and in this Psalm to refer to pagan idols.³

¹ The printed editions of the Septuagint used in the preparation of this chapter were: Swete, The Old Testament in Greek; Brooke, McLean Thackeray, The Old Testament in Greek; Rahlfs, Septuaginta.

² The Greek is not always a word for word translation of the Hebrew; sometimes it is only a paraphrase, and other times material is added or deleted. It is not always possible to determine exactly what Hebrew word is represented by the Greek, and in some instances opinions will vary.

³ See above, pp. 16-19.

In both instances $\Pi\tau\delta\iota$ does not represent active spirits of evil, but illegitimate objects of Israelite worship. The plural of $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ could be considered an appropriate rendition as long as the translators used it in the sense of either its second or third meanings, as (2) inferior divine beings, or (3) degraded foreign gods or idols. It could not, however, be considered suitable if used with its first or fourth meanings, as (1) divine power or a deity, or (4) a demon. But as pointed out earlier, we have no way of knowing what the translators had in mind.

In Isaiah 13:21 $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ is used in the plural for $\Pi\tau\delta\iota$ (hairy beings), and in Isaiah 34:14, again in the plural, probably for $\Pi\tau\delta\iota$ (hairy being), but possibly for $\Pi\tau\delta\iota$ (wild beasts).¹ Both of these passages contain lists of animals which are to be the only living inhabitants of Babylon and Edom after the judgment of God. When we looked at the Hebrew text of these two passages, we concluded that none of these animals was demonic.² But the Septuagint appears to have taken an interesting deviation. It seems likely that in these two passages $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ is used of demons, that is, evil spirits. In the context of these verses it is difficult to see how the

¹Brown, Driver, and Briggs (Hebrew and English Lexicon) and Koehler and Baumgartner (A Dictionary of the Hebrew Old Testament) say that $\delta\alpha\iota\mu\acute{o}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ in Is. 34:14 is the translation of $\Pi\tau\delta\iota$, but Hatch and Redpath (A Concordance to the Septuagint) suggest it is the translation of $\Pi\tau\delta\iota$. One of these two Hebrew words has been left out of the Septuagint translation, but since the Greek, in this verse, is more of a paraphrase it is impossible to determine which Hebrew word has been omitted.

²See above, pp. 27-35, esp. pp. 34-35 where the findings of these pages are summarized.

translators could possibly have meant δαιμόνιον to be understood as (1) deities or (2) subordinate divine spirits, and its use as (3) degraded foreign gods or idols seems improbable. This leaves only the fourth meaning of δαιμόνιον--demon or evil spirit--and apparently there is exhibited here a direct turn toward demonology.¹

At the same time, however, in Isaiah 34:14 the Septuagint seems also to take a turn away from demonology, as the Hebrew לִילִית (Lilith) is substituted by the plural of ὄνοκένταυρος (a kind of tailless ape). Although in the previous chapter we took the position that לִילִית (Lilith) in the Hebrew text does not refer to a demon,² it is admitted that it is a controversial conclusion. But there is no question in the Greek text, as ὄνοκένταυρος clearly is not demonic.³

¹ In the preceding chapter (pp. 20-27) we called attention to three other verses--Lev. 17:7, 2 K. 23:8, 2 Chron. 11:15--in which הַיָּצִיט (hairy being) is used, not, however, as inhabitants of desolate ruins, but as titles for foreign gods which are depicted as false objects of worship. Although many scholars interpret these passages as referring to demons, we concluded this was not the case. It is interesting to note that the translators of the Septuagint also interpreted these three verses as non-demonic. In Lev. 17:7 οἱ μάταιοι (worthless things, idols) is used, and 2 Chron. 11:15 has τὰ εἰδωλά (idols). In 2 Kings 23:8 the Greek translators read the Hebrew as פְּתָחַיִם (gates) instead of the variant reading הַיָּצִיט (hairy beings).

² See above, pp. 30-34.

³ Besides being used in Is. 34:14b as a translation for לִילִית (Lilith), ὄνοκένταυρος also is used in Is. 13:22 and 34:14a as a translation of דָּוִיָּה (jackals), and in 34:11 (no Hebrew equivalent) (con't. next page)

In three verses of the Septuagint δαιμόνιον seems to be used according to its third possible meaning--as degraded foreign gods or idols. In Psalm 96:5 (G--95:5) δαιμόνιον is used for the Hebrew עֲלִילִים (worthless gods, or idols), and in Isaiah 65:11 for אֱלֹהֵי כַּסְפִּים (a pagan god of fortune). In both instances it depicts pagan gods or useless idols. In Isaiah 65:3 apparently there is no Hebrew equivalent for δαιμόνιον, as it is part of a short phrase--τοῖς δαιμονίοις ἃ οὐκ ἔστιν, to the demons which are not--added on to the end of the verse and found only in the Septuagint.¹ Here the foreign gods are exposed as being non-existent.

Δαιμόνιον is used in one other passage, and again there seems to be a move in the direction of demonology. In Psalm 91:6 (G--90:6) δαιμόνιον is used, but it is impossible to know what Hebrew word it represents since this verse is more of a paraphrase than an exact translation. It could be a rendering for either דָּבַר (to devastate,

(footnote con't.) for some kind of wild creature. In all of these passages ὄνοκένταυρος is used of a type of wild animal which inhabits desolate areas, and there is no reason to suggest that demonism is intended. On the other hand, Liddell and Scott (Greek-English Lexicon, p. 1232) suggest ὄνοκένταυρος is demonic in these three verses, but offer no explanation for ὄνοκένταυρος having an evil character in these places while usually it is used without unfavorable connotations. I can see no reason for making ὄνοκένταυρος demonic in these passages unless one comes to them with certain preconceived notions about the evil nature of the various animals mentioned therein, a practice which is far too frequent, and one open to great error. As pointed out in the previous chapter, a careful exegetical study of these verses discloses that these animals are not portrayed as demons.

¹This phrase probably was added by the Greek translators, although there always is the possibility that it was in the original Hebrew text but has since been deleted.

obstruct, deal with violently) or הָרַג (destruction). In either case there is no reason to think of the Hebrew version as referring to a demon, and in all probability the Greek version does; in the context of this passage, the fourth possible meaning of δαίμόνιον --an evil spirit or demon--seems most likely.

An interesting change in emphasis is seen when the Hebrew and Septuagint texts of Leviticus chapter 16 are compared. When looking at the Hebrew of this passage, we suggested that אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel) is the only demon mentioned in the Old Testament, but that it is portrayed as nothing more than a passive, wilderness demon that plays no real role in Old Testament theology.¹ In the Septuagint Azazel completely disappears, and there is not even a hint of demonism. The Hebrew אֲזַזֵּל (Azazel) is replaced in Leviticus 16:8 and 16:10a of the Greek text by the adjective ἀποπομπᾶτος , used with the definite article, meaning "one who carries away evil," and in Leviticus 16:10b by the noun, ἡ ἀποπομπή , meaning "sending away." In 16:26 instead of mentioning the man who sends away $\text{הַשֹּׁעֵר הַזֶּה לְעִזֵּי אֲזַזֵּל}$ (the goat to Azazel), as does the Hebrew, the Greek talks about the man who sends away $\text{τὸν χίμαρον τὸν διεσταλμένον εἰς ἄφεσιν}$ (the goat set apart for pardon, remission, or forgiveness). Certainly the "scapegoat ceremony" is retained in the Septuagint, but it is difficult to know exactly what type of being or creature the translators had in mind to replace Azazel.

¹ See above, pp. 35-39.

Whatever is meant by the Greek words used, there is no evidence or reason to suggest demonic intent on the part of the translators.

Perhaps this is a good place to point to the fact that the Septuagint as a whole seems to steer away from using proper names which easily can be, and frequently are, misinterpreted as the names of demons. We already have seen this tendency with לִלִּית (Lilith) and אַזַּזֵּל (Azazel); neither of these Hebrew names is rendered in Greek by a proper noun. This phenomenon also is noticeable with names like רַהַב (Rahab)¹ and לִוְיָתָן (Leviathan).² In the Hebrew text these names clearly do not refer to demons, even though some people repeatedly insist they do. But in the Septuagint there can be no doubt; the proper names are completely eliminated and replaced by such Greek words as $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$ (dragon, serpent), $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ (dragons), and $\kappa\eta\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (sea-monster), none of which implies demonism.

It is entirely possible that this development--that is, the replacement of the ancient proper names--is an indication that even as early as when the initial Greek translations were made people had already begun to misinterpret such names as Lilith, Rahab, Leviathan--all active evil spirits in ancient Near Eastern mythology--as active demons in the Biblical passages where, in fact, they were no longer meant to be demonic. Thus, the translators tried to eliminate misunderstanding by deliberately

¹E.g., Job 9:13, 26:12; Ps. 89:10; Is. 30:7, 51:9.

²E.g., Job 41:1; Ps. 74:14, 104:26; Is. 27:1.

substituting non-demonic animals.

This presents us with some outstanding examples of the problems which can be caused by relying on ancient pre-Biblical interpretations without giving proper exegetical consideration to the Biblical passages involved. And, at the same time, the fact that Azazel is used, in all probability, as some kind of a passive demon in the Hebrew Scriptures but translated as a non-demonic animal in the Septuagint, makes us equally aware of the misunderstandings which can arise when post-Biblical interpretations are followed at the expense of the original Biblical meanings.

As we turn our attention to the Satan passages, we find some interesting and significant changes, certainly in language and probably in thought as well. As noted in the preceding chapter, the English word Satan is the transliteration of a Hebrew noun, שָׂטָן, which means either (1) an adversary or opponent in general, or (2) a specific super-human adversary.¹

In the verses in which it is used with the first meaning, שָׂטָן is translated into Greek by several different words, none of which really changes its basic meaning as an adversary or opponent, though some do add "slight" insights pertaining to the general types of enemies implied in the respective passages.²

¹ See above, p. 51.

² There are nine verses in the Hebrew text in which שָׂטָן is used as an indefinite adversary. Below are listed the Greek translations (con't next page)

There are only three passages--Zechariah 3:1, 3:2 (two times); Job chapters 1 and 2 (several times each); and 1 Chronicles 21:1--in which יָצִיף is used with the second meaning, that is, as a particular superhuman adversary. In all of these verses יָצִיף is translated into Greek by $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (meaning slanderer or enemy, and usually translated into English as devil).¹ In fact, in the Septuagint $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ becomes a synonym for יָצִיף .²

In the Zechariah and Job passages of the Hebrew Old Testament, יָצִיף is not used as a proper name, but is used with the definite article

(footnote cont.) for יָצִיף in each of the verses.

Num. 22:22-- $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\iota\alpha\beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (to stand in the way as an adversary); variant reading-- $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ (to set at variance or throw across).

Num. 22:32-- $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$ (an opponent or adversary).

1 Sam. 29:4-- $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (a treacherous plotter or schemer).

2 Sam. 19:23 (G--19:22)-- $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

1 Kings 5:4 (H, G--5:18)-- $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$.

1 Kings 11:14-- $\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ (an adversary or opponent, being the Greek form of the Hebrew יָצִיף and of the Aramaic ܝܘܨܝܦ , and never used in the Septuagint as a proper name); variant reading-- $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (an enemy or opponent).

1 Kings 11:25 (G--11:14)-- $\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$; variant reading-- $\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

1 Kings 11:23-- $\sigma\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu$ in some manuscripts, but in many this verse is deleted in the Greek.

Psalms 109:6 (G--108:6)-- $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (a slanderer or enemy).

See n.1, p. 74.

¹ See n.1, p. 74.

² The use of $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ as a translation for יָצִיף is very significant, and the Septuagint seems to be the first place this use occurs. Throughout the New Testament, and still today, Satan and $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ (the Devil) are synonymous.

as a descriptive title for a particular superhuman being--the Satan or the Adversary. In the whole of the Hebrew Old Testament, it is only in 1 Chronicles 21:1 that שָׂטָן is used as a proper name for a particular being--Satan.¹

In Job and Zechariah of the Septuagint the Hebrew usage definitely is followed, for in these two books we find ὁ διάβολος (the Devil), used not as a proper name but as a descriptive title with the definite article.

In the Greek text of 1 Chronicles 21:1, however, there may be a significant deviation from the Hebrew, but we cannot be sure. In this verse διάβολος is used without the definite article, as is its Hebrew counterpart (שָׂטָן), but since διάβολος is not capitalized it is questionable whether it is used as a proper name (Devil or Satan), or whether it is meant as an indefinite noun (an enemy or a devil).

We noted this same ambiguity as we examined the Hebrew form of this verse, but we concluded that שָׂטָן in 1 Chronicles 21:1 is used as a proper name.² The difficulty is caused by the fact that in Hebrew and ancient Greek there are not both capital and lower case letters, and the only way to determine whether a word is a proper or common noun is by the context of the passage in which it is used. In the early Greek manuscripts of the Septuagint there would have been no visible distinction

¹ See above, pp. 52, 56.

² See above, p. 56.

between the use of *διάβολος* as a common or as a proper noun. But in later Greek manuscripts and the printed editions, when a distinction could have been made, *διάβολος* (without a capital letter) is used in 1 Chronicles 21:1. It seems logical, therefore, at least at first glance, to draw the conclusion that *διάβολος* is used in this verse of the Septuagint as a common noun.

But we must not be too hasty in making judgments about this passage, because it is one of those about which it is impossible to determine the intent of the original translators. It would be easy to assume that in this verse they intentionally used *διάβολος* as an indefinite noun instead of a proper name in order to tone down the idea of personalized figures of evil in opposition to God. It is readily admitted that in Egypt, at the time of the original Greek translations of 1 Chronicles, there probably was a slight tendency among many Jews to think of God as being opposed by specific evil spirits, for, as we will see in the next chapter, the general trend of demonic thought in most Jewish circles during the last two centuries B.C. was definitely toward the recognition of such beings. But even so, it seems very unlikely that the translators would have intentionally omitted a reference to the figure of Satan because such a reference would have been offensive.

In the first place, again as we will discover in the following chapter, there apparently was, at this time within Egyptian Judaism, very little interest at all in demons and the Devil, and it seems very improbable that the Egyptian-Jewish writers would have felt any compulsion to have repressed the use of *διάβολος* as a proper name. And secondly, a moderate

Satanic doctrine was, as we noted in the previous chapter, a welcome solution to the longstanding Hebrew dilemma over the problems of suffering, evil, and sin, and there is no reason to believe that the Egyptian Jews would have felt differently. We conclude, therefore, that it is a very questionable position to assume that the translators used *διάβολος* as a common noun in an effort to check increased and exaggerated demonic tendencies.

Or, one might surmise that the original translators misinterpreted the Hebrew, taking *שָׂטָן* as an indefinite noun instead of a proper name, an understandable error. If this were the case, however, one would expect to find a large collection of variant readings from early manuscripts, yet they do not exist.¹

I personally would suggest caution about assigning too much significance to this use of *διάβολος*. It probably is the result of a literal translation of *שָׂטָן*, nothing more. Apparently it had become the usual practice to translate the Hebrew *שָׂטָן* (an adversary) into Greek by *διάβολος* (a devil). In this particular instance *שָׂטָן* is used as a proper name without the definite article (Satan), and to have used *ὁ διάβολος* (the Devil) would have been untrue to the original Hebrew, and for later editors to have rendered *διάβολος* as a proper noun by giving it a

¹ Satan appears in the Latin translations of Origen; *εἰτάν* appears in two cursive manuscripts; *εἰτανᾶ* appears in one cursive manuscript; *ἐχθρός* (an adjective meaning hated or hateful) is found in one cursive manuscript; and in all the other manuscripts I examined, both uncial and cursive, some form of *διάβολος* is used without the definite article and apparently without making it a proper name.

capital "delta" would have been to have coined a new usage.¹ Hence, we suggest that in 1 Chronicles 21:1 *διάβολος* is used as a literal translation of *יָצֵב*, probably with no concern for later students of demonology.

We concluded earlier² that in the Hebrew text of Genesis chapter 3, the serpent is portrayed as neither Satan nor a demon, and there is no change of emphasis in the Septuagint. One does find, however, an interesting development in the Greek text of Job chapters 1 and 2 and in Genesis 6:1-4. In both of these passages *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* (the sons of God) is translated into Greek as *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ* (the angels of God).³ Although this does not change the original meaning of either story, it is one of the first noticeable steps in the direction of a later Jewish interpretation which connected Satan, rather indirectly, with the fallen angels-- he is depicted as the leader of the evil spirits which, in turn, are considered the offspring of the sinful or fallen angels and some earthly women.⁴ (It should be stressed that, contrary to what is often supposed, Satan himself is merely pictured as the leader of the demons, not as a fallen angel, nor as the leader of the fallen angels.) But such ideas are later and are centered in Palestine, and it seems very unlikely that

¹ Evidently *διάβολος* is never used, either in Biblical or classical literature, without the definite article as a proper name.

² See above, pp. 40 -42.

³ The translation of *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ* (the angels of God) for *בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים* (the sons of God) is not restricted to these two passages, but these are the ones of most interest for our study.

⁴ We will examine the "fallen angel" stories in the next chapter.

there is any link between these passages in the Septuagint and the later fallen angel narratives. In all probability any visible similarity of "the sons of God" passages with the later "fallen angel" ideas is but coincidental. In fact, I would suspect that the translation of בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים (the sons of God) as $\text{οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ}$ (the angels of God) was due to a development in angelology, not in demonology.¹

It was in the last few centuries B.C. that a more systematic angelology was developed in Jewish thought, and it was during this period that almost all the divine or holy (that is, superhuman) creatures and beings used by God for carrying out His work became thought of as types of angels. Hence, $\text{οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ}$ (the angels of God) was a very natural translation for בְּנֵי־אֱלֹהִים (the sons of God).

What we find in these passages of the Septuagint are only the early stages of a trend of thought which eventually classified these divine ministers and workers (that is, angels) as either good or bad (in varying degrees of each), depending on their obedience or disobedience to Yahweh, and, to a lesser extent, according to the type of work ordained by God for them to perform. Eventually, in some schools of thought, the less

¹ For general information about angelology and its development in Judaism, see: Blau, "Angelology"; Davidson, "Angel". Gaster, "Angel"; Gray, "Angel"; Jeffery, "Angels"; Kohler, "Angelology"; Marshall, "Angels"; Morgenstern, "Angels"; Oesterley, "Angel," and "Angelology and Demonology in Early Judaism"; Oey, "An Inquiry into the Problem of the Mal'ak Yahweh in the Old Testament," esp. pp. 235-252; Wiener, "Angels."

desirable divine beings became designated as bad and fallen angels.¹

Keeping in mind the difficulty, as pointed out earlier in this chapter,² of either drawing definite conclusions about individual passages or making broad statements concerning the Septuagint as a whole, we will attempt to summarize and evaluate the findings of this part of our study.

As the Hebrew and Septuagint texts are compared, there are no significant differences in the demonology of the two. In most passages the Greek conveys the same meaning as the Hebrew, but in some the Greek appears slightly more demonic, and in others slightly less. In this chapter we have merely confirmed the fact that in Egypt during the last centuries B.C. there was little Jewish interest in demonology, and the Septuagint certainly does not suggest any important new trends or emphases in Jewish demonic concepts. There still are no evil spirits which actively oppose or threaten God's omnipotence.

One interesting development we noted was the proneness toward replacing proper names--names which in pre-Biblical times had been used to designate demonic creatures but in the Old Testament were no longer meant to imply demonism--by common nouns indicating non-demonic

¹ As pointed out in the previous chapter, God sometimes has His ministers carry out acts of punishment, destruction, death, etc. Gradually the divine beings responsible for performing the more charitable deeds became known as good angels, those assigned the more distasteful jobs as bad angels.

² See above pp. 70-75.

animals. This, however, cannot be considered a basic change in concept, but, as we pointed out above, more a change in presentation, in order to avoid misinterpretations which stemmed from the more ancient meanings. It also was recognized that a change in angelology was just beginning to influence demonology, although any significant influence of this type could not be detected in the Septuagint.

By far the most significant result of the Septuagint was the expression of the Hebrew faith through the medium of the Greek language. This was important not only because it opened the door for Greek influence upon the Hebrew faith, but because it was the language used for writing the New Testament. It is important for the student of Christian demonology to know the background of Greek words which play a major role in demonology, and to follow their use and development from the Septuagint until they appear in the New Testament. It is impossible to grasp the full significance of the demonology of the New Testament without a knowledge of this background material.

CHAPTER III
DEMONOLOGY OF THE INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD
(APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA)

In Chapters I and II an examination was made of the demonology of the Old Testament, in Chapter I as recorded in the original Hebrew language, in Chapter II as found in the secondary Greek translations. We concluded that in the original Hebrew version of the Old Testament there are no verses which imply an active demonology, although we noted the emergence of slight dualistic tendencies in some of the latest passages to be written, and in the secondary Greek translations there are no significant differences from the overall emphasis of the Hebrew, although some passages in the Greek appear to be more demonic than in the Hebrew, and others less.

In this chapter our attention will be directed to some of the Jewish religious literature, very similar to the Bible in style and content, which was written, for the most part, during the intertestamental period, that is, during the years after the Old Testament and before the New Testament.¹ A study of the Jewish religious literature of this period is necessary for any real understanding of the New Testament because it bridges the very considerable gap,

¹ The intertestamental period can be dated from about 200 B.C. to about 50 A.D. Some few Old Testament passages, however, were written later than 200 B.C., for example, Daniel and Esther.

both in terms of historical and theological development, which exists between the Old and New Testaments.

The necessity of examining this body of literature for our purposes cannot be overstressed, for it is impossible to lay a firm foundation for the study of Christian demonology without examining the various streams of Jewish demonic thought which existed during the last two centuries before the Christian Era. In fact, it was during these years that demonology, in numerous varieties, developed within Judaism, and it is to these years that we must look for the background of New Testament demonology.¹ Whereas in the Old Testament there is no demonic emphasis, in contrast, demonology in the New Testament occupies an extremely prominent place, especially in the Gospels. And it is to the non-Scriptural Jewish religious literature which was written during the years between the Testaments that we must look to trace the emergence and development of Jewish demonic concepts, concepts which undoubtedly influenced Jesus and the early Christians.

As the lack of demonic thought in the Old Testament is compared with its prominence in the New Testament, it would be easy to assume that this greater emphasis on demonology should be attributed to Jesus and the first Christians, since it is lacking in the Jewish Scriptures.

¹ I write from personal experience on this point, because I started this entire study on demonology by an examination of the Gospels, as my primary interest is in New Testament demonology. Much to my surprise I found it an absolute prerequisite first to study the Old Testament, and especially pertinent portions of the intertestamental literature, before being able accurately to determine and appreciate the demonic teachings of the New Testament.

But such an assumption would be wrong, and it would reveal an ignorance of certain Jewish doctrinal developments of the intertestamental period. During the second and first centuries B. C. the development of demonic doctrines among the Jews was rapid and amazing, and when the demonic concepts of Jesus and the first Christians are compared with those of their Jewish contemporaries, instead of with the Old Testament, it is soon realized that there is not nearly so large a gulf between the two.

We, therefore, turn our attention to those two groups of writings which have become known, among Protestants, as the "Apocrypha of the Old Testament" and the "Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament." There is, however, considerable confusion about these terms and what they represent.

The word Apocrypha ¹ is used, in Protestant circles, ² to refer generally to non-Biblical writings, those "outside" the canon, and the "Apocrypha of the Old Testament" refers specifically to those fifteen books of Jewish

¹Apocrypha is plural; the singular is apocryphon. For the general information about the Apocrypha in the following paragraphs, and for additional bibliographies, consult the following literature (especially helpful are the first entries, under Pfeiffer, Torrey, Metzger, and Filson): Pfeiffer, History New Testament, and "Literature of Apocrypha"; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature; Metzger, Introduction to Apocrypha, and "Apocrypha"; Filson, Which Books in Bible, pp. 73-100; Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol. I, and Religious Developments Between Testaments, pp. 184-219; Fritsch, "Apocrypha"; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha; Hofman, "Apocrypha"; James, "Apocrypha," cols. 249-252; Kuhl, O.T. pp. 32-33, 301-311; McCown, "Apocrypha"; Moore, "Apocrypha"; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 78-79, and Introduction Books of Apocrypha; Porter, "Apocrypha"; Roberts, "Canon and Text of O.T.," esp. sections 57a, 57b; Swete, Introduction O.T. in Greek, pp. 224, 265-288; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 340, 347, 389-412.

²This paper uses Apocrypha in its Protestant sense. See n. 2, p. 97 for the Roman Catholic position.

origin which are included in the Greek and Latin (still the official Bible of Roman Catholicism today) versions of the Old Testament,¹ but are not found in the Hebrew canon.² It seems fairly certain that at the Council

¹The names of the fifteen books are : 1 Esdras; 2 Esdras; Tobit; Judith; Additions to Esther; The Wisdom of Solomon; Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach; Baruch; The Letter of Jeremiah; The Prayer of Azariah and the Song of the Three Young Men; Susanna; Bel and the Dragon; The Prayer of Manasseh; 1 Maccabees; 2 Maccabees. However, the suggested number of books is not always fifteen. Some manuscripts of the Greek contain also 3 and 4 Maccabees and Psalm 151, never found in the Vulgate; and often The Letter of Jeremiah is included as the final chapter of Baruch.

²We are not sure how these books came to be designated as "Apocrypha." There are two contrasting theories which offer explanations for the origin of this use. The first starts by considering the Greek word from which "Apocrypha" is derived--*ἀπόκρυφος*, meaning hidden, concealed, or stored away (Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, p. 204). It continues by pointing to the ancient belief among various Jewish sects that religious literature should be withdrawn from circulation and public use for either one of two reasons: (1) because it was considered as being of an undesirable, secondary, or questionable character--in some instances heretical or even false--capable of leading people astray; or (2) because it was regarded as containing mysterious or esoteric knowledge, too profound or sacred to be made known to any but the most advanced in the faith, thus being excluded from neophytes and outsiders. One might say such literature was stored away to preserve "good things from harm and bad things from harming" (Adler, "Genizah," p. 612). Thus "Apocrypha" was used as a descriptive title for writings which were denied a place in public worship and were restricted to the private use of a privileged few; they were "hidden" from the public, that is, kept in places not accessible to the rank and file.

C. C. Torrey (Apocryphal Literature, pp. 7-9), on the other hand, insists that the Apocryphal books were never regarded as "concealed" or "hidden away." They were "writings prized for their religious value or their practical wisdom; historical works of importance; masterpieces of popular fiction which were given wide circulation in several languages," and they were "by no means unsuitable for public use nor to be ignored by the learned" (p. 8). He agrees that the Greek adjective (*ἀπόκρυφος*) was used as a literary term in the sense of esoteric, obscure, spurious, or heretical, but contends that these meanings were not meant when it was used as an ecclesiastical term; when used as the latter it denoted the "simple notion" of "'outside the cannon'" (p. 8).

He suggests that one finds the real reason why these "outside" books came to be termed as "hidden" in chapters (con't. next page)

of Jamnia in Palestine, about 90 to 100 A. D., the Rabbis defined and fixed the Hebrew canon for posterity, and, for reasons somewhat obscured to us now,¹ none of the books of the Apocrypha was included.

(footnote con't.) 12 and 14 of 2 Esdras, an Apocryphal book written, for the most part, in the closing years of the first century A.D. These tell how Israel's religious literature, which had been destroyed, was miraculously restored by Ezra. This literature consisted of twenty-four canonical books and seventy others. 2 Esdras relates how God instructed Ezra to "make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people" (14:45b-46, R. S. V.) In 14:6 Ezra had been forewarned that not all of Israel's divine books would be made public.

Torrey concludes as follows: "Here, evidently, is the origin of the ecclesiastical term, 'apocrypha.' The seventy books are divinely dictated, like the others, but are 'hidden.' This means that edifying literature, as a class, was recognized and given high value; while the fundamental superiority, the universal quality, of the twenty-four books was sharply set forth" (p. 9).

Although we cannot be sure, this position supported by Torrey, as well as by Charles (Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol. II, p. i) and Oesterley (Introduction Books of Apocrypha, p. 4), is very convincing.

¹ Many details are missing from the long and complex process of canonization, but some of the most important considerations, besides content, were date, language, and popularity.

Among Jews the person of Ezra grew in importance until, by the time of the Council of Jamnia, it was generally held that divine inspiration had ceased with the prophet Ezra, and anything written or believed to have been written after his time usually was not considered as inspired and, therefore, could not be regarded as canonical. This ruled out those books of the Apocrypha believed to be late in date (e.g., 1 and 2 Macc., Ecclus.).

Any books known or believed to have been written in Greek rather than Hebrew or Aramaic, the ecclesiastical languages of Palestinian Jews, also were ruled out, thus eliminating such Apocryphal books as the Wis. of Sol. and 2 Macc. 2:19-15:39.

But the primary factor for inclusion in the Hebrew canon seems to have been popularity, and for some reason obscure to us today, the Apocryphal books, for the most part, were little used among (con't. next page)

Evidently the Egyptian Jews used different standards for determining canonical literature, and the entire Septuagint, including the Apocrypha, seems to have been accepted by them as canonical.¹ Since the Septuagint became the Bible of the early Christians, they too accepted the Apocrypha, and to this day the Apocryphal books are considered canonical by the Roman Catholic Church and the Oriental churches.²

But one of the many significant consequences of the Reformation of the sixteenth century was the removal, by the reformers, of the Apocrypha from the canon. There were primarily two factors which led to this action: (1) the polemic against certain doctrines of the Church which were well attested in some Apocryphal books,³ and (2) the return to the study of the

(footnote con't.) Palestinian Jews and there was very little demand for their inclusion in the canon. Tertullian (De cultu ferninarum, 1:3) said the Jamni Rabbis rejected, among others, those books which were favored by the Christians. Also see n. 1, p. 101.

¹ We have no evidence that the Jews at Alexandria had a clear idea of a closed canon, and, in fact, it is likely that they had no fully defined canon. That the Pentateuch was authoritative is certain, but it is questionable whether the Prophets and other Biblical Writings were definitely distinguished from other Jewish religious writings of high repute. (See Filson, Which Books in Bible, pp. 80-81)

² Three books--The Prayer of Manasses, 1 and 2 Esdras (called 3 and 4 Esdras in the Latin)--are relegated to an appendix at the end of the New Testament in the official Roman Catholic Bible. All the other books of the Apocrypha have been designated as deuterocanonical, meaning books which are fully canonical, but written later than the other Biblical books, known as protocanonical. These books also are in slightly different order in the Latin and Greek versions. The Roman Catholics apply Apocrypha to what the Protestants term Pseudepigrapha.

³ E.g., the Roman Catholic doctrines of salvation by works (see Eccclus. 3:3, 3:14-15, 3:30; Tobit 4:6-11, 12:9, 14:11, etc.; contrast Rom. 1:17, 3:10-11, 3:20-26; Gal. 3:2, 3:11; Phil. 3:9; (con't next page)

Hebrew canon,¹ in which, of course, none of the Apocryphal books is found. There is no question that the Protestant Churches have been correct in following the reformers in rejecting the canonical status of these writings, but even so the Apocrypha are important sources for the background of New Testament thought.²

"Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament"³ has become the designation for some of the Jewish religious writings, not included in the Old Testament or Apocrypha, which were written between about 200 B. C. and 200 A.D.

(footnote con't) Heb. 10:38, etc.), and the merits of the saints (see Prayer of Azariah and Song of Three Young Men 12; contrast Lk. 3:8).

¹ The revival of classical learning, the Renaissance, and the invention of printing all led to a renewed interest in the study of Hebrew, a language which had almost been forgotten in the Church since about 450 A. D. This, of course, directed attention to the original Hebrew canon, instead of the secondary Greek and Latin translations.

² Bruce Metzger (Introduction to Apocrypha, p. viii) writes: "By becoming acquainted with these books [the Apocrypha], therefore, one will be better able to understand the political, cultural, ethical, and religious background of the contemporaries of Jesus Christ." Charles Fritsch ("Apocrypha," p. 162) says: "This extensive literature is not only important source material for our knowledge of the history, culture, and religion of Judaism, but it is also valuable for our understanding of the background of the N. T."

³ For the information about the Pseudepigrapha in this and the following paragraphs, and for additional bibliographies, consult the following (especially useful are the entries under Pfeiffer, Rowley, Torrey, Fox, and Oesterley): Pfeiffer, History New Testament, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha"; Rowley, "Apocalyptic Literature," and Relevance of Apocalyptic; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature; Fox, "Pseudepigrapha"; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," esp. pp. 78-79, 89-96; Adler, "Genizah"; Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol. II, and Religious Developments Between Testaments, pp. 220-252; Fritsch, "Pseudepigrapha"; James, Lost Apocrypha of Old Testament; Kuhl, O. T., pp. 32-33; Marx, "Genizah"; Metzger, "Pseudepigrapha"; Roberts, "Canon and Text of O. T.," esp. sect. 57a, 57b; Weiser, Introduction O. T. pp. 340-341, 413-447.

Most of these books are concerned, in varying degrees, with the future, and they hopefully foretell the events of the "last days." For the most part the Pseudepigrapha can be classified as "Apocalyptic Literature," or at least as having an Apocalyptic emphasis.¹

The name Pseudepigrapha,² however, is misleading. From an etymological point of view this word designates any literature written

¹ It is not necessary to point to the impracticability of getting sidetracked into a lengthy discussion on "Apocalyptic Literature," a very complex subject in itself. For a good, concise article, consult Rowley, "Apocalyptic Literature," in the new edition of Peake's Commentary on the Bible. Also helpful are: Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 1-16; Charles, Religious Developments Between Testaments, pp. 12-46; Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 55-56 (n. 35a); Grant, Ancient Judaism, pp. 85-95; Metzger, "Pseudepigrapha," pp. 820-821; Oesterley, "Introduction," Book of Enoch, by Charles, ("Translations of Early Documents"), pp. vii-xiii; Rist, "Apocalypticism." For more detailed discussions, see Rowley's book, The Relevance of Apocalyptic, esp. chap. I, and Frost, Old Testament Apocalyptic.

Very briefly, though, Apocalyptic Literature has been described as being "the child of prophecy, yet diverse from prophecy" (Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 13). Although there are many differences between Prophecy and Apocalypse--both in form and content--it seems to me there are two distinguishing characteristics which are most important. First, Prophecy spoke of the wickedness and sin of the people, and the eventual doom and judgment which would result. Apocalypse, on the other hand, pointed to loyal men who, in the face of danger and persecution, refused to turn from God or compromise their faith in the immediate future. Hence, Prophecy pictured wicked men heading for disaster and Apocalypse stressed the innocent men suffering for their faith. Secondly, both Prophet and Apocalypticist proclaimed eventual bliss for the righteous remnant, but they had different conceptions of the coming age. They both thought history was directed by God and the future age would come into being only as a result of divine intervention. But the Prophets pictured the Golden Age as the time when evil finally would run its course and God's purposes would be perfectly realized and reflected in human affairs, whereas the Apocalypticists saw God as the sole significant actor who, in the immediate future, would directly intervene and bring evil to an abrupt end. Thus, Prophecy "foretold the future that should arise out of the present," while Apocalypse "foretold the future that should break into the present" (Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, p. 35).

²Pseudepigrapha is a plural noun, as Apocrypha; the singular is Pseudepigraph.

under an assumed name.¹ It was common practice in antiquity for authors to use the names of famous people in order to enhance the authority of what they were writing.² Therefore, it is not a material criterion peculiar to that body of literature which is known to us today as the Pseudepigrapha. In fact, some books of the Bible and Apocrypha fall into this category.³ Further, not all of the books of the Pseudepigrapha can rightly be classified as pseudonymous.

Torrey,⁴ therefore, argues that "the current classification of the Jewish post-canonical literature as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is outworn and misleading, supported neither by history nor by present fact," and suggests that we should return to the practice of the early Christians, who classified all of the extra-canonical Jewish writings simply as "apocrypha." There is some merit in this suggestion, but for the sake of clarity, we will adhere to the twofold designation--Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha--the

¹Rowley ("Apocalyptic Literature," sect. 418f.) properly stresses the distinction between literature which the author actually wrote in the name of another person, intentionally attempting to mislead his readers as to the true identity of authorship, and literature which, sometime after it had been written, was identified or circulated with the works of another. Only the first can properly be called pseudepigraphic.

²Burkitt (Jewish and Christian Apocalypses) suggests there is an aspect of pseudonymous authorship to which sufficient attention has not been given. "It is this, that the names were not chosen out of mere caprice; they indicated to a certain extent what subjects would be treated and the point of view of the writer (p. 18). He gives examples on pages 18-19.

³E.g., all the books assigned to Solomon (i.e., Prov., Eccles., S. of Sol., Wis. of Sol.); 2 Esdr.; Bar.; Let. of Jer.

⁴Apocryphal Literature, p. 11.

latter being a select number of those books neither in the Old Testament nor Apocrypha.

There were many of these ancient Jewish writings, neither in the Old Testament nor Apocrypha, but there has never been a fixed limit or authoritative statement declaring precisely which of these should be classified as the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. Although Jewish in origin, this literature became quite popular in some quarters of the Early Christian Church, especially in the Orient, and our main guide in determining the limits of the Pseudepigrapha has been the usage of this material by the early Christians.¹ During the first few centuries of the Christian Era certain of these writings were considered more important than others, and some effort was made to preserve them. As a result we have fragments or complete transcripts of many of these more popular books. On the other hand, the vast majority of the extra-canonical texts were not considered very important and there was no demand for additional copies; consequently, we know of them only by an occasional or single reference in Patristic Literature.² The Protestant Church has come to designate those more popular books as the Pseudepigrapha.

¹ Although they are of Jewish origin, the Rabbis banned these books when they became popular among the Christians. Fox, writing in The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, contends that in recent years Jewish scholars are reclaiming many of the Pseudepigrapha. He points out that now it is realized that the great ethical content of many of these writings played an important role in preserving certain ethical values of the Torah during the years when Israel came into close contact with Greek, Persian, and Egyptian influences (Fox, "Pseudepigrapha," p. 20). Also see n. 1, p. 96.

² Consult M. R. James, Lost Apocrypha of Old Testament, for the many lost Jewish religious books of the intertestamental period, a number of which probably should be included in the Pseudepigrapha.

Considering such a background it is easy to understand why there is considerable difference of opinion among scholars concerning exactly which writings should be classified as the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. Actually it is impossible to establish a fixed limit once and for all, because occasionally additions are still being made to this body of literature, as ancient manuscripts are found and deciphered. Keeping these facts in mind and realizing one cannot be dogmatic about this, we will, as a practical approach to our study of demonology, designate the following literature as the Pseudepigrapha: Assumption of Moses; 2 Baruch (Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch); 3 Baruch (Greek Apocalypse of Baruch); Books of Adam and Eve (Vita Adae et Evae, Apocalypsis Mosis); 1 Enoch; 2 Enoch (Book of the Secrets of Enoch); Jubilees; Letter of Aristeas; Lives of the Prophets; 3 Maccabees; 4 Maccabees; Martyrdom of Isaiah; Psalms of Solomon; Sibylline Oracles; Testament of Job; and Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. This list represents a selective combination of those works suggested by R. H. Charles,¹ C. C. Torrey,² and R. H. Pfeiffer,³ and is arranged in alphabetical order, paying no attention to chronology or places of composition.

However, in this chapter of our study we will not examine all of the Pseudepigrapha, any more than the entire Apocrypha. Only those books will be considered which make a direct or indirect contribution to the study of

¹Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol. II.

²Apocryphal Literature.

³"Literature of Pseudepigrapha."

intertestamental Jewish demonology. This will automatically rule out the many writings which have no demonic teachings and those written after 50 A. D., cutting the list to only eleven--four from the Apocrypha (Tobit, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch) and seven from the Pseudepigrapha (Assumption of Moses, 1 Enoch, Jubilees, Lives of the Prophets, 4 Maccabees, Martyrdom of Isaiah, and Testament of Job).

The following procedure was followed in arranging this material. First, all of these books were considered as one body of intertestamental literature, making no distinction between Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Next, they were divided into two groups according to place of composition, those from Palestine and those from Egypt. They were then arranged, as nearly as possible, according to chronological order. This means that in this chapter we will consider those eleven books of the intertestamental period which relate to demonology, and will do so in the following order: (1) those written in Palestine, in chronological order; and (2) those from Egypt, also chronologically. This procedure will enable us to trace the gradual development of Jewish demonic thought in both Palestine and Egypt during the years between the Testaments.¹

Table I, on the next page, gives the above information in summary form. It shows where these books were written and the approximate dates of composition. In this chapter the pertinent passages of these various writings will be considered in the same order as they appear in the table. As mentioned

¹See below, pp. 238-239, for the proper emphasis of this chronological arrangement.

TABLE 1. --Pre-Christian books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha containing passages with direct or indirect references to demonology, with dates and places of origin.¹

Palestine			Egypt		
Approximate Date	Name of Book	Apoc. or Pseud.	Approximate Date	Name of Book	Apoc. or Pseud.
200-170 B.C.	I Enoch (chapters 6-11; 54:7-55:2; 60; 65:1-69:25; 106-107)	Pseud.			
190-175 B.C.	Tobit	Apoc.			
180 B.C.	Ecclesiasticus	Apoc.			
170-160 B.C.	I Enoch (chapters 93:1-10; 91:12-17; 12-36; 83-90)	Pseud.			
115-105 B.C.	Jubilees	Pseud.			
100 B.C.	Baruch	Apoc.			
100-75 B.C.	Testament of Job	Pseud.			
100-75 B.C.	I Enoch (chapters 91-105)	Pseud.			
100-50 B.C.	I Enoch (chapters 37-71)	Pseud.	100-50 B.C.	Wisdom of Solomon	Apoc.
25-1 B.C.	Martyrdom of Isaiah	Pseud.	30 B.C.-30 A.D.	IV Maccabees	Pseud.
5-20 A.D.	Assumption of Moses	Pseud.			
10-30 A.D.	Lives of the Prophets	Pseud.			

¹ See below, pp. 228-236, for the reasons that 2 Enoch, the Books of Adam and Eve, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are not included on this table.

in Chapter I, it is often difficult to determine exactly when some literature was written, so a few of the dates are questionable. But a summary of critical information will be found as each book is dealt with in detail, but since this primarily is a study of demonology, one will need to examine the references in the footnotes for a thorough understanding of such matters.¹

Let us now examine this body of literature to see what light it will shed on our study of demonology.

I Enoch--General Introduction

We will begin by turning our attention to the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, or, as it is often called, 1 Enoch.² This is an Apocalyptic³ work of the Pseudepigrapha, and its importance cannot be overstressed.⁴ R. H. Charles writes: "The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the

¹There is really no one suitable textbook for this information, and we are in need of more up to date studies. The most helpful books and articles for an introduction to the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, with suggested bibliographies for individual books and specific problems, are: Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vols. I, II; Metzger, Introduction to Apocrypha; Pfeiffer, History New Testament; and "Literature of Apocrypha," and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha"; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature. None of these is satisfactory by itself, and, in fact, all taken together are still incomplete. But the combination of these are the best we have, and they will refer the student to most of the other important books and articles.

²"The Book of Enoch" is often referred to as "1 Enoch," to distinguish it from "The Secrets of Enoch," a later work known as "2 Enoch." The former also is called the "Ethiopic Enoch" and the latter the "Slavonic Enoch," after the language of the earliest extant versions of each.

³For a short discussion on Apocalyptic Literature in general, see n. 1, p. 99.

⁴For the information about 1 Enoch and for additional bibliographies, consult: Beer, "Das Buch Henoch"; Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 17-33, 53-71; Charles, Book of Enoch, and "Book of Enoch"; Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 147-150; Deane, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 49-95; Milik, Ten Years of Discovery, pp. 33-34; Oesterley, (con't next page)

most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C."¹ There is no question that what he says about the theological development in general is true specifically of the development of demonology. In fact, it is not going too far to suggest that 1 Enoch contains the most revolutionary teachings in the history of Jewish demonology. It is in Enoch that we notice, for the first time, a real break from the types of Jewish demonic thought we found in the Old Testament, and that we will also see in several books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

It is difficult, however, to know exactly how to approach the book in this type of survey. Few Pseudepigrapha present so many critical problems. Pfeiffer describes 1 Enoch as "a library rather than a book,"² and Weiser writes that it "is a whole collection of apocalyptic literature of different kinds and different ages gathered together under the name of Enoch."³ Charles goes into a little more detail.⁴

(footnote con't) "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 88-89, and "Introduction," Book of Enoch by Charles, ("Translations of Early Documents"); Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 75-79, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 427-430; Rist, "Enoch"; Rowley, Jewish Apocalyptic and Scrolls, pp. 8-10, and Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 54-60, 77-84; Schodde, Book of Enoch; Schürer, History of Jewish People, Vol. III, pp. 54-73; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 110-114; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 425-429. There is no question that Charles has been the greatest "Enoch" scholar of all time, but his work needs to be supplemented by later scholarship. Pfeiffer and Torrey also should be examined, but even they were denied the finds at Qumran.

¹ Book of Enoch, p. x.

² History New Testament, p. 75.

³ Introduction O. T., p. 426.

⁴ Book of Enoch, p. x.

To describe in short compass the Book of Enoch is impossible. It comes from many writers and almost as many periods. It touches upon every subject that could have arisen in the ancient schools of the prophets, but naturally it deals with these subjects in an advanced stage of development. Nearly every religious idea appears in a variety of forms, and, if these are studied in relation to their contexts and dates, we cannot fail to observe that in the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality.

Under the circumstances it is understandable that there is much difference of opinions among scholars on many aspects of this book. In fact, the areas of agreement are few. Practically no one today, however, questions that the whole is a combination of different writings, by different people, of different times, combined by stages over a considerable number of years. Most critics also agree that the individual parts, as well as the final compilation, have come from Palestine and were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, or more likely a combination of the two. But there is great disagreement concerning when and how this all took place.

As interesting as these problems are, we cannot, for the most part, take time to get involved. It will, however, be necessary to become partially acquainted with the subject of dates. In its final form 1 Enoch appears as a single book of five main divisions--chapters 1-36, 37-71, 72-82, 83-90, and 91-108.¹ There is a definite lack of literary and theological unity within these individual sections, as well as from one to the other, and this is the result of a prolonged process, over many generations, during which the

¹"The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works" (Charles, Book of Enoch, p. xlvi).

writings of many people were gradually combined and edited into the present form of 1 Enoch. Since the demonic teaching varies from one part of the book to the next, it would be helpful if we could date these various segments and thereby arrange the different strands of demonic doctrine in their proper chronological position within the whole range of intertestamental literature.

It is not easy to date accurately the different sections of this complex work, and opinions run all the way from 800 B. C. to 1500 A. D. But any dates earlier than 200 B. C. or later than 100 A. D. can be considered out of the question. Yet, even within this range of three hundred years reliable scholars cannot come to agreement.

Realizing that in many instances one cannot be dogmatic or certain, the following approximate dates are adopted in this paper for the passages relevant to our study of demonology.¹

200 to 170 B. C.--Chapters 6-11, 54:7-55:2, 60, 65:1-69:25, 106-107. (Since Charles suggested it, most critics agree that all of these segments are based on an older Book of Noah. Fragments of such a work were found at Qumran in Cave I.)

¹The dating of some of these chapters is a very complex problem, and, consequently, opinions vary greatly. For the most part we will not attempt to justify the dates used in this paper, for this, in itself, would take many pages. Let it just be said that the following dates were decided upon only after thorough study of the different viewpoints. For information about numerous suggested dates, consult: Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 180; Campbell, "Origin and Meaning of Son of Man," p. 147; Charles, Book of Enoch, pp. lli-lvi, and "Book of Enoch," pp. 170-171; Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 148-150; Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings Qumran, pp. 298-300; Glasson, Greek Influence in Eschatology, p. 41, and Second Advent, pp. 57-62; Higgins, "Son of Man," pp. 125-126; Milik, Ten Years of Discovery, pp. 33-34; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 76-77; Rowley, Jewish Apocalyptic and Scrolls, p. 9, and Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 77-84; etc.

170 to 160 B.C.--Chapters 93:1-10 and 91:12-17
(Apocalypse of Weeks); 12-36 (Visions and Journeys);
83-90 (Dream-Visions).

100 to 75 B. C.--Chapters 91-105, [excluding the
Apocalypse of Weeks] (Instruction and Exhortation).

100 to 50 B.C.--Chapters 37-71 (Similitudes).

A few further comments are necessary concerning the date of chapters 37-71, the Similitudes. Since there are several passages within these chapters which seem to echo Christian teachings,¹ for many years scholars have disagreed on the date of this section. The majority of critics, led by Charles, has supported dates from 94 to 64 B.C., explaining the Christian passages as later interpolations. The minority has contended, on the other hand, that this entire section was written initially by a Jewish Christian sometime during the first or second century A. D. This latter position has been most ably supported in recent years by T. F. Glasson.² Through the years there have been few new arguments for either position, and scholars could do little more than restate previous views.

But since the Scrolls were found at Qumran the question has been opened up again, with fresh ammunition for supporting a later date. There have been found in Cave IV several fragments of ten different Aramaic manuscripts of 1 Enoch. Of the five major divisions of the book as it has come down to us today, the first (chapters 1-36) and the fourth (chapters 83-90) are

¹ Especially some of those concerning the Messiah.

² See, e. g., Second Advent, pp. 57-62.

represented in five of the manuscripts, the third (chapters 72-82) in four manuscripts, and the fifth (chapters 91-108) in one manuscript. Of the second section (chapters 37-71) there have been found no fragments.

These facts have led J. T. Milik to conclude that this second section, chapters 37-71, is "probably to be considered the work of a Jew or a Jewish Christian of the first or second century A. D., who reutilized the various early Enoch writings to gain acceptance for his own work and gave the whole composition its present form."¹ This view has been strongly supported by F. M. Cross² and also, though less enthusiastically, by Millar Burrows.³ Dupont-Sommer⁴ has been less convincing in his attempt to refute this theory. It would seem, therefore, that there is good reason for suggesting chapters 37-71 were written about 50 to 100 A. D.

Nevertheless, at least as far as the demonic elements of these chapters are concerned, I have adhered to the pre-Christian date of 100 to 50 B. C. After examining and re-examining the Similitudes, there is no question, at least in my mind, that the demonology of chapters 37-71 shows no definite Christian influence and is akin to Jewish thought of the first century B. C.

¹ Ten Years of Discovery, p. 33.

² Ancient Library Qumran, esp. p. 149, n. 6, and p. 150, n. 7.

³ More Light on Scrolls, p. 180.

⁴ Essene Writings Qumran, pp. 299-300.

Although Glasson stresses the validity of using doctrinal development as one of the main criteria for dating literature,¹ I would hesitate to contend that just because the demonic ideas of chapters 37-71 are early that this necessarily means the entire section was written at the same early date. Glasson, for example, using the same criterion but primarily limiting himself to an examination of the Messianic passages, dates the same section an hundred or more years later. The weakness of his and my positions is that they are both based primarily on the study of but a single doctrine. There may be other reasons just as convincing for accepting either an early or late date.

But since it is demonology with which we are concerned in this study, regardless of the date of the total section, we are going to place the demonic elements in their proper chronological position, which appears to be some place between 100 and 50 B.C. Hence we are not necessarily suggesting that the Similitudes were written during those fifty years, but that the demonic concepts of these chapters are typical of that period.

Let us now examine the demonology of 1 Enoch. But perhaps it should be mentioned now that we will delay consideration of chapters 93:1-10 and 91:12-17, 12-36, 83-90, 91-105, and 37-71 until later, since these divisions belong to slightly later periods in history. At this time we will look at the passages dating from about 200 to 170 B. C.

¹Second Advent, pp. 59-60.

I Enoch--Chapters 6-11; 54:7-55:2; 60;
65:1-69:25; 106-107.

As already mentioned,¹ the earliest source for 1 Enoch was the Book of Noah, an ancient writing now extant only in a few fragments found in Cave I at Qumran.² This older book is reflected in 1 Enoch chapters 6-11; 54:7-55:2; 60; 65:1-69:25; 106-107. It would be rash to assume that these chapters of 1 Enoch reproduce exactly the old Noah legend, and yet it should be pointed out that the few fragments of the Hebrew manuscript of the Book of Noah found in Cave I resemble very closely the same passages as they exist in our present version of 1 Enoch. Although these fragments are so few in number that one would hesitate to draw too many definite conclusions about their similarity to 1 Enoch, there seems little reason to doubt, and many reasons to suppose, that these portions of Enoch express quite accurately the general thought of the older Noah material.

The importance of this older material should not be overlooked, because it is here that we see the first step toward the kind of demonology which became so typical of the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the inter-testamental period. In fact, it is more than just a step toward this type

¹See above p. 108.

²Actually a very minor fraction of the Book of Noah manuscript survived. There are only twenty-one small fragments. Of these, there are no complete sentences, and many are only a part of one word; in fact, some are but one letter or even a part of one letter. The three largest fragments, about twenty words each, correspond to small portions of 1 Enoch 8:4-9:4, 9:1-4, and chapter 106, that is, only to segments of these few verses, not the complete form of them. See Barthelemy and Milik, Qumran Cave I, pp. 84-86, 152, and Plate XVI.

of thought, it is the first real example of it, and it appears abruptly without any previous indication of what to expect.

Here we can trace no gradual development in demonic ideas as we can, for example, with the figure of Satan in the Old Testament. We are not surprised when Satan finally becomes a proper name for a distinct spiritual being in 1 Chronicles 21:1; we had been prepared for it by degrees.¹ But this is not the case with the demonology of this ancient Noah document.

I would not go so far as to contend that the Book of Noah is the one source for all of the new demonic ideas which appear in the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the intertestamental period, but I do suggest that it presents us with the first visible sign of this new emphasis within Judaism. The Book of Noah must be considered as having been influential and important, and it deserves our careful consideration.

The main core of demonology of the Noah tradition is found in chapters 6-11 of 1 Enoch, and it appears to be based on the Old Testament narrative of Genesis 6:1-4:²

When men began to multiply on the face of the ground, and daughters were born to them, the sons of God saw that the daughters of men were fair; and they took to wife such of them as they chose. Then the Lord said, "My spirit shall not abide in man for ever, for he is flesh, but his days shall be a hundred and twenty years." The Nephilim were on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men, and they bore children to them. These were the mighty men that were of old, the men of renown.

¹ See above pp. 51-61.

² R. S. V.

It is interesting that these four verses, which were included in Genesis only as an introduction to the flood narrative and initially made positively no references to demonology,¹ were so interpreted in the last two centuries B. C. that during this period they became one of the primary influences in the formation of Jewish demonic doctrines.

The similarity of the Noah legend in 1 Enoch is too close to be mere coincidence. Look, for example, at 6:1-2:²

And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: "Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men and beget us children."

These are only the opening verses, but as we continue with this elaborate and detailed story in 1 Enoch we see how the original Genesis narrative has been enlarged.

Two hundred of these angels descended to the summit of Mount Hermon. The names of their leaders are listed in verse 6:7, but we will delay consideration of their significance until later.³ All two hundred angels took separate wives for themselves from among the human, earthly women. The women soon became pregnant and bore great giants, who not only turned against and devoured mankind and animals, but also ate one another's flesh.

¹I know of no reliable scholar who contends that this Genesis passage originally referred to demons.

²All quotations from 1 Enoch are according to Charles' translation. See Charles, "Book of Enoch," Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, for his latest translation.

³See below, pp. 122-125, and Appendix A, pp. 344-353.

The evil angels also sinned by revealing to mankind a number of mysteries and arts heretofore unknown on earth. "Azazel taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made known to them the metals of the earth and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments, and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all coloring tinctures" (8:1). And "Semjaza taught enchantments, and root-cuttings, Armaros the resolving of enchantments, Baraqijal taught astrology, Kokabel the constellations, Eseqeel the knowledge of the clouds, Araqiel the signs of the earth, Shamsiel the signs of the sun, and Sariel the course of the moon" (8:3). There arose much godlessness among mankind--the people "committed fornication, and they were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways" (8:2). As men perished because of their sin, they cried to heaven for help. (8:4)

Four archangels--Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel--heard their cries and looked down upon the earth and saw all that was going on. They called God's attention to this matter and suggested He do something about it. In telling God the history of the problem, the archangels portrayed Semjaza as the ruler of the fallen angels, but Azazel as the creature responsible for teaching all unrighteousness on earth and for revealing to men the eternal secrets previously preserved in heaven (9:6-7). In these verses there does not seem to be a clear distinction between Azazel and Semjaza.¹ Apparently Semjaza is pictured as the ruler of the fallen angels, but Azazel as the being which had led them all astray.

¹This identity of Azazel and Semjaza is very interesting. It suggests etymology, in #7 in n. 1, p. 38, "God Strengthens." Shem (שׁמ) is a common surrogate for God (see Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 1026).

It is at this point that God revealed His plan for a great flood, which was to destroy everything that was on the earth. He called into action some of His archangels. Uriel was sent to inform Noah of all that was in store for him. (10:1-3).

Then Raphael was summoned and God said to him:

Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into darkness: and make an opening in the desert, which is in Dudael, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may not see light. And on the day of the great judgment he shall be cast into the fire. (10:4-6).

Raphael also was to heal the earth which the angels had corrupted, so the children of men would not perish because of the secrets taught them. Again in 10:8, as in 9:6, "all sin" was ascribed to Azazel.

Gabriel was to see to it that the giants, the offspring of the fallen angels and daughters of men, were killed. They were to go against one another in battle, with their parents being required to watch the destruction of "their beloved ones." (10:9-10, 12).

Michael was commissioned to bind Semjaza and his associates, the many evil angels. After they had been required to watch their children, the giants, kill themselves, Michael was to cast the evil angels into the valleys of the earth for seventy generations (temporary punishment) until the day of final judgment, at which time they shall be taken from the valley of the earth (temporary punishment) and led off to the abyss of fire, to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined forever (10:11-15). Here in this chapter, as was pointed out just above with 9:6-7, the writer again fails to make a clearcut distinction between Azazel and Semjaza (compare 10:4-8 and 10:11-15).

Michael was further instructed to destroy all wrong from the face of the earth, to let every evil work come to an end, and to let the plant of righteousness and truth appear forevermore. (10:16-22). These verses seem to imply that at the time of the flood all evil on earth would come to an end, never again to be resumed; in fact, from that time onward "all the children of men shall become righteous . . . and the earth shall be cleansed from all defilement" (10:21-22). This, perhaps, was the intended meaning of the original writer of the Noah tradition, but it certainly does not coincide with other passages in 1 Enoch, in which, as we will see later, unrighteousness is portrayed as continuing even after the fallen angels had been bound, the giants killed, and almost all creation destroyed by the flood.

Further confusion is found in 10:14, where it is stated that whoever was condemned and destroyed at the time of the flood would from then on be bound together with the fallen angels until "the end of all generations." This clearly conveys the notion that since the flood all of the sinful people have been bound in the valleys of the earth (temporary punishment) along with the evil angels. But does this imply that wicked humanity and the fallen angels will also share a mutual punishment for eternity after the final judgment? The answer seems to be yes, but we cannot be sure because there is no way of knowing exactly what the writer meant by "the end of all generations." However, there is no question that the whole of 1 Enoch teaches a separate final fate for the evil spirits and unrighteous people.

Hence chapter ten is not altogether coherent. All we can do is

point to these difficulties, for under the circumstances logical conclusions are not possible. No doubt this can partially be explained by the changing mood within Judaism concerning the subjects being treated. Also the fact that 1 Enoch is a compilation of various sources which have been edited and altered many times would lead us to expect a certain lack of unity. But an equally valid consideration is the general Apocalyptic approach toward history. The Apocalyptists recorded past historical events, at least partially, to indicate present and future happenings. Hence this writer used the flood--an ancient historical event--and all the connecting consequences to illustrate and give understanding to the present and future. Such an approach to history necessarily leads to vagueness and ambiguity and does not lend itself to literal interpretations.

Chapters 6-11 of 1 Enoch contain the bulk of the demonology of the Noah material; the other Noah chapters, for the most part, contribute few additional ideas. This is especially true of chapters 54:7-55:2; 60; and 106-107. About the only substantial difference is found in 106:19 and 107:1, where we read that there will be still more unrighteousness--"generation after generation shall transgress"--after the almost complete destruction of all creation by the flood. It was pointed out just above that 10:16-22 implies all wickedness would end at the time of the flood, and only righteousness would exist from then on.

Essentially this same conclusion is valid also for the Noah passages in 65:1-69:25, although on the face of things it may appear there are some new demonic concepts here. In these chapters, for example, there is

mention of "the Satans" and "the angels of punishment." I think, however, it is fair to assume that in 65:1-69:25 those demonic concepts which are foreign to the remainder of Noah passages in 1 Enoch actually do not belong to the original Noah tradition.

Chapters 65-69 are a part of the second main division of 1 Enoch, chapters 37-71 (the Similitudes), discussed above.¹ This section (37-71) definitely has a demonology of its own, clearly distinct from the other sections of 1 Enoch. Among other things, it is only in the Similitudes that there is mention of "Satan," "the Satans," and "the angels of punishment." But when the demonic concepts peculiar to the Similitudes as a whole are removed from 65:1-69:25, there remains nothing out of keeping with the other Noah passages. I suggest these demonic ideas in chapters 65-69, which are not in accord with the demonology of the other Noah passages, are not the ideas of the original Noah writer, but are the reflections of the later writer of the Similitudes, who used and adapted the older Noah legends to suit his own purposes. Hence the demonology of the actual Noah passages of 65:1-69:25 is little different from that of chapters 6-11, and we will wait until later, when we examine the entirety of chapters 37-71, to consider the demonic elements of the Similitudes (for example, Satan, the Satans, the angels of punishment) which have been added to the original Noah traditions of 65:1-69:25.²

¹ See above pp. 109-111.

² See below, pp. 198-201.

There are, however, some few things of interest and importance to be pointed out about the authentic Noah demonic elements in chapters 65-69. Most frequently people think of the sin of the fallen angels as being only that of defiling themselves with women, but an equally serious sin, especially in the Noah chapters, is that of revealing a number of mysteries and arts heretofore preserved in heaven and unknown to the human race. The seriousness with which this situation was regarded by the writer of the Book of Noah is made especially clear in 1 Enoch 65:6-11. This entire passage is relevant, but let us quote only parts of verses 6, 10 and 11.

And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers--the most secret ones. . . . And He [God] said unto me [Enoch]: "Because of their unrighteousness their judgment has been determined upon and shall not be withheld by Me for ever. Because of the sorceries which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." And these--they have no place of repentance for ever, because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned.

Compare these verses with 1 Enoch chapters 8; 9:6; 10:7-8; and 16:3-4;¹ the last of these references is the only one outside of the Noah fragments which points to the devastating results which accompanied this sin of revealing the eternal secrets.

Chapter 67 describes in detail the circumstances of the temporary punishment of the fallen angels, but it is difficult to be sure what the writer

¹See above, p. 115.

meant. As Charles puts it, in referring to this chapter: "It is very confused. Part of the confusion is owing to an original confusion of thought on the part of the writer, and much to the corruptness of the text."¹

In 67:4-7, the place where the fallen angels are temporarily detained and tormented is described as a valley of fire, metal, and water which are all mixed up into a fiery mass that resembles some type of volcanic disturbance. This is similar to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah by fire and brimstone, described in Genesis chapter 19. It will be remembered that this event in Genesis is frequently interpreted in the Old Testament as being an act of divine judgment and punishment for man's wickedness.² The portrayal of God's righteous judgment in terms of massive, fiery torture was probably a popular Jewish image, and the writer of 1 Enoch used it in 67:4-7 to describe the temporary punishment of the fallen angels.

In 67:8-13 we learn that this underground condition of fire, metal, and water caused, at the same time, the existence of some sulphur springs on the surface of the earth, which served as healing agents for physical bodies. Little did the people realize that these same warm springs, which were so soothing to their bodies as they lived on earth, would some day become an everlasting fire of punishment and torture for the spirits of the unrighteous. Here it appears that the temporary place of punishment for the

¹Book of Enoch, p. 133.

²E.g., Deut. 29:22-28, 32:32; Is. 1:9-10, 3:9, 13:19; Jer. 49:18, 50:40; Lam. 4:6; Ezek. 16:46-58; Amos 4:11; Zeph. 2:9.

disobedient stars and evil angels will become the permanent place of punishment for the spirits of the wicked people at the time of the final judgment. There is no way to make the thought of this chapter logical. About the only thing we can do is to call attention to the difficulties and agree with Charles that it is very confused.

There also seems to be some confusion in chapter 69. At first it appears that we have here an expanded list of the fallen angels. In 69:2 there is a list of the sinful angels which is similar to the one in 6:7 mentioned above on page 114. Then beginning in 69:4, and covering several verses, there are enumerated the names and functions of various additional evil spiritual beings, supposedly more of the fallen angels. But Charles concludes, and I think rightly, that only the list in 69:2 describes the "fallen angels," and that the list beginning in 69:4 has nothing to do with the "fallen angels," but describes "the Satans." Furthermore, he suggests that the subject matter of this chapter in Enoch is in no way concerned with the "fallen angels," but pertains only to "the Satans," and, therefore, that verse 69:2 does not even belong in the original text of this chapter, but is a later intrusion.¹ This being the case, we will wait until later, when we examine the whole of chapters 37-71,² to discuss the demonic implications of the material in the list beginning in 69:4.

¹Charles, Book of Enoch, pp. 136-137.

²See below, pp. 198-201, esp. pp. 200-201.

But let us return to verse 69:2. The names here are similar to those found in 6:7, and there is little doubt that both verses relate to the same source. The list in 69:2, however, appears to be later, and it contains several corruptions and transpositions.

When verse 6:7 was mentioned above on page 114, we did not interrupt the train of thought to examine the etymology of the individual names of the fallen angels. However, such a study of the names has been pursued in Appendix A, located at the end of this study.

In Appendix A (below, pp. 344-353) a careful examination and comparison is made of the various names of the fallen angels as they appear in the Aramaic (unpublished),¹ Greek, and Ethiopic manuscripts of the Book of Enoch. It was discovered that a majority of the angels was believed by that writer to have been associated with elements of nature--sky, stars, rain, clouds, mountains, etc. We cannot be sure exactly what relationships the writer of this section of Enoch believed existed between the bad angels and the natural elements--whether he conceived of the angels as controlling the elements, whether he pictured them as the guardian angels of the elements, whether he thought they merely exerted some influence over them, whether he believed they were associated in some lesser capacity, or whether he merely personified the elements. But certainly he had in mind some connection between the fallen angels and the natural elements, both celestial and terrestrial.

¹ As mentioned in the Appendix, Matthew Black has been most kind in furnishing me with the names of the fallen angels as they appear in the Aramaic manuscripts of the Book of Enoch, which were among the Dead Sea Scrolls. These have not yet been published.

This certainly is not the place to discuss Pauline demonology, but Appendix A could quite possibly serve as a very useful background for such a study. In considerable contrast to the Gospel writers and Jesus, Paul makes only slight references to particular evil spirits or demons which harass mankind. Instead, Paul thinks more in terms of the demonic cosmic powers,--the invisible, fate-controlling forces which dominate the universe and man's life. As G. H. C. Macgregor puts it: "Paul has in view demonic intelligences of a much higher order than the 'devils' who possessed the poor disordered souls that meet us in the Gospel pages. These are cosmic spirit forces which possess and control not only individual human lives but the very course of the universe."¹

Of particular interest in this connection is Paul's use of στοιχεῖα in Galatians 4:3, 4:9 and Colossians 2:8, 2:20. Through the years there has been considerable debate whether in these particular passages στοιχεῖα should be translated (1) "rudiments," signifying the elementary forms of religion--that is, the ABC's, the fundamental principles, the very basic elements of the truth of God--which have been superseded by Christ, or (2) "elemental spirits," designating the actual elements of the universe--sun, moon, stars, etc.--or the spirits which were believed to ensoul the heavenly bodies. Both renditions have been supported by noted scholars.²

¹ Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers," p. 19.

² To review the various positions that have been taken by scholars through the years, and for additional bibliographies, consult: Abbott, Ephesians and Colossians, pp. 247-248; Abbott-Smith, Lexicon, p. 418; Arndt and Gingrich, Lexicon, pp. 776-777; Deissmann, "Elements"; Hammer, "Elements (Elemental Spirit)."

Taking into consideration our findings in Appendix A, it is quite possible that when Paul mentioned the *στοιχεῖα* he was referring to the fallen angels, that is, the angels which were associated with the "elements of nature"--hence, the "elemental spirits." Since it is very likely that Paul was well acquainted with portions of the Book of Enoch,¹ it is certainly possible that he was influenced by the names of the fallen angels in Enoch 6:7. Of course, this is no more than a theory, but it certainly should be given careful consideration by anyone studying the demonic ideas of Paul.²

What can be said, in terms of summary and evaluation, of the demonology of the Noah fragments found in 1 Enoch? The first thing to emphasize is that in the Noah material there is no one doctrine of evil spirits, but more a smattering of similar ideas. It really is not fair to the original writer to arrange the demonic passages systematically, for not only was he writing from an Apocalyptic point of view, but also his own thinking, as well as the general thought of his day, on these subjects just had not yet matured to that degree of precision and uniformity. We should, therefore, expect a certain amount of ambiguity and contradiction. For example, as pointed out above, there is not always a clear distinction between Semjaza and Azazel, and there is some contradiction concerning the moral state of affairs on earth

¹Consult Charles, Book of Enoch.

²The following are a few of the more helpful studies of the demonic concepts of Paul: Caird, Principalities and Powers; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 183-198; Leivestad, Christ the Conqueror, pp. 92-115; Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers"; Morrison, The Powers That Be. There are, of course, many others, but these are some of the more recent ones and they will provide bibliographies for further study.

after the flood, and the descriptions of the final judgment are not always coherent.

Most of the demonic themes of these passages, although not always consistent with each other, are, nevertheless, centered around the fallen angels--their sin, the evil that was a result of their bad influence on society, and the punishment in store for them and their beguiled human subjects. And it cannot be too strongly emphasized that "the sin of the angels was not the sin of pride, aspiring to be God or attempting to usurp his position. It was rather the reverse;"¹ they forgot their angelic status and lowered themselves by consorting with women and revealing the heavenly secrets.

Here in these Noah fragments is the first appearance of Azazel since the Old Testament. In Chapters I and II of this study we concluded that although Azazel is the only demon mentioned in the Hebrew Old Testament, it is not portrayed as an evil spirit actively trying to bring harm to mankind or to frustrate God's purposes, but as nothing more than a passive wilderness creature;² and in the Greek Old Testament the name of Azazel does not even appear and there is no hint there of such a demonic creature.³

The role of Azazel in the Noah material has certainly changed. Azazel is no longer a mere passive creature, as in the Hebrew Old Testament,

¹ Glasson, Greek Influence in Eschatology, p. 62.

² See above, pp. 35-39.

³ See above, p. 81.

but a very active evil spirit. However, in 1 Enoch Azazel still is not an actual demon, only an evil angel depicted (at least part of the time)¹ as the ringleader of those heavenly beings which defiled themselves with the daughters of men. It is this particular fallen angel which "taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were preserved in heaven" (9:6). "And the whole earth has been corrupted through the works taught by Azazel; to him ascribe all sin" (10:8). Yet, at the same time, man is held responsible for going astray and is punished for his sin (10:14, 16; 60:6, 25; 65:6-12; etc.).

Hence the writer implies that although sin was first introduced to the human race by evil spiritual beings, mankind, nevertheless, had the innate ability to recognize and resist the temptation of the fallen angels. As our study progresses, we will see some very interesting and far-reaching contributions to this age-long problem of the origin of evil by the writers of Ecclesiasticus² and Wisdom.³

Tobit

In preparing for a study of New Testament demonology, the Apocryphal Book of Tobit is of much more interest than is usually realized. It is true that the demonic doctrines of Tobit not only represent a break from Old

¹It was pointed out above on p. 115 that some of the time Semjaza, instead of Azazel, is depicted as the leader of the fallen angels.

²See especially Ecclus. 25:24, pp. 147-149 below; but also see several other passages, pp. 143-145 below.

³See especially Wisd. 2:23-24, pp. 217-222 below.

Testament theology, but also are not carried over into the New Testament; nevertheless, there is a close similarity between the demonic vocabulary in the Greek version of Tobit and in the New Testament. Many of the same words and expressions are used in both, but they are used to set forth different demonic concepts. Let us take a look at this book and try to evaluate its significance for our study.¹

There is no question that Tobit was written much later than the eighth century B. C., and that it was not written in either Nineveh or Media, the time and places of its setting. But it is very difficult to determine with certainty when and where it was written. Although such considerations will not alter materially our general conclusions, it would enable us to get a better grasp of the overall development of Jewish and Christian demonology if we could place Tobit in its proper era and location.

¹ Listed in this note are the sources used for the general information about the Book of Tobit in the following paragraphs: Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 258-284, and "Literature of Apocrypha," pp. 401-402; Simpson, "Book of Tobit" (these entries under Pfeiffer and Simpson are especially helpful); Abrahams, "Tobit and Genesis"; Bentzen, Introduction O. T., Vol. II, pp. 223-225; Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, P. 178; Charles, Religious Development Between Testaments, pp. 191-193; Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis, Story of Ahikar, pp. xxviii-xxxviii, xlvi-liv; Erbt, "Tobit"; Filson, Which Books in Bible, pp. 76-78; Fox, "Tobit"; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, pp. 13-18; Kuhl, O. T. p. 302; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, pp. 120-122; Löhr, "Das Buch Tobit"; Marshall, "Book of Tobit"; Metzger, Introduction to Apocrypha, pp. 31-41; Neubauer, Book of Tobit; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 81-82, and Introduction to Books of Apocrypha, pp. 161-170; Simpson, "Chief Recensions of Tobit"; Swete, Introduction to O. T. in Greek, pp. 273-274; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 82-88 Toy, "Tobit"; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 397-399; Wikgren, "Tobit."

If we can establish its approximate date, it will be easy, relatively speaking, to determine its origin, and the weight of evidence indicates that Tobit was written sometime around 190 to 175 B. C. Such a date is suggested for several reasons. In numerous places Tobit clearly refers to the Old Testament books of the Pentateuch and Prophets, canonized about 400 and 200 B. C. respectively, indicating Tobit could not have been written much before 200 B. C. And a few references are made to other books of the Old Testament: for example, Job, Psalms, Proverbs; this is another indication that a date very much earlier than 200 B. C. would be unrealistic. In addition to the reliance on Biblical passages, Tobit shows a strong resemblance, in many respects, to Ecclesiasticus, which we know was written about 180 B.C.¹ Further, the general religious and moral teaching of Tobit, as well as overall outlook, approach, developed style, artistic composition, etc., favor this date. And, since this book was so popular among Jews and Christians, had it been much earlier we would have expected to have found signs of its earlier influence, perhaps even in late Old Testament passages. All these considerations lead us to a date of about 190 to 175 B. C.²

¹ See below p. 140.

² For detailed discussions about the date of Tobit, including reasons for accepting the date proposed in this paper and rejecting earlier and later ones, consult especially Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 273-275, and Simpson, "Book of Tobit," pp. 183-185.

In some personal correspondence (June, 1962) W. F. Albright informed me that the unpublished fragments of the three Aramaic texts of Tobit found at Qumran are written in "Imperial Aramaic." This, he says, proves that Tobit dates from the Persian Period, that is, between about 539 and 333 B. C. (See also his article, "Archaeology of the Ancient Near East," (con't next page)

Assuming that this date is correct, then Palestine is suggested as the place of origin. Almost all scholars today agree that the original language of Tobit was either Hebrew or Aramaic, very probably the latter, but not Greek as some scholars held in the past. This position has been strengthened by the finding among the Dead Sea Scrolls of the remains of four ancient copies of Tobit, three in Aramaic and one in Hebrew.¹ If Tobit was written around 200 B. C. and in Aramaic or Hebrew, it was probably written in Palestine, where these two languages were used by Jews. It certainly did not originate in Egypt; had it been written in Egypt during this period it would have been in Greek. If, on the other hand, it had been written in the sixth to fourth centuries B. C., and if in Aramaic, it probably would have come from Egypt,

(footnote con't.) sect. 50f, p. 65.) But it appears to me that this evidence merely proves Tobit could date as early as the Persian Period, not that it actually does. Although I am no Aramaic scholar, it is my understanding that "Reichsaramäisch" not only was used during the Persian Period, but also as late as 200 B. C. and even later. Albright implies that "Reichsaramäisch" was used only during the Persian Period and that Tobit, therefore, must date that early. However, if this type of Aramaic also was used during the second century B. C., there is no reason why Tobit cannot just as well date from that century.

It may well be that there are other reasons for dating the Qumran fragments as early as the Persian Period, and when the fragments are published we will be able to make a more accurate judgment. But looking at the evidence available now, the decision to date Tobit about 190 to 175 B.C. remains unchanged, with the understanding that the published Aramaic fragments of Tobit may change this proposed date.

¹See Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings from Qumran, p. 296. These fragments from Qumran resemble Codex Sinaiticus, but not Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus (see below n. 1, p. 135).

as Aramaic was the language used there during the Persian Period;¹ and had it been written at this early date in Hebrew, it would have come from Palestine, as only Hebrew, and not Aramaic as well, was used there at that early date. But the evidence suggests a date of about 200 to 175 B. C. (not earlier) and the original language of Aramaic or perhaps Hebrew (certainly not Greek); therefore, Palestine, probably Jerusalem, is the most likely place of origin. It is possible that, being written in Aramaic or Hebrew and dating about 200 to 175 B. C., it could have originated from one of the countries of the Eastern Dispersion--for example, Mesopotamia, Media, Babylonia, or Persia--but other considerations besides language and date make any of these other localities very unlikely.²

¹ It is impossible to date exactly the beginning and end of eras or periods in history. It is impractical to suggest the specific time a leading power in the world becomes overshadowed by its nearest rival. In most instances great powers have gradually declined and new ones have emerged by degrees. With this note of caution in mind, we date the Persian Period from 539 B. C. (when the Persian army defeated Babylon) to 333 B. C. (when Alexander the Great defeated the main Persian army).

² Several scholars would disagree with this conclusion, contending that since Tobit was written from the viewpoint of an exiled or dispersed Jew, the author must have lived away from Jerusalem, either Egypt or one of the Eastern countries. See, for example, Bentzen, Introduction O. T., Vol. II, p. 224; Charles, Religious Development Between Testaments, p. 192; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, p. 174; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," p. 82, and Introduction to Books of Apocrypha, p. 164; Simpson, "Book of Tobit," p. 174; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature p. 85; Weiser, Introduction O. T., p. 399; Wikgren, "Tobit," p. 660.

But Pfeiffer (History New Testament, p. 275), supporting the Palestinian origin, correctly points out that the temple in Jerusalem is central in the thought of Tobit's author, and that "Daniel, the Palestinian origin of which can hardly be questioned, describes non-Palestinian locales much more vividly than Tobit, a book in which only Jewish family life (unchanged in Palestine, Assyria, and Media) is depicted in some detail." He also gives a number of good reasons why any of the various countries of the Eastern Dispersion are unlikely.

The Book of Tobit is a delightful story full of details, but very briefly let us call to mind a few of the basic facts. Tobit, a member of a Galilean tribe, had always observed the law of Moses, even after being exiled to Nineveh. One night, after burying the dead body of another exiled Israelite, Tobit slept outside because of his impurity; bird's dung got in his eyes and he became blind. Sometime later he begged God to end his life.

On that same day, at far-off Ecbatana in Media, Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, also asked God to let her die. Not only had the evil demon Asmodeus killed her seven successive husbands on their respective wedding nights, but her father's maids had accused her of killing them. Hearing the pleas of both Tobit and Sarah, God sent the angel Raphael to assist them.

In the meantime Tobit sent his son, Tobias, to get some money he had deposited with a friend many years ago in Rages, a place in Media, and Raphael, under the guise of one Azarias, was hired to accompany Tobias on his journey. In route to Media Tobias caught a fish, and Raphael told him to keep its heart, liver, and gall; later Raphael instructed him in how to use them to drive away demons and cure blind people.

When they approached Ecbatana, Raphael told Tobias they would stay at Raguel's house that night and that he (Raphael) would arrange a marriage for Tobias with Sarah, Tobias' relative. But Tobias objected because the demon Asmodeus was in love with Sarah and apparently harmed only those men whom she married. After Raphael reminded Tobias of the way to drive away a demon and assured him everything would be all right, Tobias was pleased with the idea.

The wedding was arranged, and on their wedding night Tobias did as Raphael had instructed--he put the heart and liver of the fish on live ashes of incense. When the demon smelled the odor he fled to the most remote part of Egypt, and then Raphael "bound him."

Tobias remained at Sarah's house and sent Raphael on for the money, and, as soon as he returned, Tobias, Sarah, and Raphael went back to Tobias' home. Upon arrival Tobias applied the fish's gall to Tobit's eyes, as Raphael had taught him, and Tobit was able to see again. When Tobit and Tobias started to pay Raphael for his services, he revealed his true identity and returned to be with God. This being the general outline of the story, let us look specifically at the demonology of the Book of Tobit.

There is an evil demon, with a specific name, Asmodeus. This demon is dangerous; it has killed seven men. It is in love with Sarah and kills anyone who approaches her; thus it killed her seven successive husbands. However, Asmodeus apparently harmed only those people who were in love with Sarah (6:14--6:15 in some Greek versions).

Sarah usually is interpreted as being a demoniac, that is, possessed by this demon. But there is no such evidence. What we have here is a case of a jealous demon which harmed anyone who got too friendly with Sarah, not a case of demon possession. Asmodeus is not pictured as possessing or dwelling within her, taking over her mind or body, causing her to speak and act. This demon is never portrayed as coming into contact with Sarah, either for harmful or loving purposes; its only direct contact with people was its belligerent action toward Sarah's lovers, and this is not possession.¹

¹ See below, pp. 205-206, for demon possession.

It is probable that a trace of this same theme is found in the circumcision narrative of Exodus 4:24-26. It is frequently suggested that this story reflects ancient mythological customs and ideas which portrayed certain demons as disputing the marriage rights of bridegrooms on their wedding nights, and in order to save the lives of the bridegrooms the demons had to be appeased.¹ It is likely that both Exodus 4:24-26 and the Book of Tobit reflect this ancient theme. However, this is another instance where the Biblical writer used ancient ideas but gave them new meaning.² It seems likely that the source of this narrative in Exodus 4:24-26 can be traced to these ancient demonic ideas, but the writer of Exodus does not imply demonism in this passage.

Apparently they, Sarah and her husbands, had been helpless against the power of Asmodeus, so God sent the angel Raphael "to heal" Sarah (3:17, 12:3). At first glance one might think that since Sarah had to be "healed" she must have been possessed. But this false assumption is refuted when we see what the writer meant by healing Sarah; first, the angel arranged a marriage for her, then he saw to it that the demon was driven to the most remote part of Egypt, and finally he made the demon helpless, that is, he "bound" him (3:17, 8:3). The implication is that the angel made it impossible for Asmodeus to harm Sarah's new husband, not that Sarah herself was healed. It probably is fair to suggest, however, that Sarah was greatly relieved when

¹ See: Interpreter's Bible, Vol. I, p. 882; Noth, Exodus, pp. 49-50; Stalker, "Exodus," p. 214, sect. i.

² See above, pp. 12-13.

the demon no longer was able to display his affections for her in this malicious manner.

The method used for driving the demon away from his jealous vigil over Sarah resembles ancient magical practices. A fish's heart and liver were burned in an incense fire, and the smoke was so vile that it drove the demon away, supposedly forever.

It is obvious from what we said in the previous two chapters that the demonology of Tobit is in striking contrast to the theology of the Old Testament. The bulk of these demonic ideas is also alien to the demonology of Jesus and the first Christians. This cannot, however, be said of the demonic vocabulary used, because many of the same words used in the Greek version of Tobit are also used in the New Testament, especially in the Gospels, but they are used there to express different concepts. This indicates that although many early Jewish demonic ideas were not carried over into Christianity, much of the Jewish-Greek vocabulary pertaining to demonology was adopted by the early Christian movement. Tobit is important for our purposes because it provides us with examples of early Jewish usage of some of these words which later were used by the Christians. This is true even of our present-day Greek copies of Tobit, all of which date long after the beginning of the Christian Era.¹

¹ Although Greek was not the original language of Tobit, it should be remembered that during the last three centuries B. C. popular Jewish literature was translated into Greek by the Egyptian Jews. Since Tobit was very popular it was probably translated into Greek not too long after it had been written, certainly long before the first New Testament (con't next page)

Let us call attention to some of the Greek terms which are used in both the Book of Tobit and the New Testament. The use of δαιμόνιον (demon), found several times in Tobit,¹ is very common in Jewish literature and in the New Testament. But the use of πονηρός (evil) as an adjective with δαιμόνιον (hence, evil demon--Tobit 3:8, 3:17) is never used in the New Testament. However, πονηρός is used with πνεῦμα (spirit) in reference to a demon in Matthew,² Luke,³ and Acts,⁴ and in several New Testament passages it is used as a substantive with the definite article (ὁ πονηρός, the evil one) in reference to the Devil. But we will delay further consideration of πονηρός until we examine the Testament of Job, where ὁ πονηρός (the evil one) is used as a synonym for Satan.⁵

In Tobit 3:17 and 12:3 we learn that one reason God sent Raphael, the angel, was "to heal" Sarah; two different verbs are used, ἰάομαι in 3:17 and θεραπεύω in 12:3, both translated "to heal." These two words

(footnote con't) books were written. Although the three best Greek manuscripts containing Tobit--Codices Sinaiticus (closest to the original Semitic text), Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus--date as late as the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. and differ substantially in many places, the demonic vocabulary of the three is nearly identical. This would be a rather strong indication that, at least as far as demonic vocabulary is concerned, these three Christian texts do not go far astray from the original Jewish-Greek translations of Tobit.

¹Tobit 3:8, 17; 6:7 (G--6:8); 6:14 (some G--6:15); 6:15 (G--6:16); 6:17 (G--6:18); 8:3.

²12:45.

³7:21, 8:2, 11:26.

⁴19:13-16.

⁵See below, pp. 195-196.

are used occasionally in Matthew¹ and Luke² of people who have been "healed" of demonic possession.

The angel made the demon helpless by binding him. This is expressed by *δέω* (to bind) in 3:17 and 8:3 of most manuscripts; but Codex Sinaiticus uses *ἐπιδέω* (to bind) in 8:3, and in 3:17 Asmodeus is not portrayed as being bound, but as being "loosed from" *λύω ἀπό* Sarah. There are similar uses of *δέω* in Matthew³ and Mark,⁴ and of *λύω ἀπό* in Luke,⁵ but *ἐπιδέω* is not used in the New Testament.

Before leaving the Book of Tobit we will take note of the sources used by this author for his demonic doctrines.⁶ The combined influence of two folktales, the Grateful Dead and the Poison Maid, is unmistakable. These were not specific stories, but general themes used in much folk and formal literature. They had no exact form, but were altered and adapted with freedom by the individual writers using them.

¹ *θεραπεύω*--4:24, 12:22, 17:18; *ἰάομαι*--15:28.

² *θεραπεύω*--6:18, 7:21, 8:2, 8:36, 13:14 (2 times); *ἰάομαι*--9:42.

³ 12:29.

⁴ 3:27.

⁵ 13:12, 13:16.

⁶ The writer of Tobit, in general, was influenced by the environment and the overall temperament of his day--religious and magical speculations, mythology and demonology, ethical and moral maxims, folklore and romantic legends. It is precarious to assume that it is possible to single out all the sources which played a part in the formation of the demonic emphases of this document; however, there are some about which there can be little or no doubt. For good discussions of all the sources used by this writer, see especially Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 265-271, and Simpson, "Book of Tobit," pp. 187-194.

Although this exact story never appears in any literature, the usual pattern of the Grateful Dead theme is as follows: "A man finds a corpse lying unburied, and out of pure philanthropy procures interment for it at great personal inconvenience. Later he is met by the ghost of the dead man, who in many cases promises him help on condition of receiving, in return, half of what he gets. The hero obtains a wife (or some other reward) and, when called upon, is ready to fulfill his bargain as to sharing his possessions."¹ This ancient theme, which originated some place in Western Asia, used here in a greatly reinforced and altered form, appears to be the basic framework upon which Tobit is built.

The Grateful Dead theme seldom appears by itself, but is most often used with others. Here it is combined with the Poison Maid theme, which originated in India and came to the Semites through the Persians. The "Poison Maid" is a woman who, having been nourished on poison, kills all men who embrace her.²

The idea for giving these two themes a demonic coloring probably came from a tract about the Egyptian god Khons of Thebes.³ This ancient

¹Gerould, The Grateful Dead, p. x. This book is one of the best single reference works for this ancient theme. One also should consult Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, Vol. II, pp. 433-434, sect. E 341-341.5.

²For this theme, see: Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 269-270; Gerould, Grateful Dead, p. 168.

³This tract can be traced back to at least 500 B. C., and we are not sure how much earlier it might be. For information about it, besides many of the references above in n. 1, p. 128, see: Naville, Old Egyptian Faith, pp. 250-257; and Wiedemann, "Religion of Egypt," p. 185.

story tells about a princess who was possessed by a demon. Khons Neferhotep, the god of Thebes, portrayed as a speaking statue, dispatched Khons, his agent and executor of plans. Khons went to the princess and expelled the demon. Such stories of speaking statues and miraculous cures were often made up by the priests of Amon to enhance the prestige of their gods, and consequently themselves. It is likely that the author of Tobit was concerned about the influence these stories were having on his fellow Jews and wrote Tobit to counteract them by illustrating Yahweh's ability and desire to help in similar circumstances.

The influence of Persian demonology also is seen. The demon's name, Asmodeus, probably is a derived form of Aeshma Daeva, the arch-demon--the demon of wrath, rage, and violence--in ancient Persian Zoroastrianism. This certainly is the majority opinion among critics and, I think, the correct one. Nevertheless there are some other suggestions.¹

¹Dissenting opinions come especially from: Whitehouse ("Apollyon"; and "Satan", p. 409), who contends Asmodeus in Tobit is the same as Satan, "the chief personification of evil," and that this demon's name comes not from Persian Zoroastrianism but from the Hebrew **תַּבְּי** meaning to destroy; Ginzberg ("Asmodeus, or Ashmedai"), who agrees with Whitehouse; and Langton (Essentials of Demonology, p. 121), who thinks Whitehouse and Ginzberg probably are right. Moulton (Early Zoroastrianism, pp. 246-253, 332-340; and "Zoroastrianism," p. 989) also rules out Zoroastrianism, but suggests Asmodeus comes from pre-Zoroastrian Persian Magianism. Simpson ("Book of Tobit," pp. 193-194) supports Moulton.

For general information about Asmodeus, besides previous references in this and n. 1, p. 128, see also: "Asmodai," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia; "Asmodeus or Ashmedai," Encyclopedia Britannica; Barton, "Origin of Names of Angels and Demons," p. 161; Cheyne, "Asmodeus"; Haupt, "Asmodeus"; Marshall, "Asmodaeus." For the use of Asmodeus, especially in later Jewish folklore and the literature of numerous other countries, consult Rudwin, "Asmodeus, Dandy Among Demons."

Ecclesiasticus

At about the same time Tobit was written, there was a well-traveled scribe who had an academy in Jerusalem, where he lectured primarily to youth on ethical and religious subjects. Around 180 B. C.¹ he published many of his classroom lectures, which had been rewritten in verse. This collection² of lectures is known to us today as the Apocryphal book of "Ecclesiasticus, or The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach."³

Ben Sira⁴ originally wrote in Hebrew, but in 132 B. C. his grandson took a copy of Ecclesiasticus to Egypt, translated it into Greek, and added the Prologue. Later the Hebrew also was translated into Syriac. The present-day copies or fragments of these three texts (Hebrew, Greek, Syriac), from which all other versions have been derived, differ occasionally and, unfortunately, all the manuscripts of Ecclesiasticus extant today are corrupt.⁵

¹We do not have the many problems--such as date, place of origin, original language, and author--that we had with Tobit; with this writing there is little question, both because of the book itself (style and content) and the references to it by very early writers.

²In its present form it is difficult to determine, but it seems probable that originally these lectures appeared as two separate books and were later combined into a single volume.

³This title for the book, used in the English versions, is a combination of those used in the Greek and Latin versions. Ecclesiasticus, meaning "ecclesiastical" is the Latin title; this word could be used of any book which was read in church or received ecclesiastical sanction, and Ecclesiasticus was used in the early Christian Church as a church lectionary. The second part, "The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach," is the Greek title; Jesus is the Greek form of the Hebrew Jeshua, and Sirach the Greek of Sira. See n. 4, this page.

⁴Ben Sira is the Hebrew for "son of Sirach." The mixture of the Greek and Hebrew--Ben Sirach--should not be used.

⁵The Jews did not consider Ecclesiasticus as Scripture, so they did not take the care to preserve the exact text, as (con't next page)

Ecclesiasticus is the longest Apocryphal book and is one of the most important and highly esteemed. It is rightly classified as Palestinian "Wisdom Literature"¹ and is similar, in many respects, to the Book of Pro-

(footnote con't) was taken with the canonical books. It is very doubtful if we will ever recover the exact original form.

¹"Wisdom represents a distinct category in Israel's legacy, comparable to Prophecy, Law, History, and Psalmody" (Rylaarsdam, "Hebrew Wisdom," p. 386). The wise men or sages (as the authors of this type of literature were called) of other countries--for example, Egypt, Canaan, Phoenicia, Edom, Babylon--often were equated with magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and other such court personages, and usually were denounced by the Israelites as being servants of gods alien to Yahweh. But the wise men of Israel were very sober thinkers and teachers, practical in concern and rational in approach; in fact, they came to hold a position in national life almost as distinctive and prominent as the priests and prophets.

This type of literature differs from the overall approach of most of the Old Testament in two ways. First, the outlook of this movement primarily was anthropocentric, that is, the focal point was upon the human situation and human destiny. The place of God and the meaning He had for human experience was taken very seriously, but only as it was considered in connection with an attempt to understand and deal with human problems. Most of the Old Testament, on the other hand, is theocentric, that is, God--His general nature and character--is of the foremost importance.

Secondly, in the Old Testament history usually is very important, for it shows God's presence in the life of His people. In Wisdom, however, history is not at all important and often is completely neglected, the reason being that the action of God, at least from the point of view of national history, was not of primary interest.

In Wisdom, then, the tendency is for human knowledge and understanding to become more important than trust in God. Faith in the effectiveness of God's immediate action is displaced by man's belief in himself--his ability to understand his own situation and the best use of the resources at his disposal. Revelation was thought of more in terms of inherited values, general principles, or existential awareness, than in the freedom of God's action. Grace and forgiveness sometimes were replaced by the stress on human obligation and measureable possibilities.

Thus the sages made Wisdom their chief concern in life, and wrote sober reflections, from a religious point of view, upon all aspects of human existence, with helpful hints for the wise. The particular emphasis and general approach and style of the individual Wisdom writers differed greatly.

In the Old Testament, besides a few scattered (con't next page)

verbs, which may well have been the author's model. But there is one main difference in the approach used in the two; whereas Proverbs consists, for the most part, of individual verses complete in themselves and unrelated, Ecclesiasticus is more a collection of short essays or maxims, each centered around a more or less singular theme, with the type of random treatment typical of Proverbs found seldom.

This book by Ben Sira covers such a variety of subjects and is so loosely organized that to outline its contents would be a very cumbersome undertaking. In brief, this writer composed what Oesterley rightly described as a textbook or an authoritative reference work to which people could turn for "guidance in almost every conceivable circumstance of life."¹ Throughout he relies heavily on Scripture, and he goes farther than any other Wisdom writer in combining Wisdom and the Law.

Ecclesiasticus is of interest for our study of demonology, as is Tobit, but for different reasons. Tobit proved to be of interest more from

(footnote con't) passages here and there, the Wisdom Literature consists of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes; in the Apocrypha, of Ecclesiasticus and the Wisdom of Solomon.

For summaries of the information in this note, and for good articles on the Wisdom movement, with bibliographies for additional study, see: Rylaarsdam, "Hebrew Wisdom"; Metzger, Introduction to Apocrypha, 65-67; Irwin, "Wisdom Literature"; Blank, "Wisdom."

¹Oesterley, Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach, p. xxiv. Examples of a few of the many subjects treated are: table manners, delights of a banquet, self-control, diet, slander, relationship between husband and wife, keeping secrets, a father's treatment of a headstrong daughter, loose women, the spendthrift, the miser, the hypocrite, the parasite, giving alms, sin, death, mourning for the dead, etc.

the standpoint of grammar and vocabulary than of doctrine. Ecclesiasticus is exactly opposite; the grammar is of no interest to us, but there are some very interesting doctrinal developments.

As Chapter I of this study is recalled, it will be remembered that the overall problem of evil led, at least partially, to the Judaistic doctrine of Satan. Prior to the Exile the Hebrew people attributed all things, good and evil, to God alone. By the time of the Exile it was becoming increasingly unsatisfactory to attribute all evil and affliction in the world to Yahweh. Thus there emerged in Judaism the figure of Satan, a specific divine minister which, even though subordinate to God, could not be trusted to obey His will and to which were assigned certain of the less benevolent tasks previously performed by God Himself. Throughout the Old Testament God remained in complete control of the world and was responsible, even if indirectly, for everything that happened, but dualistic tendencies also began to emerge. Thus in the latest years of the Old Testament period Judaistic thought concerning evil was ambiguous, betraying the general perplexity and dissatisfaction with the suggested solutions to this problem at that time.¹

Ecclesiasticus is interesting to us not because it has any specific demonic teaching, for it does not, but because Ben Sira continued to grapple with the problem of evil, which was so closely related to the development of demonology. But apparently he was as baffled as his predecessors, for Ben Sira, likewise, failed to work out any systematic or consistent solution.

¹ See above, esp. pp. 43-65.

He has no organized discussion of the problem of evil, but alludes to it in different places and, I think, contradicts himself. This probably is an indication that he, as well as the other people of his time, was confused and uncertain about this matter. In the following paragraphs we will bring together all the pertinent passages of Ecclesiasticus and arrange them more systematically, so that it will be easier to comprehend Ben Sira's thought.¹

For Ben Sira, things good and bad--for example, life and death, poverty and wealth--all came from God (11:14). He (God) created man, but left him in the power of his own inclination or desire (15:14), implying his general nature was evil. Being left in his own power, man has turned away from God to evil (17:31, 18:12, 8:5; and in two manuscripts² 17:16).

Yet God can never be blamed for man's sin, even though He created within the human creature a general nature inclined toward evil. For, at the same time, the human being was created with knowledge, understanding, and a free will. Man has the ability within himself to discern between good and evil and can, if he wills, refrain from going astray. Sin is man's personal responsibility, not God's (15:11-20, 1:26, 2:7, 17:7, 17:25-27, 33:1-3, and in two manuscripts² 19:18-19).

On the other hand, there are some passages which indicate that man

¹This approach in itself probably is unfair, for it gives a more unfavorable impression of the author. As the verses are considered in their individual contexts, rather than being lumped together, the inconsistencies are less apparent, yet they are present.

²Cod. Monac. Gr. 551, and Cod. Vat. 346.

does not have a free will and has little or no choice in what he is or does. The most direct affirmation of this is 33:7-13 (G--36:7-13). Here Ben Sira suggests that all men, so far as their natural creation is concerned, are of equal standing, just as all the days of the year get light from the same sun. But as God has distinguished some of these days (probably the prescribed festivals and holy days) from others, so has He distinguished some men from others (probably referring here to the distinction between God's chosen people and the others). In the fullness of God's knowledge (33:11) He decided the destinies of the various peoples, some to be blessed, the others cursed.¹ Ben Sira also wrote that in Wisdom is the fulfillment of the Law (19:20), and whoever keeps the Law controls his thoughts or inclinations (21:11), and that Wisdom is created in the womb with the faithful (1:14). There are more hints of God's direction of human affairs in 10:4-5, 11:21, and 39:6. But we need not be concerned, because everything God has brought to pass has been good (39:16, 33).

The author of Ecclesiasticus makes it clear what the end result of all human life will be--for man death is certain (11:19, 14:18-19, 18:9). Death was God's decree, according to His "good pleasure," for all people (41:3-4). But there is contradiction again concerning why God decreed death. Ben Sira

¹ For 33:7-13, see especially Box and Oesterley, Sirach, pp. 429-430. Contrast Büchler, "Ben Sira's Conception of Sin," pp. 325-326, where these verses are interpreted as meaning that after people have been in positions to prove themselves as either deserving or unworthy, God then decides their destinies. In other words, God does not mold the character of people, but merely gives them what they deserve after He has had the opportunity to observe their behavior. I am not sure this is the correct interpretation.

gave two contrasting reasons. In 17:1-2 we are told that God created man mortal in the beginning, never intending him to live forever. In 25:24 death is attributed to the sin of a woman, supposedly Eve.¹

In the original form of this book there was no mention of Satan or demons. In some manuscripts there is a later gloss inserted between the two original lines of verse 15:14, making it read:²

It was he [God] who created man in the beginning,
[And placed him into the hand of his spoiler, (gloss)]
And he left him in the power of his own inclination.

The meaning of this gloss is ambiguous, but the consensus of opinion is that "spoiler" is a reference to Satan. This gloss, added for the clarification and correction of doctrine, probably was an attempt to account for man's natural evil inclination of disposition by associating it with Satan.³ This, however, certainly was not the intended meaning of the original.

There also is question about 21:27, which reads:

When an ungodly man curses his adversary,
he curses his own soul.

In the first line of this verse, some people translate "curses Satan," instead of "curses his adversary." The Greek has τὸν ἑστάναν, which literally means "Satan" or "the Satan." This probably is a literal Greek translation of the Hebrew אָדָוֶן, which means "the adversary," either human or superhuman. This

¹We will soon make a more detailed examination of this most interesting verse, see below pp. 147-149.

²All quotations from Ecclus. are according to R. S. V.

³See Moore, Judaism, Vol. I, pp. 492-493, for occasional Rabbinic identification of the evil tendency with Satan; also see below, p. 287, esp. n. 2.

passage then could refer to Satan or to a human adversary, and it could mean either (1) that in cursing Satan the curse recoils to the person making the curse, or (2) that a man's real spiritual enemy or adversary is not Satan but his own evil nature, that is, one cannot attribute his misdeeds to an independent evil spirit. In view of the context of this verse, considering especially the following verse, there seems little doubt that the second meaning was intended, and, therefore, there is no reference to Satan.

In 16:7 there is an unfavorable reference to the "ancient giants," which probably is an allusion to Genesis 6:1-4. As noted earlier, the original purpose of this Genesis story was to serve as an introduction to the flood narrative, and in no way did it pertain to demons.¹ Yet, Jewish Apocalyptic writers often pictured demons as coming from the giants.² Ecclesiasticus 16:7 probably is not an actual reference to demons, but it shows that in the early part of the second century B.C. there was in existence, even outside the Apocalyptic tradition, some adverse feeling concerning the general character of the ancient giants.

By far the most important development in this book by Ben Sira is verse 25:24:³

From a woman sin had its beginning,
and because of her we all die.

This verse refers to the sin of Eve in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 3), and

¹See above, n.1 , p. 114 .

²See below, pp. 151, 173-174.

³Besides some of the other references below in n. 2 , p. 149 , for 25:24 see esp. Tennant, Sources of Fall and Original Sin, pp. 112-119 in particular.

it is the most ancient extant reference, for anything like doctrinal purposes, to this narrative in Genesis which pertains to the first human sin and the following consequences. It is very easy to misunderstand the teaching of this verse.

Ben Sira does not imply here that Eve was the source or cause of universal sinfulness. He contends elsewhere (15:11-20) that inherent to man was an evil tendency or disposition which was the source of sin. This evil impulse had not come from Eve, but had been implanted in man from the beginning by God. Thus Eve was not the cause of sin, but it was through her that sin became a human, historical actuality. She was the first human being to sin.

In the second part of the verse, we are told that the consequence of Eve's transgression has been death for all mankind. Whereas universal human sinfulness was not actually caused by Eve, on the contrary, her transgression was the cause of human death. The notion that man became mortal through the fall of Adam and Eve was unknown before this passage and, in fact, contrary to the original meaning of Genesis 3. But it certainly prevailed later in both Judaism and Christianity, though the fault has usually been ascribed to Adam rather than Eve.¹

In this verse, Ben Sira never tries to explain why Eve sinned; he accepts her sin as a fact. But later thinkers were not content to stop here;

¹Not always, however, for sometimes Eve has been blamed. See, for example, "Life of Adam and Eve" (chaps. 16-18, 22, 35), in the Pseudepigrapha (see below, p.232); and in the New Testament, 2 Cor. 11:3 and 1 Tim. 2:14, but contrast Rom. 5:13-14 and 1 Cor. 15:21-22.

they went on to explain why Eve sinned. This eventually led to the idea that the serpent in Genesis, which beguiled Eve, was either Satan or his agent. No such idea was meant in the Genesis original or in Ecclesiasticus, but pointing attention to the Garden of Eden narrative, as Ben Sira did, no doubt opened the door for the later identification of the serpent with Satan.¹ Thus verse 25:24 probably is the most significant passage of Ecclesiasticus for our study.²

1 Enoch--Chapters 93:1-10, 91:12-17;
12-36; 83-90.

To the years between 170 and 160 B.C. we have assigned several writings, by various Palestinians, which eventually were combined with other material, some earlier and some later, to make the final version of 1 Enoch. Included among these writings of 170 to 160 B.C. are several chapters of that book: 93:1-10 and 91:12-17 (called the Apocalypse of Weeks); 12-36

¹This identification will first be seen when we examine the Wisd. of Sol., see below pp. 217 - 220.

²For the general information in the preceding paragraphs concerning Ecclesiasticus, and for additional bibliographies, consult the following: Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 352-408, and "Literature of Apocrypha," pp. 408-411; Box and Oesterley, "Sirach"; Oesterley (alone), Wisdom of Jesus Son of Sirach; Hart, Ecclesiasticus; Toy, "Ecclesiasticus," and "Sirach"; (these listings so far are especially helpful); Barnes, "Ecclesiasticus" Bentzen, Introduction O. T., Vol. II, pp. 233-234; Büchler, "Ben Sira's Conception of Sin"; Burkill, "Ecclesiasticus"; Charles, Religious Development Between Testaments, pp. 189-191; Cheyne, Job and Solomon, pp. 179-198; Filson, Which Books in Bible, pp. 76-77; Fuchs, "Sirach"; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, pp. 20-30; Kuhl, O. T., pp. 304-305; Levi, "Sirach"; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 82-83, and Introduction to Books of Apocrypha, pp. 222-255, and Wisdom of Ben-Sira; Ryssel, "Die Sprüche Jesus', Des Sohnes Sirachs"; Tennant, Sources of Fall and Original Sin, esp. pp. 89-121; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 93-97; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 407-409.

(Visions and Journeys); and 83-90 (Dream-Visions).¹ Since we have already discussed such technical questions as date, unity, and place of origin,² let us turn directly to our examination of the subject matter of these passages, to see if we are able to detect any new demonic ideas appearing in this decade.

There are no new developments in 93:1-10 and 91:12-17. In fact, there is only one passage which is related to demonology; in 91:15 there is a reference to the judgment of the fallen angels.

Chapters 12-36, however, provide us with several changes in demonic emphasis, some more significant than others. Chapters 12-16 form a unit by themselves. In them God sends Enoch, not one of the archangels, to inform the fallen watchers of their forthcoming doom (chapter 12).³ Enoch first informs their leader, Azazel, and then all the others. (There is no question that Azazel is, in these chapters, the only chief of the fallen angels. Semjaza, considered the leader in some passages of 1 Enoch, is not even mentioned here.)⁴ When Enoch tells them of their impending punishment, they become ashamed and afraid, and even seek forgiveness. Their shame has become so great by this time they can neither speak with God nor even

¹See above, p.109.

²For all the technical problems connected with these chapters of 1 Enoch, and their relation to the whole of that writing, see above, pp. 105-111. The bibliography for these chapters is the same as above in n. 4, pp. 105-106.

³Throughout 1 Enoch, but especially in chaps. 12-16 and 37-71, "watchers" is a designation often used for angels.

⁴See above, pp. 115 and 127, n. 1.

look up to heaven, so they ask Enoch to intercede for them, which he does (chapter 13). But they are informed that their petition is rejected for all time; they shall never again be able to ascend to heaven, and from henceforth they shall be bound in the depths of the earth (chapter 14).

In 15:6 the fallen angels are depicted as spiritual beings originally created to live eternally, to be "immortal for all generations." The implication here, though not specifically stated, is that man was, on the contrary, originally created as a mortal being, to live only a limited number of years. In fact, God gives men, as contrasted with angelic beings, wives so they can have children and keep the human race extant (15:5). It will be remembered that according to Ecclesiasticus humanity was created immortal, but became mortal when Eve yielded to the temptation of sin.¹

In 15:9 and 16:1 there is a very interesting development. For the first time in Jewish literature, at least of which I am aware, there is an attempt to explain the origin of demons. Just as in the Noah fragments,² the offspring of the fallen angels and daughters of men is a race of great giants. But in these two verses of 1 Enoch there is an added development. When the giants die their spirits become active evil spirits which afflict mankind in many ways. Some of their destructive measures are enumerated in 15:11-12.

And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble: they take no food, but nevertheless hunger and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded from them.

¹See Eccclus. 25:24, pp. 147-149 above; but contrast Eccclus. 17:1-2 (p. 146 above), which teach that God created man mortal in the beginning, never intending him to live forever.

²See above pp. 112-127, esp. pp. 113-115.

Demons have been mentioned before, but this is the earliest extant attempt in Judaism to offer a theory concerning their origin.

The watchers which sinned by lusting after the daughters of men were not demons, but angels unable to live by the moral standards required of such spiritual beings. They never actively tried to thwart the work of God, nor did they even try actively to harm or lead astray mankind; their sin was that of satisfying their own lustful desires and revealing eternal secrets.¹ It is readily admitted that the end result of their action was that humanity sinned and God's kingdom was opposed, but this was not the original intent of the angels. And it is important to distinguish between the original motive and the incidental end result.

Certainly the fallen angels realized before they acted that what they were about to do was "a great sin" for which they would "have to pay the penalty" (6:3). But their sin, at least as they contemplated it, was that of betraying their angelic status, not of intentionally trying to torment the human race and antagonize God. It may be argued that since they admitted beforehand what they were about to do was "a great sin," they knowingly and intentionally opposed God, since any sin provokes the Almighty. But one still must recognize the distinction between a premeditated attempt and an unplanned consequence. Even if they realized ahead of time that these things would result, the actual motive of the angels was neither to frustrate God nor to hinder the moral character of humanity.

This is true even of Azazel, to which, as mentioned above, this

¹ See above, p. 126.

writer ascribes all sin.¹ There is no indication that Azazel, the leader of the fallen watchers, set out with the intended purpose of causing all unrighteousness on earth. This was only the incidental, even if inevitable, outcome of an attempt to satisfy certain desires and urges not in keeping with what is required of angelic beings. This may be thought by some to be a rather insignificant distinction, but I think it is necessary for the understanding of the demonology of 1 Enoch to realize that the first evil spirits actively to try to trouble mankind and usurp God were the spirits of the giants; it is true that the angels which went astray were evil spirits, but they were not consciously and intentionally malicious.

In 16:1 we read that these evil spirits of the giants will be allowed to carry on their troublesome activities until the final judgment. Even though the giants are killed and the fallen angels bound, the demons will be unhindered to "destroy without incurring judgment" until that great day. It was pointed out above that in the Noah material there is some ambiguity concerning whether or not unrighteousness continued on earth after the flood.² But in these chapters there is no question--the evil influence of the demons goes unchecked throughout all generations of life on earth, that is, until the day of final justice.

In 19:1 we see the recurrence of a demonic theme which we have traced from the Old Testament. The people shall be led "astray into sacrificing to demons as gods." Once again, illegitimate objects of worship are designated

¹See above, pp. 126-127.

²See above, pp. 117-118.

as demons.¹

In summary it can be said that the important elements of demonology in chapters 12-36 are as follows: Azazel is the leader of the fallen angels and Semjaza is not even mentioned; the evil watchers regret what they have done, but too late to receive forgiveness; the angels were originally created immortal and mankind mortal; the earliest extant Jewish theory for the origin of demons is found here; a distinction is made between the evil activity of fallen angels and demons; demons will be able to carry on unhindered until the final judgment; and demons are portrayed as idols.

Perhaps this is the place to call attention to one other characteristic, which concerns both theology and grammar, but especially the latter. The "evil spirits" (*πονηρὰ πνεύματα*) are what we today think of as demons, that is, active spirits which oppose God and harm humanity. The word "demon" (*δαιμόνιον*) is used only of false objects of worship, not actual harmful spirits. This use of *δαιμόνιον* is in keeping with the Old Testament and the other Jewish literature we have thus far examined, with the exception of the Book of Tobit, in which *δαιμόνιον* is used of an active spirit of evil.

The last section of 1 Enoch to be considered at this time is chapters 83-90, in which there is little new thought. In 85-90 we have a highly symbolic history of the world presented in the form of a dream vision. Chapters 86-89 tell almost the same story as chapters 6-11 of 1 Enoch (Noah elements); there are some few differences, but not many significant ones.

Chapter 86 relates the same events as 6-7, except for two details.

¹See Deut. 32:17 and Ps. 106:37, above pp. 16-19, and 77-78.

(1) In 86, at first only one angel descends to earth by itself and then is followed later by others, whereas, in chapter 6, all two-hundred descend at the same time. (2) The offspring giants of the fallen angels and women are pictured in 86:4 as being of three different kinds--"and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels and asses." This threefold distinction is also seen in 88:2 and 89:6. On the contrary, in 7:2-5 and 16:1 there appears to be only one kind of giant, without even a hint of three kinds.

In 89:6 the giants (all three kinds) are portrayed as being destroyed in the flood. In earlier portions of 1 Enoch the giants killed each other as their parents (the fallen angels and daughters of men) looked on (7:5, 10:9, and even 88:2).

In this section of the book, chapters 83-90, there is no mention of any of the names of the fallen angels. In 86:1, 88:1, and 90:21 there are references to the one leader of the watchers, but no specific name is mentioned. These probably refer to Azazel, but there is no way to be sure.

Our study of 1 Enoch, as far as it has taken us,¹ definitely shows the importance of the Book of Noah. The other sections of 1 Enoch quite obviously have used these Noah passages as a core around which to build. Although details differ and emphases change from section to section, the story of the fallen angels remains central in all sections of 1 Enoch.

Jubilees

Another very important Pseudepigraphic work for our study is the

¹Chaps. 91-105 (minus 93:1-10 and 91:12-17) and 37-71 will be considered later. See below, pp. 196-201.

Book of Jubilees.¹ It gets its name from its exact, but fictitious, system of dividing all time (from the Creation to the Exodus) into "jubilee" periods of forty-nine years, each jubilee being subdivided into "seven weeks of years," each "week of years" being seven years.

The book purports to be a divine revelation made on Mount Sinai to Moses by an angel commanded by God. The narratives of Genesis 1:1 through Exodus 12:47 are used as the general framework of this writing. Hence, less frequently it is called the Little or Lesser Genesis--little not in the sense of size, because Jubilees is longer than Genesis, but suggesting the inferior position of this work as compared to the canonical Genesis.

Jubilees probably could be thought of in terms of an enlarged Targum or Midrash on Genesis 1:1 to Exodus 12:47. The author intermittently used three different procedures as he dealt with this Biblical material: (1) he followed the Biblical text very closely, or (2) he added to it many legendary details, or (3) he omitted entirely the stories which were not to the credit of the Patriarchs or which he felt were otherwise objectionable. Thus he inserted amplifications and interpretations throughout the Biblical narratives, supplying much information, both genealogical and historical, missing in

¹For the information in these paragraphs about Jubilees, and for additional bibliographies, consult: Box, "Introduction," Book of Jubilees by Charles, ("Translations of Early Documents"), pp. vii-xxxiii; Charles, Book of Jubilees, and "Book of Jubilees"; Deane, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 193-236; Fox, "Book of Jubilees"; Kohler, "Book of Jubilees"; Littmann, "Das Buch der Jubiläen"; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 90-91; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 68-70, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 422-423; Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 60-63, 84-90; Schürer, Jewish People, Vol. III, pp. 134-141; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 126-129; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 415-418.

Genesis and Exodus. And it might be added that his interpretations presupposed the entire Pentateuch, not just Genesis and Exodus.

The author's primary purpose in writing *Jubilees* seems to have been to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism. His defense took three forms: (1) the glorification of the Law as being eternal and of everlasting validity--although the Law was revealed in time, it is superior to time; (2) the representation of the Patriarchs as models of piety; (3) the glorification of Israel and the denunciation of the Gentiles, insisting on the segregation of the Jews and Gentiles, the latter being Israel's national enemy. This writer showed special interest in a calendar reform, in the strict observance of the Law, and in a particular prominence given to the Sabbath.

The Book of *Jubilees* was written in Palestine sometime between 115 and 105 B.C. There is no reason to doubt that, in its present form, this work was composed and written by one author; it is not a composite of several shorter writings, as is *1 Enoch*, although the writer of *Jubilees* clearly used and incorporated some material from other earlier traditions and writings.

Jubilees was originally written in either Aramaic or Hebrew, probably the latter. Until recently it has long been assumed that we would never find any copies of the original text, but at Qumran there were found fragments from several manuscripts of a Hebrew text, quite probably the original.¹ The initial Semitic text was translated into Greek at an early date, and from the Greek

¹There have been found at Qumran at least nine Hebrew manuscripts of *Jubilees*; two from Cave I, two from Cave II, and five from Cave IV. See Dupont-Sommer, *Essene Writings from Qumran*, p. 298.

the later Latin and Ethiopic translations were made. There are extant today only a few scattered fragments of the Greek and about one-fourth of the Latin, and the only complete text of Jubilees extant now is the Ethiopic, and apparently with a minimum of corruptions. There is some evidence for a Syriac version as well, but this is not conclusive. It is from the Ethiopic that our present English version of Jubilees has been translated.

This particular piece of literature, which is a second century B.C. interpretation of the earliest part of the Bible to be canonized, is significant for our study because it contains a considerable number of passages pertaining to demonology. Some of the demonic ideas found in Jubilees are entirely new, some are older themes already noted in previous writings and unchanged by this writer, while others are merely new interpretations of the older established themes. With this writing we are again confronted by the rapid development and diversity of Jewish demonology just prior to the Christian era.

Let us now look specifically at the demonology of the Book of Jubilees. In 1:11 and 22:17 "demons" and "evil spirits" are the terms used to designate false objects of worship, that is, lifeless, worthless idols which are of no help to anybody. Nevertheless they are worshiped by some people, and sacrifices--sometimes even human beings--are offered to them. In these two verses, "demons" and "evil spirits" are not active living spirits, but illegitimate and sinister objects of worship. It will be remembered that demons are portrayed in Deuteronomy 32:17, Psalm 106:37, and 1 Enoch 19:1

in this same sense, as spurious objects of worship.¹

In Jubilees demons also are depicted as active evil spirits. Going by various names--demons (7:27, 10:2), unclean demons (10:1), spirits (10:5, 10:8, 11:5), wicked spirits (10:3), evil spirits (10:13, 12:20), malignant spirits (11:4), malignant evil ones (10:11), spirits of Mastema (19:28), and powers of Mastema (48:9)--demons do all manner of wrong and transgression; in their association with mankind and God's creation in general, they seduce, lead astray, corrupt, blind, accuse, shed blood, destroy, slay, and influence thoughts (7:27; 10:1-13; 11:4-5; 12:20; 19:28; 48:2-3, 9-10, 12-18; 49:2-3). In fact, the demons were "created in order to destroy" (10:5), but there are hints that they have no power over the righteous (10:6, 12:28).

Most often in Jubilees the prince or leader of the demons is called Mastema (10:8, 11:5, 11; 17:16; 18:9, 12; 19:28; 48:2, 9, 12, 15; 49:2). There is no question that Mastema, in all of these passages, is meant to be a proper name used instead of Satan, and, that the two names, Mastema and Satan, are synonymous (10:8-11). However, there has been controversy about this matter, and, no doubt, partially because of a stand which R. H. Charles took and then later modified.

In his 1902 edition of The Book of Jubilees,² Charles took the position that in several passages of Jubilees--specifically 17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 9, 12, 15--the text should read "prince of the Mastema (plural)," not "prince Mastema," thus indicating that there is a class or group of Mastema, that

¹See above, pp. 16-19, 77-78, 153-154.

²Charles, Book of Jubilees or Little Genesis, see esp. p. lviii, n. 1.

is, a type of evil spirits, rather than indicating the one leader (Mastema) of the evil spirits. He contended that in 17:16 and 48:2 all four of the Ethiopic manuscripts incorrectly have "prince Mastema," and that in the other passages in question--18:9, 12; 48:9, 12, 15--manuscripts "a" and "b" render it correctly as the "prince of the Mastema," whereas manuscripts "c" and "d" mistakenly read "prince Mastema."

He gave no reasons for suggesting why he thought the one translation should be favored over the other, and I found his theory unconvincing. In the first place, in all of the other passages in Jubilees in which Mastema is used--10:8; 11:5, 11; 19:28; 49:2--it seems to designate one specific evil spirit, not a class of demons;¹ the contexts of these passages favor this interpretation. Secondly, in 17:16 and 48:2 all four of the Ethiopic manuscripts use the interpretation which Charles rejected, and one has the uneasy feeling that perhaps it was Charles who was wrong, not all four of the manuscripts. In the remainder of the passages--18:9, 12; 48:9, 12, 15--only two manuscripts attest Charles' proposal, while the other two are in keeping with the interpretation used in all four of the manuscripts for all of the other Mastema passages in Jubilees. It appears to me that in the passages in which there is divided opinion among the manuscripts the overall usage of Mastema throughout Jubilees favors the interpretation that Mastema refers to a particular evil spirit, not to a group of demons.

Although Charles never formally rejected this argument, he evidently

¹Even Charles favors this interpretation in these verses.

came to doubt it. In his 1913 translation of Jubilees¹ he exactly reversed his earlier approach. In all of these questionable passages--17:16; 18:9, 12; 48:2, 9, 12, 15--Charles, in 1913, gave as the preferred translation "prince Mastema," and in a footnote on page 79 he merely mentioned that manuscripts "a" and "b" read "prince of the Mastema" in verses 18:9, 12; 48:9, 12, 15. But he made the latter rendition the secondary translation and made no mention of his earlier contention. Unfortunately, some scholars do not realize, or else ignore, this modification by Charles himself.² And the fact that Charles' translation of Jubilees appearing in 1917 (Translations of Early Documents Series³) uses the "prince of the Mastema" as the preferred reading and "prince Mastema" as the secondary rendition in these questionable passages means nothing, because this is merely a reprint of his 1902 edition.⁴

The suggestion has also been made⁵ that in Jubilees מַסְתֵּמָה should not be translated as a proper name, "Mastema," but as a common noun, "animosity, enmity, or hatred." In support of this argument it can be pointed out that Mastema is used as a proper name only in the ancient Book of Noah and the Book of Jubilees and, since everyone else of that era used it as a common

¹"Book of Jubilees," Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, edited by Charles, Vol. II, pp. 1-82.

²See, for example, Langton, Essentials of Demonology, p. 125; Box, "Introduction," Book of Jubilees by Charles, "Translations of Early Documents," p. xxiv.

³See n. 2 of this page.

⁴See Editor's Preface, p. v.

⁵Yadin, Scroll of War of Sons of Light Against Sons of Darkness, pp. 233-234.

noun,¹ that these writers probably did, too. This argument, therefore, suggests that some place along the way there has been a mistake in translation. However, the context of these passages in Jubilees cannot be ignored, and the overall setting of many of them² strongly recommends the use of a proper noun, "Mastema." Furthermore, the personification of a word like מַטְמָה is what we might expect from a sectarian writer like the author of Jubilees. And the fact that Mastema is considered a proper noun which is synonymous³ with Satan in the Acts of Philip³--about the fourth or fifth century A.D.--shows that such an interpretation did exist at a relatively early date.

We conclude, therefore, that in the Book of Jubilees מַטְמָה (Mastema) is used as a proper name for the one evil leader of the demonic powers and as a synonym for Satan. This is a rather unique usage, because Jubilees is nearly the only extant writing in which מַטְמָה is so used.

The probable etymology of the word confirms our conclusions.⁴ מַטְמָה , which means animosity or enmity, probably is derived from the Hiphil participle of מַטְמָה , that is, מַטְמֵה , one who engenders hatred. The significance

¹ It appears, for example, as a common noun twice in the Old Testament--Hosea 7:8, 9--in the sense of enmity. And as we will see in the next chapter, it is used several times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but always as a common noun. See below, pp. 268-269.

² See especially 10:8.

³ See Constantinus Tischendorf, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, p. 98.

⁴ For the etymology, see: Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 966; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 571, 918; Charles, Book of Jubilees (1902), p. 80, n. on verse 8; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, p. 125.

specifically 2 Kings--for the origin of $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\sigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda$. In 2 Kings 1:2, 3, 6, 16 there is mention of an idol in Ekron called Baalzebub ($\beth\alpha\iota\lambda\epsilon\beta\upsilon\beta$), which means god ($\lambda\epsilon\beta$) of flies ($\beth\alpha\iota$). Jesus might have used this name as a derogatory title for Satan, but this requires an explanation for the last letter of Beelzebub being "l" instead of "b."¹

One explanation stems from what we know about Israel's attitude toward baal worship. From about 600 B.C. onward any connection with or suggestion of baal worship became very contemptuous within Judaism--this we know for a fact. It is possible that this feeling of contempt became so great that Baalzebub ($\beth\alpha\iota\lambda\epsilon\beta\upsilon\beta$), god of flies, in 2 Kings was intentionally altered to read Beelzebub ($\lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$), the Rabbinic form meaning god of dung, filth, or waste. Thus, by New Testament times Baalzebub had become Beelzebub, and was a very natural designation for Satan.

Another suggestion is that $\lambda\epsilon\beta\epsilon\lambda$ should be translated god of a lofty abode or high place, not god of flies or god of dung. In this case, it might refer to the worship of baals on mountains, housetops, or temples--as baal worship usually was practiced at such locations. Remembering the attitude of the Jews toward baal worship, it would be reasonable to suggest that Jesus associated Satan with baal worship, and that Beelzebub, suggesting lord of high places, would have been an appropriate designation for the leader of the demonic forces.

¹ About all scholars today agree that the variant reading, $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\sigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\beta$, in the Gospels is merely a later attempt to make the New Testament agree with the Old Testament usage of $\beth\alpha\iota\lambda\epsilon\beta\upsilon\beta$. There is little doubt but that the original and proper form in the New Testament is $\theta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\sigma\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda$.

Since Beelzebul, or some variation, is not used in pre-Christian Hebrew or Jewish literature as a name for the demonic leader, or, for that matter, for any other spirit, we will not pursue this matter further. However, these suggested explanations should be considered when examining the Synoptic Gospels, for they might help in determining the origin of $\beta\epsilon\epsilon\lambda\zeta\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda$.

In two other verses of Jubilees--1:20 and 15:33--we find another word which is used for the first time as a synonym for Satan--Beliar. In these two verses Beliar acts as an accuser and tempter--he accuses men before God and leads them astray from righteousness and the Law--and thereby succeeds in provoking God's wrath against many people. There is little doubt that Beliar is used in this book as a proper name for the leader of the evil spirits and is synonymous with Mastema and Satan. Although most scholars would agree with this observation, there is considerable disagreement concerning the background of this word--its etymology and how it came to be used as a proper name for the leader of the evil forces.

It seems probable that Beliar is a corrupt form of a frequently used Old Testament common noun-- לְעֵלְזָר (belial, not Beliar). This is supported by the fact that in the Dead Sea Scrolls Belial (לְעֵלְזָר), not Beliar (לְעֵלְזָר), is found. But if this is the case, we still have not reached a satisfactory solution because there is great uncertainty about the etymology of לְעֵלְזָר . The most reasonable suggestion is that לְעֵלְזָר is derived from two separate words-- לְעֵלְזָר (not, without) and לְעֵלְזָר (worth, profit, use)--and that in its compound form it means worthlessness, destruction, or ruin.¹

¹See: Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 116; Koehler and Baumgartner Lexicon, p. 130; Gaster, "Belial"; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, p. 127.

In the Old Testament לַיִלָּוִי is used frequently,¹ and always as a common noun. Most of the time, though not always,² it is used in compound constructions, such as sons of worthlessness,³ daughter of worthlessness,⁴ man of worthlessness,⁵ counselor of ruin,⁶ floods of destruction,⁷ etc. During the intertestamental period לַיִלָּוִי evidently began to be used as a personalized proper name denoting the summum malum of worthlessness and destruction, that is, the leader of the demonic powers. In extant Jewish literature this change from a common noun to a proper noun first appears in the Book of Jubilees, but instead of being Belial, as we might expect, it is Beliar. There seems to be no significance to this change of the last letter from "l" to "r"; it probably is a corrupt usage which gradually came to be accepted as the standard form. In later literature Beliar is usually used, but Belial (לַיִלָּוִי) is used in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁸

Contrary to Mastema, which is used as a proper name almost exclusively in Jubilees, Beliar is used frequently from this time onward as a synonym for Satan in Jewish and Christian literature. Later in this chapter we will see that Beliar is used several times in the Martyrdom of Isaiah,⁹ and in the next

¹18 times in the historical books, once in Job, three times in each Proverbs and Psalms, and twice in Nahum (Bennett, "Belial," col. 525).

²1 Sam. 23:6; Job 34:18; Nah. 1:15 [H--2:1].

³Deut. 13:13 [H--13:14]; Judg. 19:22. ⁴1 Sam. 1:16.

⁵2 Sam. 20:1. ⁶Nah. 1:11.

⁷2 Sam. 22:5; Ps. 18:4 [H--18:5].

⁸See below, pp. 257, 267-270.

⁹See below, p. 203.

chapter that Belial plays a major role in the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹ It is used throughout the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, twice in Book III of the Sibylline Oracles, and once by Paul in the New Testament.²

Although the above seems to be the most likely course of development, some scholars have offered alternate solutions. Bennett³ suggests that the proposed etymology-- לְיָדָי is from יָדָי and לְיָדָי --is not borne out by the early Greek translations of the Old Testament.⁴ He surmises that לְיָדָי might be derived from יָדָי (not, without) and לְיָדָי (injustice, unrighteousness). He then destroys his case by writing that he knows that this etymology is "impossible," but that it is more in harmony with Biblical usage.

Cheyne⁵ suggests, as a possible explanation for the etymology of לְיָדָי , that it is an intentional modification, by early Canaanites, of the (non-Semitic) Babylonian Belili, the goddess of the underworld, so as to give the impression that it was derived from לְיָדָי יָדָי , "one returns not." Then the Hebrews took Belili, altered into לְיָדָי , as a synonym for the abyss of Sheol, the land of no return, and eventually it became a proper name for

¹See below, pp. 256-257, 267-270.

²2 Cor. 6:15.

³Bennett, "Belial," col. 525.

⁴ לְיָדָי is rendered in the Septuagint by several different words, depending upon the context, a few of which are: ἀνόμημα (lawless action, iniquity); ἀνομία (lawlessness); ἀποστασία (revolt, apostasy); ἀσεβής (impious, ungodly); ἄφρων (senseless, foolish); λοιμός (pestilence); παράνομος (lawless).

⁵See Cheyne: "Development of Meaning of 'Belial,'" Expositor, Vol. I (5th Series), pp. 435-439; "Origin and Meaning of 'Belial,'" Expository Times, Vol. VIII, pp. 423-424; "Belial," Encyclopaedia Biblica, Vol. I, cols. 525-527.

Satan. He thinks that it is possible that there may have been a middle form between Belilī and לַעֲזָבֵל which has been lost.

Neither Bousset¹ nor Charles² have much to say about the origin of לַעֲזָבֵל, but they both connect Beliar and the Antichrist. They suggest that at one time there were two separate legends,³ one about the human Antichrist and the other about the superhuman or Satanic Beliar, and that sometime prior to 60 A.D. they were combined to make the Antichrist a God-opposing man armed with miraculous or Satanic powers.

Moore⁴ and Noack⁵ are very skeptical of all of these approaches and doubt if we have yet found the true explanation. It may well be that we have not, but be that as it may, there is no doubt that Beliar (occasionally Belial) is used as a proper name for the leader of the demonic forces from the time of Jubilees onward.⁶

Satan himself is mentioned in Jubilees five times, but the passages are a little obscure concerning his general character. Although in the earlier literature we have examined, the evil spiritual forces have had a leader, this

¹The Antichrist Legend, esp. pp. 153-156.

²Ascension of Isaiah, esp. pp. li-lxxii.

³Actually they suggest three separate legends, but the third one has no bearing on our study.

⁴Judges, pp. 417, 419.

⁵Satanás und Sotería, pp. 58-59.

⁶See also: Burney, Book of Judges, pp. 467-468; Garvie, "Belial"; Kohler, "Belial--In Rabbinical and Apocryphal Literature"; Levi, "Belial--Biblical Date."

is the first time Satan has been so designated. In fact, this is the earliest book of the Apocrypha or Pseudepigrapha in which Satan's name even appears. We last saw Satan in the Old Testament, where he is depicted as being nothing more than an over-anxious accuser in the court of God.¹ Although the pertinent passages in Jubilees are a little vague, we learn enough from them to know that this writer's conception of Satan has certainly changed from that found in the Old Testament.

In four verses of Jubilees--23:29, 40:9, 46:2, 50:5--Satan is used more or less symbolically to signify a period of time or era in history which, in general, is characterized by sin, unhappiness, and failure, but which also has already been replaced by better times or is so destined to be in the future. Although these verses are far from explicit, the implication seems to be that Satan is a type of evil being which, in some way, is connected with unrighteousness and its many consequences. Verse 10:11 however, removes any doubt, for here Satan is very definitely equated with Mastema; hence, Satan is here depicted as the active spirit leader of the forces which oppose God's purposes.

For the origin of the demons we need to turn to the story of the fall of the angels. The version of this narrative as found in Jubilees is, in some details, identical or very similar to the story of the fallen angels found in 1 Enoch, but in other details Jubilees is quite different from Enoch. Very briefly the account in Jubilees is as follows.

Some angels--or, as they are called, watchers--were sent to earth

¹See above, pp. 51 -60.

by God for a specific twofold purpose: (1) to instruct the children of men, and (2) "to do judgment and righteousness" on earth (4:15). After being on earth a short time, they became attracted to the women they found there and sinned with them. The watchers took wives from among the daughters of men, and wicked sons, who were giants, were born. (5:1). Lawlessness broke out and increased on earth and all flesh--men, cattle, birds, beasts, in fact, "everything that walketh on the earth" --became corrupt and began to devour one another (5:2-3).

God became so disappointed that He decided to destroy all flesh on earth (5:4), but Noah found grace (5:5). After being required to watch the destruction of their sons, the giants--they all killed each other by the sword (5:9-10)--the evil angels were bound in the depths of the earth until the final judgment day (5:10-11). After the watchers were made helpless, God re-created all His works with a righteous nature, so there would never again be any sin (5:12).

This act of re-creation seems to be pictured here in Jubilees as taking place immediately after the flood. But such an idea is completely out of keeping with the thought in the remainder of the book. Just consider the author's many subsequent claims of the corruption of all the descendants of Noah until the time of Abraham, as well as the universal sinfulness of the Gentiles. Charles suggests that this confusion can best be explained as a mistake in the tense of the verbs used. He points out that verses 5:10b-16 describe the final judgment which will take place in the far distant future, and that verse 12 actually describes that which will happen in the future at the

final judgment, not which already happened immediately after the flood. Hence, Charles suggests that originally the writer meant that after the final judgment all sin would cease to be.¹

Charles' theory may be correct, but there is other evidence which leads one to suspect there is more to it than mere confusion of tenses. In the first place, as noted earlier, we must be cautious about trying to make supposedly historical events which have been recorded from an Apocalyptic viewpoint fit into a neat and consistent chronological pattern.² In addition, it is likely that confusion found in Jubilees on this issue was characteristic of the general temper of the author's time. He probably was confronted by conflicting traditions about the time that all sin would be eliminated, and either he was not sure in his own mind which view was correct, or else he wanted to avoid controversy, so he presented both positions. This suggestion is strengthened when it is realized that parts of 1 Enoch were one of the sources used by the author of Jubilees,³ and that a similar sequence of developments appears also in that work. In 1 Enoch 10:16-22 it is stated that at the time of the flood all evil on earth was to come to an end, never again to be resumed.⁴ Yet it is obvious that such an idea is incongruous with

¹ Charles, Book of Jubilees, p. 44.

² See above, p. 118.

³ The author of Jubilees probably had at his disposal the following chapters of 1 Enoch: 6-16, 23-36, and 72-105. See Box, "Introduction," Book of Jubilees by Charles, ("Translations of Early Documents"), pp. xiii-xiv; and Charles, Book of Jubilees, p. xlv.

⁴ See above, p. 117.

subsequent portions of 1 Enoch, which definitely depict the continuation of unrighteousness long after the flood.¹

There are many other inconsistencies in Jubilees, and it is interesting to note that several of the inconsistencies of Jubilees are similar to those of 1 Enoch. For example, in 1 Enoch 10:4-22 it is stated that all the demons are to be bound at the time of the flood and there is to be no more corruption, yet in 16:1 we learn that all the demons have gone forth, unhampered until the final judgment, to carry out their sinful activities. In Jubilees 5:6-12 all the demons are bound and made helpless until the final judgment, but in 10:8-11 we learn that only nine-tenths of the demons are bound and one-tenth are allowed to remain free to do the work of Satan or Mastema, a request made by the latter and granted by God.

In Jubilees 7:22 it is implied that the giants, the offspring of the watchers and earthly women, are of three different kinds, while in 5:9 there is no such threefold distinction. In 1 Enoch 7:2-5 and 16:1 there is no indication of three kinds of giants, but in 86:4, 88:2, and 89:6 three kinds are mentioned.²

However, not all the inconsistencies in Jubilees are paralleled in 1 Enoch. Take, for example, the last part of Jubilees 7:21, where it is said that the watchers "made the beginning of uncleanness." This implies that they, the evil angels, are responsible for the introduction of sin to the human race. But in chapter 3 we find the traditional story of Adam, Eve, and

¹See above, pp. 118, 153.

²See above, p. 155.

the serpent in the Garden of Eden, in which unrighteousness certainly is portrayed as being a reality, and it is not traceable to the angels. In 1 Enoch 9:6-7 and 10:8, on the other hand, there is not this discrepancy; sin is definitely introduced by the watchers, Azazel in particular. The divergent accounts in Jubilees are probably due to the attempt to combine Genesis, the main framework of the book, with parts of 1 Enoch, specifically the fallen angels story; Genesis does not have the account of the wicked angels and 1 Enoch does not have the Adam and Eve narrative. When they were both included in a single book it is not surprising to find a certain amount of disharmony.

Besides these inconsistencies, there are many enlightening details about the demonology of Jubilees which come to light as the remainder of the work is studied. These additional scattered verses do not contradict other portions of Jubilees, but supplement them, and much of the information is in harmony with 1 Enoch.

In Jubilees 10:5 we learn that the demons and evil spirits are the children of the bad angels and daughters of men. Although this is specifically stated only in 10:5, it is taken for granted in the narrative about the heavenly watchers and earthly women found in chapter 5 of Jubilees.¹ This theme echoes the teaching of 1 Enoch 15:9 and 16:1, which we already examined.² Since the author of Jubilees had these chapters of Enoch at his disposal,³ it is not

¹See above, p. 170.

²See above, pp. 151-152.

³See above, n.3, p.171.

surprising that the same theme reappears in Jubilees. However, 1 Enoch and Jubilees are not identical on this point. In Jubilees it is merely said that the watchers are the fathers of the evil spirits, whereas in 1 Enoch the doctrine is more complex--the demons are the departed spirits of the dead giants, the giants being the children of the watchers and earthly women.

In Jubilees 7:20-25¹ there are given three reasons for God deciding to bring the flood: (1) the watchers committed fornication, as they "went a whoring after the daughters of men"; (2) the watchers made the beginning of unrighteousness on earth; and (3) the lawlessness and iniquity on earth became too severe. Although there are not specifically three reasons given for the flood in 1 Enoch, God reveals his plan for the flood in 1 Enoch (chapter 10 and 106:13-15) after these same three events had taken place.

In addition to committing fornication and starting all unrighteousness on earth, the watchers in Jubilees also sinned by revealing the heavenly secrets, and the people sinned too by reading these secrets which were recorded (8:3). In 1 Enoch the sin of revealing the heavenly secrets is likewise stressed.²

Hence we have seen that there are many similarities, as well as some variances, between the demonology of Jubilees and 1 Enoch, but the likenesses are more frequent than the differences. And for more reasons than one this is exactly what we should expect. Basically 1 Enoch and Jubilees are written from the same point of view--both are Apocalyptic in nature and both are based,

¹Compare Jub. 20:5.

²See above, pp. 120, 115.

to a large extent, on Old Testament passages. About the only difference in the general approach used in these two works is that the Apocalyptic themes are more fully developed in 1 Enoch, and in Jubilees a wider range of Old Testament passages is used. Resemblances between these works can also be accounted for by the fact that the author of Jubilees used parts of 1 Enoch as one of his sources, and, in fact, some of the inconsistencies in the demonology of Jubilees can be traced to 1 Enoch.

It was pointed out above that Mastema is the chief of the demons,¹ but he also is able to use certain animals to bring about destruction. In Jubilees 11:11-22 we read that Mastema sent ravens and birds to devour newly sown seed, causing crop failure and great famines.² However, Abram was able to turn back the ravens, and he went from place to place helping the troubled sowers. At that time Abram was only fourteen years old, and he would merely say: "Descend not, return to the place whence ye came." The birds would immediately turn back. This is the earliest extant reference in Jewish literature to any of Satan's agents or instruments being made helpless merely by an authoritative command spoken by a servant of God. This is a significant development, for in the New Testament verbal exorcisms play a major role, especially in the ministry of Jesus.

The same process of reasoning which was used by the Jews many generations earlier and led, at least partially, to the development of the "Satan" concept, also can be seen in several passages of Jubilees. This is

¹See above, pp. 159 - 163.

²Compare Matt. 13:4, 9; Mk. 4:4, 15; Lk. 8:5, 12.

the procedure whereby an act which earlier had been attributed to God but reflected unfavorably upon His general character, at a later time was attributed to some other spiritual being, in order to enhance the reputation of God. We first noted this approach in Chapter I of this study, when we examined 1 Chronicles.¹

In Jubilees 17:16 it is Mastema that has the idea of testing Abraham's devotion to God by suggesting he be asked to sacrifice his son, Issac, and God carries out the suggestion (18:1-12). In Genesis 22:1 God has the original idea as well as putting it into effect. In Jubilees 48:2-3 Mastema tries to slay Moses, while in Exodus 4:24 it is God who makes the attempt. In Jubilees 48:17 it is Mastema again that hardens the heart of Pharaoh, although in this instance it is God's idea. But in Exodus 14:8 God has the idea and does the work Himself. In Jubilees 49:2 the "powers of Mastema" slay the first born of the Egyptians, and in Exodus 12:28 it is God who does it. However in Jubilees 49:4 the spirits responsible for the slaughter are called the "powers of the Lord," instead of the "powers of Mastema," so it appears that God is the motivating force, but the action itself is done by the demons. In all of these instances an action which earlier, in the Bible, had been attributed directly to God is, in Jubilees, ascribed either directly to Mastema or at least less directly to God than had been the case in the Scriptures.

At first glance it may seem as if the author missed another good opportunity of using this same technique effectively. In 15:31 some "spirits appointed by God" --probably angels--have been assigned the particular

¹See above, pp.56 - 61, but esp. p. 56.

function of leading astray many nations other than Israel. In other verses of Jubilees--7:27; 10:1-2, 8; 11:4-5; 12:20; 19:28-29--the demons have been assigned this function of leading astray. From what we have just been saying about this author's attempts to create a more favorable impression of God's general nature, we might have expected him to have given the demons, rather than the angels of God, the task of leading astray nations. However, there is no reason why verse 15:31 would have disturbed this writer's conception of God's integrity.

In the several verses of Jubilees mentioned in the preceding paragraph, demons lead astray individual or groups of Jews, an action naturally offensive to Jews, but in 15:31 they lead astray entire countries, national enemies of Israel. The people of that day no doubt saw nothing wrong with this latter work of the angels; in fact, they probably looked upon it with favor, as the work of a loving God looking after the welfare of His chosen people.

Charles suggests we have here in Jubilees 15:31 an example of the ultimate result of God's action being mistakenly interpreted as His original purpose.¹ This perhaps is an accurate evaluation of what happened, but it is unlikely that the writer of Jubilees should bear the full responsibility for this misinterpretation. The angelic activity described in 15:31 was not an entirely new development within Judaism. In several earlier passages--Deuteronomy 32:8-9 (Septuagint); Daniel 10:13, 20, 21; 12:1; Ecclesiasticus 17:17; 1 Enoch 89:59--God is portrayed as appointing angels over certain nations, and in 1 Enoch 90:20-25 God punishes these angels because they

¹See Charles, "Book of Jubilees," p. 37.

had been unfaithful to His purposes.¹

But it would be a mistake to drop the matter at this place, because I doubt if we have really touched the heart of the issue. We are confronted here with one of the basic underlying issues of the Book of Jubilees and, in fact, of much of the Jewish intertestamental literature. Here in Jubilees 15:31, as well as many other places, the author seems to be struggling with the perplexing problem of determining the ultimate responsibility for the course of universal and human events.

In the Old Testament this is not so much of a problem. As we saw above in Chapter I, in the pre-Exilic passages of the Old Testament God is portrayed as being directly responsible for all events, both good and evil. In the post-Exilic period this problem begins to be raised, but in the later portions of the Old Testament God still remains, at least indirectly, responsible for everything that happens. Even in the Book of Job, where Satan is depicted as the instigator of all of Job's troubles, Satan still must obtain divine permission for all that he does. In fact, the basic tension in this writing centers around the fact that Job cannot, in the final analysis, bring himself to blame Satan, but he must ultimately look to God for an explanation of what has happened.

By the time Jubilees was written this image of God was no longer acceptable, and many Jewish scholars of the intertestamental period struggled with the problem of God's omnipotence. Their sense of God's righteousness and holiness had developed to the degree that they were finding it increasingly

¹Also in Is. 24:21-22 the angels are to be punished, but in this passage we cannot be sure of the reason.

difficult to blame God for all that was going on in the world. They sought to uphold the monotheistic and omnipotent character of Yahweh and, at the same time, to provide a suitable explanation for the existence of evil.

The development of cosmic dualism within Judaism merely offered a partial solution. Such a development recognized the existence of disharmony and unfaithfulness in the heavenly ranks, and provided a scapegoat for some uncomplimentary qualities previously attributed to God. But it left unsettled the question of ultimate responsibility. Even though sinful angels had come down to earth and led astray mankind, and even though there was an anti-Godly kingdom of evil spirits which continued to instigate trouble, and even if the forces of evil were under the direction of one supreme evil spirit (Satan, Mastema, Beliar, etc.), did this mean that God was not actually omnipotent or rather, in some inexplicable way, that evil was part of the divine design?

And the author of Jubilees, typical of an Apocalyptist, realized that some of the responsibility for evil had to be borne by mankind. Not only had there been disobedience in the heavenly ranks, but God's human creatures had likewise gone astray. And if God was truly omnipotent, it would be difficult to argue that He could not be held at least partially responsible.

There can be no question in Jubilees about God's complete authority over all the evil spirits. He was able to bind and release the evil spirits as He desired (10:7-9; 48:15-16, 18; 49:2), and, when He required, they had no choice but to work for the enactment of His purposes (48:17; 49:2-3). God was depicted as being the only source of protection for the people from the

dangers of Mastema and his demons (10:3-6; 12:19-20; 19:27-29; 48:4), and individuals often prayed to God for protection from the evil spirits (10:3-6; 12:20). In Jubilees 10:12-13 there are even hints that God taught the people magical formulas which would enable them to resist the destructive works of the demons.¹

With the tension which is created when God's omnipotence is considered in relation to the problem of evil, and the bearing this matter has on the development of intertestamental demonology, we should be neither surprised nor concerned about the ambiguity, uncertainty, or inconsistency which characterize the demonology of Jubilees and some of the other Apocalyptic books. Under the circumstances these are the attributes which we would expect to find, and it would be misleading to seek more definite explanations as individual verses are considered. The general perplexity which characterizes the demonology of Jubilees is a fair representation of the demonic temper of the times.

As we look back over the demonology of Jubilees, we see several themes which were found in earlier works, and several new ideas which appear for the first time in Jubilees, and frequently the old and new are well blended.

One idea we have come across several times is that demons are false objects of worship, and we see it again in Jubilees (1:11, 22:17).

¹One is reminded of the magic used in the Book of Tobit to drive away the demon Asmodeus. However, in Tobit the magical formulas were carefully explained, and in Jubilees there are only slight allusions to them. For Tobit, see above pp. 132-133, 135.

We also find the narrative about the sinful angels, but in Jubilees many of its details are slightly altered. The motive in 1 Enoch for the angels descending to earth has been replaced in Jubilees by a more worthy one. In 1 Enoch the angels descend specifically to consort with earthly women (6:1+2), and in Jubilees they descend for the purpose of helping humanity and then, after being on earth, become attracted to the women (4:15, 22; 5:1). From this union between the angels and women great giants were born, and it is to them that we look for the origin of the demon (used here as active evil spirits, not as idols). In 1 Enoch (15:9, 16:1) it is specifically stated that demons are the departed spirits of the giants, but Jubilees is more vague on this point. This is probably what is meant, although it is merely stated that the watchers are the fathers of the evil spirits (10:5).

In 1 Enoch the leader of the evil spirits is usually Azazel and sometimes Semjaza;¹ in Jubilees, on the other hand, the leader is usually Mastema, but twice Beliar and once Satan. In 1 Enoch there is no mention of Mastema or Beliar, and in Jubilees no mention of Azazel or Semjaza. In Jubilees there is no question that Mastema, Beliar, and Satan are used synonymously for the leader of the evil forces. And in Jubilees Satan reappears in Jewish literature for the first time since the Old Testament, and his character has definitely changed into an evil creature which actively leads the evil spirits in opposition to God.

The evil spirits are not only responsible for the evil and sin which exist on earth (Jubilees 7:21; 1 Enoch 9:6-7, 10:8), but also they are guilty

¹ See above, n. 1, p. 127.

of revealing the heavenly secrets (Jubilees 8:3; 1 Enoch chapter 8, 9:6, 10:7-8, 16:3-4, 65:6-11), and the universal sin which resulted from their actions was the main reason that God brought the great flood (Jubilees 7:20-21; 1 Enoch chapter 10, 106:13-15). All the demons are helpless against the power of God; He can use them as He pleases. He also dictates the conditions of both their temporary and final punishments, but in Jubilees the specific conditions are not described as they are in 1 Enoch, where there is detailed stress on fire, suffering, binding by chains, etc.

In Jubilees we find that only nine-tenths of the demons are to be bound after the preliminary judgment, and one-tenth is to be left free to harass mankind (10:8-11). In 1 Enoch (16:1) all the demons shall be free to cause trouble until the final judgment. But we noted there is some confusion in this matter, because in both Jubilees (5:6-12) and 1 Enoch (10:4-22) all of the evil spirits, without exception, are bound between the time of the preliminary and final judgments.

In several verses of Jubilees we noticed the attempt to create a better image of God by assigning some uncomplimentary tasks, previously attributed to God, to some of the evil spirits.

Then we saw in Jubilees the first example within Judaism of demonic activity being curtailed by verbal rebukes, a phenomenon which becomes very significant in the Gospels. In connection with this same narrative we noted that the chief of the demons uses non-demonic animals as his agents.

Jubilees is an important book for our study. We see in it many of the characteristics typical of the demonology of Jewish intertestamental

literature, both of earlier and later dates. And in Jubilees we see the first appearance of Satan as the leader of the evil spirits, although from this time onward we can expect to find him frequently portrayed as such. Prior to Jubilees the evil spirits had a leader, but Satan was not so depicted. And in later literature Satan is not always the name given to the evil leader, but gradually, as we will see, he develops into this position.

Baruch--Chapters 4:5-5:9

We will now turn to the Book of Baruch,¹ found in the Apocrypha. Of the many books attributed to Baruch, Jeremiah's secretary (scribe) and disciple, this is the only one which found its way into the Greek and Latin versions of the Bible. But there is no question that Baruch was not the author, and that the historical setting of the entire book also is erroneous.²

¹ For the general information about Baruch in this and the following paragraphs, and for additional bibliographies, consult: Pfeiffer, History of New Testament Times, pp. 409-425 [especially helpful], and "Literature and Religion of Apocrypha," pp. 411-412; Bentzen, Introduction O. T., Vol. II, pp. 231-232; Bevan, "Book of Baruch"; Charles, Religious Development Between Testaments, pp. 215-218; Filson, Which Books in Bible, pp. 77-78; Fuchs, "Baruch"; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, pp. 100-104; Kuhl, O. T., pp. 305-306; Marshall, "Book of Baruch"; Metzger, Introduction to Apocrypha, pp. 89-94; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 88-89, and Introduction to Books of Apocrypha, pp. 256-267; Rothstein, "Das Buch Baruch"; Swete, Introduction Old Testament Greek, pp. 274-276; Tedesche, "Baruch"; Thackeray, Septuagint and Jewish Worship, pp. 80-111; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 59-64; Toy, "Book of Baruch"; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 405-406; Whitehouse, "Book of Baruch,"

² There is some question whether chapter one of Baruch suggests the book was written five years after the beginning of the Exile in 597 B. C., or whether it was five years after 586 B. C., when a second group of people was taken from Jerusalem and the city was fairly well destroyed. Probably the latter was meant, and, if so, the author would have us believe that the book was written in about 581 B. C., in Babylonia, (con't. next page)

The critical problems surrounding this writing are numerous. The book can be divided into three sections (1:1-3:8, 3:9-4:4, 4:5-5:9), each written by a different person at a different time, and later combined into a single book. But since there are only two verses (4:7, 4:35) which concern us and both are in the third section, we will devote our attention primarily to it. In passing, however, we should mention that probably section one (1:1-3:8) was written around 150 B.C. and section two (3:9-4:4) not long before 100 B.C., and both in Palestinian Hebrew.¹

Section three (4:5-5:9) probably was written to counteract the despairing mood of section one, with much of the new inspiration coming from Second and Third Isaiah. It seems most likely that this section too was written in Palestinian Hebrew, about 100 B.C., though some critics contend that it was written in Greek, and some think it dates as early as 250 B.C., while others put it in the early years of the second century A.D.²

(footnote con't.) and by Baruch. Supposedly it was read to the captives and exiles in Babylon, after which they wept and sent offerings to Jerusalem. There is, however, no doubt that the book was definitely written much later than 581 B.C., and not in Babylonia but Palestine, and not by Baruch.

¹Some scholars would argue about the dates, original languages, and places of origin assigned to these two sections, but since these matters are not of importance for our study, we will not become involved. If the reader desires to pursue them, consult the listings in the next note.

²In near agreement with the position of this paper are: Charles, Religious Development Between Testaments, pp. 216-217, and an editor's note in Whitehouse's "Book of Baruch," pp. 573-574; Filson, Which Books in Bible, pp. 77-78; Kuhl, O. T., p. 306; Pfeiffer, "Literature of Apocrypha," p. 411, and History New Testament, pp. 421-423; Tedesche, "Baruch," pp. 262-263; Toy, "Book of Baruch," p. 557; Weiser, Introduction O. T., p. 406.

Bentzen (Introduction O. T., Vol. II, p. 232) says Hebrew (con't. next page)

The tone of this last section is completely different from that of the first two. The first section speaks about Israel's sin, her punishment, and her need for repentance. The second, a Wisdom poem,¹ stresses the need for Wisdom and knowledge, the lack of which accounts for Israel's woes. This third section, collected songs of lament and consolation, is supposed to comfort and bolster the spirit of the Jewish people. It tells them that God has not brought this calamity--the destruction of Jerusalem and deportation of most of its inhabitants²--upon them for destruction, but as a punishment for their sins. They are to have courage and hope, for if they once again seek God with zeal He will destroy their enemy, they will be able to return to Jerusalem, and the glory and blessings of the Holy One will be bestowed upon them.

In this third section we find two references to demons. There really is no help, either from the contexts of the verses or the general teaching of

(footnote con't.) was the original language, but dates it at the beginning of the Christian Era. Oesterley also says it was Hebrew, but dates it 70 A.D., or even later ("Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 88-89, and Introduction to Books of Apocrypha, pp. 264-265).

The following date Baruch at different times between 70 and 118 A. D., and contend that the original language was Greek: Bevan, "Book of Baruch," col. 493; Fuchs, "Baruch"; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, p. 100; Marshall, "Book of Baruch," p. 253; Swete, Introduction Old Testament Greek, pp. 275-276; Whitehouse, "Book of Baruch," pp. 572-573, 575-576.

Torrey (Apocryphal Literature, pp. 63-64), following Thackeray, agrees that it was Hebrew, but goes to the extreme of dating it "somewhere in the third century" B. C.

¹ For a description of Wisdom Literature, see above, n.1 , p. 141 .

² See the last half of n. 2, p. 183 (con't. on p. 184), for the general setting of this book.

the book as a whole, in the interpretation of these passages. They appear to contain no new demonic ideas, merely echoes from the Old Testament; there always is the possibility, however, that the writer meant more than is apparent to us today, but in these instances it seems unlikely.

The Hebrew people had been punished by God because they had failed to regard His statutes, but there is only one specific violation mentioned--idolatry. In 4:7 we are told that the people provoked God because they sacrificed "to demons [δαιμονίοις] and not to God." This clearly calls to mind some passages in the Old Testament in which we first saw the word demons [H--דַּיְמוֹן, G--δαιμόνια] used as a designation for false gods (Deuteronomy 32:17) and pagan idols (Psalm 106:3), referring not to active spirits of evil, but to illegitimate objects of Israelite worship.¹ Since then we have seen this same usage in other works.² There is no reason to doubt that this same meaning was intended here in Baruch 4:7, and it could quite possibly refer to the period (168-165 B.C.) of Jewish persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, when many Jews forsook their faith to save their lives.

The second mention of demons is found in 4:35, which described the destiny of the nation which afflicted Jerusalem; it would be swept by fire, become desolate, and for a long time be inhabited by demons (ἐπὶ δαιμονίων). At first glance it may seem as if this verse reflects influence from the Septuagint renderings of Isaiah 13:21 and 34:14, where δαιμόνιον is used to designate demons (independent evil spirits) which, along with various types

¹See Chap. I of this study, pp. 16-19, and Chap. II, pp. 77-78.

²For example, 1 En. 19:1 (p. 153 above); Jub. 1:11 and 22:17 (pp. 158-159 above).

of animals, are the only creatures inhabiting certain desolate regions. It would be easy to assume this was the same meaning intended for δαιμόνιον in Baruch 4:35. But we cannot say this because the Greek translation of Isaiah misinterprets and changes the meaning of some parts of the initial Hebrew. In the original Hebrew of Isaiah 13:21 and 34:14, there are no references whatsoever to evil spirits; all the creatures mentioned in these two verses, as the only inhabitants of certain areas, are portrayed as ordinary animals, and not one as a demon.¹ Returning now to the writer of Baruch, we have absolutely no idea whether he intended 4:35 to reflect the Hebrew or Greek interpretation of Isaiah 13:21 and 34:14.

It is questionable whether the original author of Baruch, writing in Palestine about 100 B.C., would yet have come across a Greek copy of Isaiah, which originated in Egypt. This then would favor the idea that he was not yet acquainted with the Septuagint interpretation of Isaiah and, therefore, that in 4:35 he was referring to ordinary animals which typically dwelt in desolate areas, not to real demons. Yet we cannot be dogmatic on this point because we do not know what was the demonic thought prevalent in Palestine about 100 B.C., nor do we know the effect it might have had on the author.

Of course we today are hindered by not having the Hebrew text of Baruch and, thereby, not knowing exactly what Hebrew word in 4:35 was translated into Greek as δαιμόνιον. Even if the Greek of 4:35 is an extremely

¹

For the exegesis of both the Hebrew and Greek versions of Is. 13:21 and 34:14, see this study Chap. I, pp. 27 - 35 (for Hebrew), and Chap. II, pp. 78-79 (for Greek).

accurate rendering of the original Hebrew, it still is not possible to reconstruct the exact Hebrew from the Greek, especially in view of the fact that δαιμόνιον itself had several different possible meanings and was used to translate several different Hebrew words.¹ Unless we find a Hebrew copy of this verse we cannot be sure of its original meaning.

But in view of what we do know, the following seems a likely, though not certain, explanation. The original author of Baruch 4:35, writing in Hebrew and relying rather heavily on the thought of certain parts of the Hebrew Isaiah, probably also accepted and meant to imply the Hebrew sentiment of 13:21 and 34:14. Hence he would have interpreted the animal inhabitants of desolate areas as real animals, not as demons, and, therefore, δαιμόνιον in 4:35 probably should refer to animals, not to evil spirits. The Greek translator of the Hebrew Baruch, however, came along later, and, no doubt, he not only was well acquainted with, but also partially influenced by, the Septuagint. He probably interpreted Baruch by Septuagint standards and used δαιμόνιον in 4:35 either (1) because he sincerely believed the writer meant to imply evil spirits in the original of this verse (this would have been a natural conclusion, considering his knowledge of the Septuagint), or, and just as likely, (2) because δαιμόνιον had become an idiomatic expression for the particular Hebrew word he was translating and would have been considered a proper rendition, and, in this case, he probably would have given little thought to the implications.

¹ For the different Greek meanings δαιμόνιον had at that time, and for the various Hebrew words it has represented, see Chap. II of this study, pp. 75-77. For the difficulty of translating from Hebrew to Greek, see above, pp. 70-75.

So we have only two verses in Baruch which refer to demons. We cannot be at all certain about the meaning of 4:35 because different interpretations are given to Isaiah 13:21 and 34:14 in the Hebrew and Greek texts. We do not have this problem with 4:7 because the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament verses upon which it was based are identical in meaning. Nevertheless even here we cannot be sure of the meaning of δαιμόνιον. There is no internal evidence to indicate what kind of a moral constitution was assigned these beings referred to as "demons" by the writer of Baruch. Probably he did not think of them as active evil spirits, but we cannot be certain.

So here in this book which is of Palestinian origin, we may find infiltrated some Hellenistic-Alexandrian demonic ideas; this especially is realized when we bear in mind that the most ancient extant texts of Baruch are Greek and not the original Hebrew.

Testament of Job

Sometime between 100 and 75 B.C. the Pseudepigraphic Testament of Job was written in Palestine.¹ Although its original language was Aramaic, it is extant only in a Greek translation, made soon after its original composition. The Greek text of this forgotten book came to light in 1833 when it was published by Angelo Mai in Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio.² Kaufmann Kohler

¹ For the information in these paragraphs about the Testament of Job, and for additional bibliographies, consult: James, Apocrypha Anecdota, pp. lxxii-cii, 104-137; Kohler, "Testament of Job," and "Testament of Job. An Essene Midrash on Book of Job"; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 70-72, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," p. 425; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 140-145.

² See Vol. VII, pp. 180-191.

republished and translated Mai's text in 1897, and this translation remains the best English version available today. In that same year M. R. James came out with another English version based on a text from Paris. Although James' work as a translator is to be commended, the text he used is generally considered to be inferior to the Mai text. Accordingly, Mai's Greek text and Kohler's English translation will be used jointly as the basis for our study. Although there are numerous differences in the content of the Mai text and the Greek text used by James, actually the demonic doctrines of the two are very similar.

In the Mai text the book has a double title, the first probably the older: "Testament of Job the Blameless, the Conqueror in Many Contests, the Sainted," and "The Book of Job Called Jobab, and His Life, and the Transcript of His Testament." This work can be classified as a Midrash or Haggadic commentary on the canonical book of Job, and it takes the form of a legendary biography. Although it is a delightful narrative, we cannot take the time to look at it in its entirety, and only those verses will be examined which will help throw light on the demonic thought of this writer.

As the story opens, Job is at the point of death and has called together his ten children (by his second wife, Dinah) for his farewell address. Most of the book takes the form of this address, which consists of a review of his life--written as a narrative--as well as the final advice he offers to his family.

As a young man Job had often observed an idol, located near his home, which many people worshiped, and he wondered if it was the true God. In a

dream one night, an archangel told him it was not God, but "the power and work of the Seducer (τοῦ διαβόλου) by which he beguiles people." Job desired to destroy this idol "of Satan" (τοῦ εἰτανᾶ), and asked permission to do so from the archangels. They gave him this permission, but only after they warned him that Satan would wage war with him--this evil creature would turn loose all his malice, cause severe plagues, take all his wealth, slay his children, and inflict many evils. At the same time the archangels assured Job that he would, in the end, overcome Satan.

In chapter two Job took fifty slaves and destroyed the idol. He then went home and left orders that he was not to be disturbed under any circumstances, and if anyone came to see him they should be told he was busy with "urgent affairs." Satan, disguised as a beggar, went to Job's house seeking to see him. He fooled the doorkeeper, but Job knew it was Satan and merely repeated his earlier command, so the beggar (Satan) was turned away.

Having failed, Satan--now described as "the evil one" (ὁ πονηρός)--took another disguise. This time he had an old worn-out basket on his shoulder, and asked the doorkeeper for some bread. This servant, in turn, relayed the message to Job, but Job said to give him some burned bread. The maid felt ashamed to give burned bread, so she gave the disguised Satan some good bread. Satan, being here portrayed as having supernatural knowledge, knew what Job had said and told the maid she was a "bad servant" for not obeying her master.

Satan, defeated by Job a second time, received permission from God to

have power over all of Job's possessions, even his family. In chapter four¹ Satan killed Job's herd; caused his house to fall on his children, killing them; and disguised himself as the King of Persia, inciting the masses against Job so all his remaining goods were destroyed. Satan had reduced Job to utter poverty.

Yet Job remained faithful, so in chapter five Satan, after getting permission from God to inflict bodily harm on his victim, came in the form of a great hurricane and threw Job on the ground, after which he inflicted on Job a great plague, and his body became infested by worms. Job sat helplessly on a dunghill for seven years and his first wife, Sitidos, worked as a water-carrier to earn enough money to buy bread for herself and him. Finally when she was no longer permitted to take bread to Job and had no money, Satan, disguised as a bread-seller, offered her three loaves for the hair on her head. Out of desperation and compassion for Job she consented.

In chapter six Sitidos, influenced by Satan, finally lost her patience and called upon Job to curse God and die. Job sternly rebuked her, pointing out that Satan had confounded her thoughts. He then challenged Satan saying, "Only a coward fights with frail woman; come forth and wage war with me!" Satan broke into tears and admitted defeat.

The only other part of the story to have any bearing on our study is chapter ten. A person named Elihu spoke "hard words" about Job because he (Elihu) was "imbued with the Spirit of Satan." Then Elihu--"the evil one, the son of darkness, the lover of the Serpent"--was cast into the underworld.

¹Chapter three just tells about Job's goodness and generosity.

Before evaluating the significance of this book, the final outcome of the story probably should be mentioned. After learning that her children had been taken up to their Master in heaven, Sitidos died in peace. Later Job's wealth was restored, he married a second wife (Dinah), and had ten more children by her.

The significance of the Testament of Job for our study of demonology cannot be overstressed. We saw the earliest stages in the development of the Jewish doctrine of Satan in the Old Testament, where Satan is depicted as an over-anxious accuser in the court of God.¹ It was not until Jubilees that Satan appeared again, but his role in that book is a little ambiguous; he is mentioned five times, four as a symbol for evil times, and once as a synonym for Mastema, the ruler of the evil spirits.² Then Satan makes his next appearance here in the Testament of Job, where we find, to the best of my knowledge, the most advanced and systematic Satanic doctrine within Judaism prior to 75 B.C. Yet in this book Satan is depicted, as we would expect, along lines similar, but greatly expanded, to those in the canonical book of Job, where Satan himself carries out all the evil tasks, as opposed to Jubilees, where he works through a legion of evil-spirit helpers.³

How does the writer of the Testament of Job characterize Satan? He is pictured as a very active wicked spirit, but he is never able to bring evil to bear on the lives of people without the permission of God. He apparently

¹ See above, pp. 51 -60.

² See above, pp. 168 -169.

³ We will see the expansion and development of this Jubilean concept in other works.

is an accuser in the court of God, but he also beguiles and seduces people into committing a multitude of sins, and he is responsible for at least some forms of idol worship. He is able to cause the destruction of physical property, take animal and human life, and inflict bodily disease. He has supernatural knowledge, is able to speak, and can appear in the form of a person, animal,¹ or element of nature (wind). He is able to incite people against one another so that they fight, both physically and with words. In the case of evil speech, the phenomenon of demon possession is vaguely implied,² for the people speak in such a manner because they are "imbued with the Spirit of Satan." Yet to balance out the picture, Satan is defeated by one who remains faithful to God, and those relying on Satan are condemned to the underworld.

Just above we made the claim that the writer of the Testament of Job pictures Satan as appearing in the form of an animal. Although this writer did not specifically say this, he implies as much in chapter ten when Elihu, "imbued with the Spirit of Satan," is called "the lover of the Serpent." When discussing Ecclesiasticus we pointed to the passage which opened the way for the later identification of Satan with the serpent in the Garden of Eden.³ Again in this passage in the Testament of Job the identification is not precisely made, but it takes us one step closer to the time that it will be.

We should not assume that the ideas we have seen here in the Testament

¹ See the next paragraph.

² For demon possession, see below, pp. 205 -206.

³ See above, pp. 147 -149, esp. p. 149.

of Job were the only doctrine of Satan extant in Judaism at that time. We will soon see that there was another well organized, but entirely different, doctrine of Satan in 1 Enoch chapters 37-71, written in Palestine about the same time as the Testament of Job, as well as some other original contributions to demonology in the Egyptian Apocryphal Book of Wisdom, also written about the same time. In fact, it will soon become apparent that from the time of Jubilees on there was, within the scholarly circles of Judaism, a considerable increase, as well as diversity, of thought concerning Satan.

Before leaving the Testament of Job a few comments should be made from the standpoint of vocabulary. We see three Greek words used for Satan in this work: **ὁ διάβολος** (the Devil or Seducer); **Σατανᾶς** (Satan); **ὁ πονηρός** (the evil one). The use of the first two has already been noted in several earlier writings, but here in the Testament of Job is the first time we have seen the third one used as a synonym for Satan. We have, of course, seen **πονηρός** used frequently in earlier writings as an ordinary adjective with other words to designate demons--for example, "evil" spirits, and "evil" demons.¹ But the Testament of Job is the first time we have seen it used in the singular with the definite article to specify Satan--**ὁ πονηρός**, the evil one. In fact, this is the only instance, at least of which I am aware, in all pre-Christian Jewish literature that **πονηρός** is used as a substantive to refer to Satan. However, this usage is found in several

¹See above, pp. 154, 159.

passages of the New Testament.¹

1 Enoch--Chapters 91-104 and 37-71

We now return to some more chapters of 1 Enoch--91-104 and 37-71. We have already discussed such critical problems as date, authorship, original language, etc.,² so now we will concentrate on the study of the demonic teachings of these chapters. Although both sections were written sometime between 100 and 50 B.C., chapters 91-104 were written before 37-71, so they will be considered in that order.

In 91-104³ there are only three verses of importance, and they merely echo themes we have come across in earlier writings, but two verses

¹ When the substantive of *πονηρός* is used in the masculine it refers to "the evil one," i.e., Satan. When, on the other hand, *πονηρός* is used as a neuter substantive, it apparently connotes the general and impersonal evil which exists in the world, i.e., "the evil," in an abstract sense. *Πονηρός* is definitely used as a masculine substantive in several New Testament passages: Matt. 13:19, John 17:15, Eph. 6:16, 1 John 1:13-14, 3:12, 5:18-19; and it probably is so used in Matt. 5:37, 6:13, 13:38, 2 Thess. 3:3, but we cannot be positive. In the last four passages the genitive case is used, *τοῦ πονηροῦ*, and, since in the genitive the masculine and neuter are identical, there is no visible distinction between the two. Further, in these verses the contexts give us little help. Therefore, we cannot be sure whether these writers were using *τοῦ πονηροῦ* as a neuter or masculine substantive, and, therefore, we cannot be sure whether they were referring specifically to Satan, or merely to the impersonal element of evil in the world. But the arguments, both in quality and quantity, seem to favor the masculine usage in all of these questionable verses, thus making them refer to "the evil one," i.e., Satan. Besides the various commentaries and lexicons, consult Arndt and Gingrich, *Lexicon*, p. 698, where there is a short list of the positions some of the outstanding scholars have taken on this issue.

² See above, pp. 105 - 111 .

³ In referring to chapters 91-104, we are, of course, omitting the Apocalypse of Weeks (93:1-10 and 91:12-17), which is of an earlier date and has already been discussed above on pp. 109, 149-150.

contradict each other, and one of the two does not coincide with earlier portions of 1 Enoch.

One verse offers no difficulty. In 99:7 the "demons" and "impure spirits" are pictured as false objects of worship, equivalent to "all kinds of idols"--images of gold, silver, wood, stone, and clay--which are absolutely worthless and from which the worshipers get "no manner of help." We have seen this theme often, starting with the Old Testament.¹

In 98:4 we read that "sin has not been sent upon the earth, but man of himself has created it." In 100:4, on the other hand, we are told that "all those who brought down sin"--that is, the evil watchers--will be punished. Hence, in 98:4 sin is attributed to man and in 100:4 to the fallen angels. But we should not be too surprised to find contradictory ideas, even in verses written by the same person. We have already called attention to the fact that the problem of the origin of sin has caused earlier writers considerable difficulty, and the writer of 1 Enoch 91-104 was not the first to contradict himself. Ben Sira was not really clear on the matter; in some verses of Ecclesiasticus man is held accountable for his sin, while in others God is indirectly to blame.² In earlier parts of 1 Enoch the evil angels bring sin to earth, although man is responsible for going astray.³ In Jubilees 7:21 the watchers started sin, but in Jubilees chapter three we find the traditional story of the fall of Adam and Eve, which implies the origin

¹See above, pp. 16-19, 77-78, 153-154, 158-159, 186.

²See above, pp. 144-146.

³See above, pp. 115-116, 126-127.

of sin.¹ So the contradiction of 1 Enoch 98:4 and 100:4 offers nothing new.²

As we examine chapters 37-71, the Similitudes, we find a unique demonology, different from anything we have come across so far and, in fact, different from anything we will see later. But before looking at this dissimilar doctrine, it should be mentioned that we also find here several familiar themes, which have appeared in some earlier writings, especially other sections of 1 Enoch: the fallen angel narrative is presupposed; Azazel, not Semjaza, is portrayed as the leader of the sinful watchers, and they are responsible for revealing the heavenly secrets and leading astray the righteous people on earth; and there is much discussion about the punishment of the wicked people and angels, their preliminary and final judgments, the deep valleys into which they will be cast, and the burning fires of torture.

There is one other significant theme seen in other writings, though not in other chapters of 1 Enoch. Verse 69:11a of 1 Enoch reads:

For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them.

According to this verse, in the beginning man was created immortal and without sin, and God intended he should remain righteous. The original immortality of man also is insinuated in Ecclesiasticus 25:24, discussed earlier,³ and is stated very precisely in Wisdom 2:23, an Egyptian Apocryphal

¹See above, pp. 172-173.

²Also see above, pp. 178-180, where this matter is discussed in more detail.

³See above, pp. 147-149. But contrast Ecclesiasticus (con't. next page)

book we will examine later,¹ which was written about the same time as the Similitudes. In the second part of verse 69:11 of 1 Enoch, we are told that man lost his immortality because the heavenly secrets were revealed to him by evil spirits; in Ecclesiasticus 25:24, on the contrary, death came as a result of Eve's sin, and in Wisdom 2:24 it entered the world through the Devil's envy.

Let us now direct attention to the unusual doctrine of Satan found only in these chapters of 1 Enoch. Satan, a supernatural being, is the ruler of an evil kingdom (53:3). This kingdom is made up of many spiritual beings, sometimes referred to as "the satans" (40:7) and other times as "the angels of punishment" (53:3-5, 54:2-5, 56:1-4, 62:11, 63:1). These evil spirits should not be confused with the fallen angels and/or demons. On the one hand there are the watchers which had giant sons by earthly women, from which came the demons; on the other hand there are the satans, under the direction and leadership of Satan. There are two main reasons why there can be no question that, according to the writer of 1 Enoch 37-71, these two groups of evil beings are not the same. First, the kingdom of Satan existed before the fall of the evil angels, because the sin of the latter was, according to the Similitudes, that of becoming subject to Satan (54:6). Secondly, "the angels of punishment" are the spiritual beings assigned the task of carrying out the preliminary punishment of Azazel, the other wicked

(footnote con't.) 17:1-2 (above, p.146), where it is suggested that God never intended man to live forever, but created him mortal in the beginning.

¹See below, pp. 214 -225.

angels, and the demons (54:4-5, 56:1-4).

The satans have many different tasks assigned to them. At one time they had been heavenly accusers of earthly people, but they no longer had access to heaven; apparently they had become so evil that they no longer were allowed in the sacred regions of God's kingdom (40:7). This reminds us of the doctrine of Satan in the Old Testament, where, in Job and Zechariah, "the Satan" is an accuser in God's court, but finally becomes untrustworthy and, in Zechariah, is reprimanded.¹

The satans also are those beings which must bring the preliminary punishment and affliction to bear on evil creatures, both humans and spirits.² In this role they go by the name of "the angels of punishment," but still they work under Satan. In this capacity as "punishers," Satan and his evil spirits appear to be carrying out divine judgments, for it is God who actually passes sentence on the unrighteous. So in these verses (53:3-5, 54:2-5, 56:1-4, 62:11, 63:1) the evil kingdom of spirits is portrayed as being opposed to God and yet as being used by God for the fulfillment of unpleasant but necessary tasks. This may be an effort, either conscious or subconscious, to put God in a better light.³

The satans also are guilty of leading people and other spirits into unrighteousness. In 69:2-3 there is a list of the fallen angels which, as

¹See Chap. I of this study, pp. 51 - 60.

²Four archangels inflict the final punishment of the fallen angels (54:6), but we are never told who is responsible for the final treatment of sinful humans.

³See above, pp. 175-176.

pointed out earlier,¹ probably does not belong in this chapter. But in 69:4-14 there is an important list that does belong in this chapter; it contains the names and functions of the satans. For our purposes the names of the satans are insignificant, but the various sinful undertakings of these spiritual creatures are important: they gave the watchers evil counsel so they came down to earth and sinned with women (69:4-5); they led Eve astray (69:6); they showed people how to wage war (69:6), taught them eternal secrets (69:8), revealed the art of writing (69:9), and divulged to them much other mysterious knowledge (69:12).

In these chapters, then, we find an evil kingdom in existence before the fall of the angels, with Satan as its leader. The satans, working under Satan, appear to have a threefold task: (1) to act as accusers, (2) to punish the condemned, (3) to lead astray the righteous. Directly or indirectly all the sin of the world can be traced back to Satan.

With this account of the demonology of the Similitudes, we end our discussion of 1 Enoch. It should not be necessary to point out how very important the various parts of this writing are for the understanding of the development of demonology during the intertestamental period.

Martyrdom of Isaiah

There are some passages of interest for the student of demonology in the Martyrdom of Isaiah, a Pseudepigraphic work, written sometime during the last quarter of the first century B.C. in Aramaic or Hebrew by

¹See above, p. 122.

a Palestinian Jew.¹ Although originally it was a distinct piece of literature, it now exists only as a part--rather difficult to distinguish--of a larger and later composite work.

In the latter part of the second or in the third century A.D., a Christian compiled and edited three separate writings into one--the book we now call the Ascension of Isaiah. The three component parts of this are: (1) the Martyrdom of Isaiah (1:1-2a, 6b-13a; 2:1-8; 2:10-3:12; 5:1b-14 of Ascension of Isaiah). (2) the Testament of Hezekiah (3:13b-4:18); and (3) the Vision of Isaiah (6:1-11:40). Several verses obviously are later editorial additions: 1:2b-6a, 13b; 2:9; 3:13a; 4:1a; 4:19-5:1a, 15-16; 11:41-43. Only the Martyrdom of Isaiah, dating from the closing years of the pre-Christian era, is Jewish in origin. The Testament of Hezekiah, the Vision of Isaiah, the editorial comments, and the finished product--the Ascension of Isaiah--are all the work of Christian writers and, necessarily, are later in date.²

¹ For the general information in the following paragraphs about the Martyrdom of Isaiah, and for additional bibliographies, consult: Beer, "Das Martyrium Jesajae"; Burch, "Literary Unity of Isaiae"; Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 45-48, 72; Charles, Ascension of Isaiah, and "Martyrdom of Isaiah"; Deane, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 236-275; Fox, "Ascension of Isaiah"; James, Lost Apocrypha, pp. 81-85; Littmann, "Ascension of Isaiah"; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," p. 95; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 73-74, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 423-424; Rist, "Isaiah, Ascension of"; Robinson, "Ascension of Isaiah"; Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 108-111; Schürer, Jewish People, Vol. III, pp. 141-146; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 133-135; Weiser, Introduction O. T., 418-420.

² Some scholars have argued that the entire Ascension of Isaiah, including the Martyrdom of Isaiah, is Christian in origin; for example, see: Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 45-48, 72; Burch, "Literary Unity of Ascension"; and Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 133-135. James (Lost Apocrypha, pp. 81-84) tends to side with these three.

Since we are attempting to evaluate only the Jewish demonic doctrines which existed prior to the time of Jesus and which might have had some influence on his thought, we will restrict ourselves to a study of only the pre-Christian sections of this composite work, which are the original portions of the Martyrdom of Isaiah, that is, the following verses of the current edition of the Ascension of Isaiah: 1:1-2a, 6b-13a; 2:1-8; 2:10-3:12; 5:1-15.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah is, to be very brief, centered around the legend relating that Manasseh--the new king of Judah following the death of his father, Hezekiah--turned against God and condemned Isaiah to death; the latter hid in a tree, but when he was discovered, Manasseh sawed him in two. The story itself is not important for our purposes. The real significance of this book is its portrayal of the demonic forces. It depicts an immaterial being as the leader of the evil kingdom, which is composed of many lesser spirits, all of which are dedicated to the corruption of mankind and the destruction of God's kingdom.

In this book the leader of the demonic forces goes by any one of several different names, each of which refers to the one, same, evil spirit: Beliar (1:8, 9; 2:4; 3:11; 5:1); angel of lawlessness (2:4); ruler of this world (2:4); Matanbuchus¹ (2:4) and Mechembechus (5:3); and the proper name Satan (only twice--2:2, 7). Beliar is used most often, but Beliar and Satan are synonymous. The many lesser spirits which do much of the work

¹It has been conjectured that "Matanbuchus" is derived from מַתָּן בְּחִיָּה, "worthless gift." See Charles, Ascension of Isaiah, p. 11.

of Satan are referred to as "his angels and his powers" (2:2), but Sammael (1:8, 11; 2:1) and Balchira (2:5; 3:1, 3, 6, 12; 5:2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 12) are the specific names of two of them; sometimes these two appear as human beings, other times more as spirits. They are the only ones of the lesser evil spirits with individual names.

We should pause to take note of verse 2:4, in which the demonic leader is referred to in two different ways: as "the angel of lawlessness" and "the ruler of this world." The first designation is interesting to compare with Paul's use of ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας (the man of lawlessness) in 2 Thessalonians 2:3. Here in Thessalonians is the earliest time this phrase is used in any known literature, and there has never been a satisfactory interpretation of Paul's intended meaning. It seems most likely that he was referring to some kind of a semi-human demonic figure, possibly the embodiment of Satan, which was to oppose Christ, but this subject is a thesis in itself.

The second descriptive title in verse 2:4--the ruler of this world--is also used of Satan in the New Testament, but only in John's Gospel.¹ Possibly Paul is referring to Satan in Ephesians 2:2 when he speaks about τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ αἴρος (the ruler of the power of the air), in 2 Corinthians 4:4 where he mentions ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος (the God of this age), and to demons in 1 Corinthians 2:6-8 where he refers to the οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου (the rulers of this age).² Satan also

¹12:31, 14:30, 16:11

²It is questionable whether, in 1 Cor. 2:6-8, Paul is referring to evil spirits or earthly leaders. Compare Eph. 6:12, where he probably is referring to earthly leaders, not demons.

is referred to as ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων (the ruler of the demons) in the Synoptic Gospels.¹ All of these passages are somewhat similar.

Let us be more specific now about the methods and achievements of Satan and his agents. Sammael leads Manasseh astray, causing him to forsake God and turn to Beliar (1:8, 11), the result being that the people of Jerusalem and Bethlehem abandon the true faith (1:9; 2:4-8, 10), and there follows a great increase in lawlessness (2:4, 8), witchcraft (2:5), idolatry (2:7), fornication (2:5), and persecution of the righteous (2:5).

The way in which these evil spirits were able to turn Manasseh away from God is very interesting. Both Sammael (2:1) and Beliar (1:9; 3:11; 5:1) are portrayed as actually taking up their abode within Manasseh, dwelling in his heart, controlling his senses, and causing him to think, say, and do things out of keeping with his usual behavior. Beliar also dwelt in the hearts of the princes of Judah and Benjamin (3:11). Hence we have here our first real example of demon or spirit possession²--a phenomenon of major importance in the Gospels.

We have already seen many examples of people being led astray by evil spirits, but in such cases they were in full grasp of their senses and were just unable to withstand the enticement of Satan. Manasseh (or anyone portrayed as possessed by an evil spirit), on the other hand, was no

¹Matt. 9:34, 12:24; Mk. 3:22; Lk. 11:15.

²The passage is obscure and we cannot be certain, but I doubt if the case of Elihu, in chapter ten of the Testament of Job (see above pp. 192, 194), can be classified as "absolute" demon possession. That writer, however, seems to allude vaguely to this phenomenon.

longer in control of his senses, but was possessed by an evil spirit which, to some degree, controlled the decisions he made. It is true that a person possessed by a demon, or so depicted, must be held responsible for giving himself over to that spirit in the first place, but once the spirit gets control of the victim, the demon, not the person, dictates, at least to some degree, what is thought, said, and done.

It is important at this stage of our study to distinguish between the person who decides on his own accord to reject God and align himself with the demonic kingdom, and one who has already given himself over to evil spirits to such a degree that they now control his actions and cause him to go astray. The first is a case of yielding to temptation, the second of being possessed by a demon. Understanding the distinction between the two is a prerequisite for comprehending the demonology of the Gospels.

Manasseh, being possessed by evil spirits, not only led Israel astray, but he killed Isaiah (5:1), or, perhaps had someone kill him (5:11-12).¹ When Isaiah was being sawed in two by a wooden saw, Balchira, one of Satan's helpers playing the part of a false prophet, tempted Isaiah to reject God with the promise that his life would be spared (5:8). Isaiah rebuffed the suggestion and implied that Satan and all his helpers would be cursed and damned (5:9). So once again Satan was defeated by one who, regarding not his personal welfare, remained faithful to God.

¹We cannot be sure whether Manasseh did the actual sawing, or whether he had someone else do it. The author is not clear on this point.

Assumption of Moses

Another Pseudepigraphic Apocalyptic work which should be considered is the Assumption of Moses.¹ It was written by a Palestinian Jew during the early years of Jesus' life, sometime between about 5 and 20 A.D., in Aramaic or Hebrew, probably the prior. This writing is now extant only in a single very ancient and very corrupt Latin manuscript, which was a literal translation of a now lost Greek text. The Greek version, which also contained many errors, was a translation of the original Semitic text, which likewise is missing. Our English version, being a translation of the faulty Latin manuscript, contains many bewildering sentences which scholars are constantly trying to restore to the original.

In fact, several lines are missing in the opening chapter of the Latin text, and it ends abruptly in the middle of verse 12:13. There is no way of knowing how much of the book is missing, but we can be sure that the lost ending contained some significant material, because such a title--the Assumption of Moses--requires some type of narrative about Moses' ascent into heaven, a story missing in the surviving part of the book.

The book takes the form of Moses' last speech to Joshua before

¹For the information in this paper concerning the Assumption of Moses, and for additional bibliographies, see: Burkitt, "Assumption of Moses," and Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 37-40; Bittenwieser, "Apocalyptic Literature," pp. 679-680; Charles, Assumption of Moses, and "Assumption of Moses"; Clemen, "Die Himmelfahrt Moses"; Deane, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 95-130; Ferrar, Assumption of Moses; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," p. 93; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 79-80, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 430-431; Rist, "Moses, Assumption of"; Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 91-95; Schürer, Jewish People, Vol. III, pp. 73-83; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 114-116; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 431-433.

he (Moses) was taken up to Mount Pisgah to ascend into heaven, and it is written as a prophetic history of Israel. There is only one verse in the existing text which pertains to demonology, 10:1:

And then His [God's] kingdom will appear
throughout all His creation,
And then Satan will be no more,
And sorrow will depart with him.¹

In this particular verse the use of Satan is similar to the use of the word in four verses of Jubilees--23:29, 40:9, 46:2, 50:5--as a symbol of an evil era in history which will be replaced by God's righteous kingdom.²

It can be assumed, by this verse, that the author of the Assumption of Moses thought of Satan as an evil spirit, which was actively and effectively opposing the kingdom of God, and was responsible, at least partially, for affliction and sorrow throughout God's creation. But this writer also pictured Satan as being destined for absolute defeat and extinction at a time in the future, when God's kingdom would be established throughout all His creation.

This one verse, 10:1, contains the only reference to Satan in the extant text of the Assumption of Moses, but there is good reason for believing that there were some more references to Satan in the lost ending of the book. Origen (De Principiis, Book III, Chapter 2, section 1) tells us that the legend referred to in the book of Jude verse 9, of the New Testament, regarding a dispute between the archangel Michael and Satan about the body of Moses, was taken from a passage in the Assumption. Since such a passage does not

¹Quoted from Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, edited by Charles, Vol. II.

²For these verses in Jubilees, see above, p. 169.

occur in the extant portions of the Assumption, and since it is safe to suppose that the lost ending must have contained a narrative concerning the final destiny of Moses, it also is logical to conclude that if any such reference to a dispute between Michael and Satan did exist, it existed in the lost chapters.

Charles, by studying Jude and some Patristic references, attempts to reconstruct the original order of this dispute between Michael and Satan.¹ He suggests that the events, as originally recorded in the Assumption of Moses, were as follows: (1) Michael was commissioned by God to bury Moses; (2) Satan opposed the burial on two grounds: that (a) he (Satan) was lord of the material universe and could, therefore, claim the body of Moses, and (b) Moses was a murderer, having slain an Egyptian; (3) Michael rebutted Satan's accusations and countercharged Satan with having instigated the serpent to tempt Eve;² and (4) all opposition having been overcome, the assumption took place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb. It should be kept in mind that this reconstruction by Charles is only a possibility, and we have no way of knowing whether it is or is not accurate. All we can say is that there was probably recorded in the lost ending some type of argument between Michael and Satan.

Lives of the Prophets

There is one remaining Palestinian Pseudepigraphic book which

¹See Charles, Assumption of Moses, pp. 105-110, and "Assumption of Moses," p. 408.

²Origen (De Principiis, Book III, chap. 2, sect. 1) also suggests that Satan, in the Assumption of Moses, influenced the serpent which tempted Eve.

should be examined--the Lives of the Prophets.¹ It probably was written sometime during the opening thirty years of the first century A.D., and although it is seldom mentioned in modern times, it once was very popular. This work could be described as a "catalogue of the Hebrew prophets designed especially to tell the origin of each of their number, where he was born, to what tribe or people he belonged, and in what place he was buried."² The Lives of the Prophets was never meant to be a series of bibliographies, "but rather a collection of extra-Biblical Jewish traditions concerning . . . these famous men. . . . Perfect familiarity with the Bible is taken for granted, and there is no intention of repeating what has already been recorded,"³ but of supplementing it. This supplementary material was current in the Jewish popular legends of the day.

Although originally the Lives of the Prophets seems to have been written in Hebrew, it now is preserved in a Greek text extant in various recensions, as well as in Syriac, Latin, and Ethiopic versions, these last three based on the Greek. As far as we know there are no copies of the Hebrew text still in existence. The best English translations of the Greek and Syriac are by C. C. Torrey and I. H. Hall respectively. Our study will

¹The full title of this book is: "The Names of the Prophets, and whence they were, where they died, and how and where they were buried." The following books and articles should be consulted for information and bibliographies about this work: Torrey, The Lives of the Prophets, and Apocryphal Literature, pp. 135-140; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 66-67, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," p. 425; Hall, "Lives of the Prophets," and "Hagiologic Manuscript," esp. pp. 27-28, 29-39.

²Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, p. 135.

³Torrey, Lives of Prophets, p. 3.

be based on Torrey's English version, used in conjunction with the Greek texts he utilized. The Syriac text used by Hall, which was later in date, appears to have some demonic passages deleted, and also several Christian glosses can be detected.

The book contains legendary information about the four major prophets,¹ the twelve minor ones,² and about several other characters of the Bible and Jewish folklore.³ Except for the Jeremiah chapter, the entire book is positively Palestinian. The Jeremiah section was either told or written by an Egyptian residing or visiting in Palestine and represents the current folk-tradition of Egypt, nevertheless it was used in the initial version of the Lives of the Prophets.

Of interest to us are some references to demonology in the sections about Daniel, Habakkuk, Nathan, and Jeremiah. In the chapter pertaining to Daniel, verse 7 reads:⁴

It is the manner of tyrants, that in their youth they come under the yoke of Satan [Βελίαρ];⁵ in their later years they become wild beasts, snatching, destroying, smiting, and slaying.

Beliar is here the name used for the supreme evil being, and this evil spirit begins to corrupt people when they are still very young, so, by the time they

¹Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.

²Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi.

³Nathan, Ahijah the Shilomite (1 K. chap. 14), Joad (prophet of 1 K. 13:1-10), Azariah the son of Oded (2 Chron. 15:1-15), Zechariah the son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. 24:20-22), Elijah, and Elisha.

⁴All quotations from this work are according to Torrey's translation.

⁵The Greek Βελίαρ should be translated into English as Beliar, not Satan.

are adults, they have become "tyrants" who act like "wild beasts"¹ and do all manner of wickedness and violence. Hence, Beliar is a seducer which leads people astray, making them abnormally obnoxious and dangerous.

In verse 21 of the same section, Beliar is pictured as being responsible for "a slaughter brought . . . on all the earth." So in the Daniel portion of this book, Beliar is depicted not only as an evil spirit which leads people astray, but one which is actively engaged in causing destruction throughout God's creation.

In verse 14 of the Habakkuk chapter, we learn that in the end the presence of the Lord will be made known, and light will be given "to those who are pursued by the Serpent [ὄφεις] in darkness as in the beginning." This obviously is a reference to the narrative about Adam, Eve, and the serpent, and the serpent here in this Habakkuk passage may or may not refer to Satan. As we have already noted the serpent of Eden has not yet been positively identified with Satan in the Palestinian literature we have examined, though we have seen a gradual move in that direction.² However, as we will soon see, such an identification had already been made in the Egyptian Book of Wisdom.³ It is quite possible that here in the Lives of

¹The selection of the term "wild beasts" is interesting. Could it be that this use in connection with Beliar's corruptive activity is an allusion to the ancient Semitic belief, noted in Chap. I of this study (pp. 24-25), which equated wild beasts and evil spirits? The more likely explanation is that "wild beasts" was just a very appropriate title for those people who had become, under the influence of Satan, violent tyrants.

²See above, pp. 147-149, 194.

³See below, p. 218.

the Prophets the serpent and Satan are synonymous, but due to the ambiguous nature of this particular verse there is no way of being sure. If such an identification is meant, then we can assume this author thought of Satan as the cause of moral evil throughout the entire history of the human race--from the beginning to the end.

Verses 2-3 of the Nathan chapter are interesting.

He [Nathan] foresaw David's sin with Bathsheba, and set out in haste to warn him, but Satan [Βελίαρ]¹ thwarted his [Nathan's] attempt. He found lying by the road the naked body of a man who had been slain; and while he was detained by his duty, he knew that in that night the king had committed the sin; so he turned back to Gibeon in sorrow.

This verse is self explanatory, and shows quite clearly what a shrewd character Beliar was believed to have had.

Verse 12 of the Jeremiah section may also be of some significance.

And in the resurrection the ark will rise first, and come forth from the rock, and will be placed on Mount Sinai; and all the saints will be assembled to it there, awaiting the Lord and fleeing from the enemy [ἐχθρός] wishing to destroy them.

"The enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) referred to near the end of this verse may be Satan, but again the ambiguity of the passage keeps us from being sure. But if "the enemy" is used here as a title for Satan, we are at a loss to know whether to assign this usage to Egypt or Palestine, for even though we attributed this part of the book to an Egyptian, a Palestinian gave it its final form. The reason that this is of interest to us is because "the enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) is used as a title for Satan in Matthew 13:39 and Luke 10:19, and it is barely possible that the name Beelzebul (Βεελζεβούλ) is derived from enemy (ἐχθρός).²

¹Again Βελίαρ should be rendered Beliar, not Satan.

²See above, p. 163.

Recalling the passages in the Lives of the Prophets which are relatively easy to understand, we can say with certainty that this author thought of the supreme demonic figure as a very active evil spirit which concentrated on leading people astray as well as committing destructive deeds, and he referred to him as Beliar (βελίαρ) instead of Satan. There is no mention of lesser evil spirits. Looking at the more obscure passages, we are only able to say that this writer may have identified Satan with the serpent of the Garden of Eden, and he may have described him as "the enemy" (ὁ ἐχθρός) of the righteous people.

So far in this chapter we have been examining the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic books written in Palestine during the intertestamental period, and we have made note of nearly every passage in these which pertains, either directly or indirectly, to demonology. It should not be forgotten, however, that during these same years several Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic books also were written by Egyptian Jews. Although there are only a few passages of two of these Egyptian works which shed light on our subject, they should be examined before we try to draw any definite conclusions about intertestamental Jewish demonology. Let us now look briefly at the Book of Wisdom and IV Maccabees.

Wisdom of Solomon

As we turn our attention to the Wisdom of Solomon,¹ often referred

¹ For the general information about the Wisdom of Solomon in this and the following paragraphs, and for additional bibliographies, consult the following [especially helpful are the listings under (con't. next page)]

to either as the Book of Wisdom (the designation in the Latin Vulgate Bible) or Wisdom, we find ourselves confronted by the latest extant example of Jewish Wisdom Literature, and an excellent example of the influence and effect Hellenistic thought had on the Wisdom movement.¹ Unlike the only other Wisdom book in the Apocrypha--Ecclesiasticus, which was written in Palestine about 180 B.C. in Hebrew²--the Book of Wisdom comes from Egypt, was written between 100 and 50 B.C. (probably closer to the latter), and in Greek.³ The author was an Alexandrian Jew

(footnote con't.) Pfeiffer, Siegfried, and Toy]: Pfeiffer, History New Testament Times, pp. 313-351, and "Literature and Religion of Apocrypha," pp. 406-408; Siegfried, "Book of Wisdom," and "Die Weisheit Salomos," esp. pp. 476-480; Toy, "Wisdom"; Bentzen, Introduction O. T., II, pp. 234-236; Charles, Religious Development Between Testaments, pp. 202-206; Deane, Book of Wisdom; Filson, Which Books in Bible?, p. 76; Fox, Wisdom of Solomon; Freudenthal, "Original Language of Wisdom?"; Geyer, Wisdom of Solomon, esp. the General Introduction; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, pp. 90-99; Gregg, Wisdom of Solomon; Hadas, "Wisdom of Solomon"; Holmes, "Wisdom of Solomon"; Kohler, "Book of Wisdom"; Kuhl, O. T., pp. 303-304; Margoliouth, "Was Wisdom in Hebrew?"; Metzger, Introduction to Apocrypha, pp. 65-76; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," p. 88, and Introduction to Books of Apocrypha, pp. 196-221, and Wisdom of Solomon; Swete, Introduction Old Testament Greek, pp. 267-269; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 98-103; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 409-412.

¹ For a brief description of Wisdom Literature in general, see above n. 1, p. 141, and for the concept of Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon, see Geyer, Wisdom of Solomon, pp. 26-35.

² For this information about Ecclus., see above p. 140.

³ There are few scholars of recent years who would disagree with this general information concerning the Book of Wisdom. However, Oesterley and Goodspeed date it about 40 A.D., and Fox, Gregg, and Torrey about 130 to 100 B.C. Margoliouth, writing in 1890, was about the only critic to have made an impressive case for the Hebrew instead of Greek origin, but his contentions were well refuted by Freudenthal, writing only a year later, and by many others since then. Hadas suggests it was written about 30 B.C., and that the first five chapters were (con't. next page)

with some knowledge of Greek rhetoric and Greek philosophy;¹ we are not able to identify him further.²

The Wisdom of Solomon has a different style than the other Wisdom books. Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus are supposedly the transcripts of classroom lectures, primarily about the good and successful life. The Book of Job is a learned discussion among scholars on a theological problem. Ecclesiastes is the private reflections of a sage, published as an afterthought. Wisdom is unlike any of these--it is in the form and style of a public address, not a sermon just for Jews, but a popular discourse for Jews (faithful and apostate) and gentiles. In reality, it probably was never delivered orally, and, in fact, it often strays from the style of oratory.³

(footnote con't.) originally written in Hebrew and later translated into Greek by the author of the remaining chapters (originally written in Greek), and Torrey suggests the first ten chapters were initially Hebrew, and the others all Greek. (For the literature written by these men, see n.1 , p. 214 .) There is no doubt that it was originally written in Greek.

¹There is some question just how well acquainted this writer really was with Hellenistic philosophy. Pfeiffer ("Literature and Religion of Apocrypha," p. 407) suggests that this writer's "knowledge of the teaching of Plato and the Stoics . . . is derived more from dwelling in a Hellenistic center like Alexandria than from actual study of Greek Philosophical texts." Kuhl (O. T., p. 304), on the other hand, suggests this author "reveals a good Hellenist education and shows himself to be familiar with Plato and Xenophon, the teachings of the Epicureans and Stoics, and above all with the philosophy of Heraclitus." The opinions of scholars are divided fairly evenly on this matter.

²Although the writer implied that he was Solomon, he definitely was not. Most critics agree that the whole book was written by the same person, though a few suggest two or more authors (see, e.g., Charles, Religious Development Between the Testaments, p. 205; Goodspeed, Story of Apocrypha, p. 93; Holmes, "Wisdom of Solomon," p. 524; Kohler, "Book of Wisdom," p. 540; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 98, 101).

³See Pfeiffer, (History New Testament Times, p. 330) for the many specific examples of the author's use of literary forms other than oratorical style.

The author, throughout interested in extolling the importance of Wisdom, is generally concerned about the penetration of Hellenistic ideas into Judaism and writes with a threefold purpose: he tries (1) to bring back into the fold the unfaithful Jews, (2) to encourage and strengthen the faith of those Jews who had not gone astray, and (3) to convince the heathens both of the truth of Judaism and the foolishness of their own idolatrous religions.

This Wisdom writer organizes his material fairly well, but he is not always consistent in his thought. This is noticeable, among other places, when he deals with the problems of the origin of evil and the cause of death, which, as we noted earlier, have indirectly influenced the development of demonology.¹

We are primarily concerned with Wisdom 2:23-24:²

for God created man for incorruption,
and made him in the image of his own
eternity, (2:23)
but through the devil's envy death
entered the world,
and those who belong to his party
experience it. (2:24)³

We will attempt to understand the significance of these two verses, but in order to do this we will have to study along with them other pertinent passages, from the Wisdom of Solomon as well as other books, especially Ecclesiasticus.

¹See above, pp. 43-65, 126-127, 143-146, 147-149, 178-180, 197-198.

²In studying these two verses, the following are helpful: Hirsch, "Fall of Man"; Lelyveld, "Fall of Man"; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 337, 341, 344-345; Tennant, Sources of Fall and Original Sin, pp. 123-131; Toy, "Wisdom (Book)," cols. 5341-5345.

³R. S. V.

The writer of Wisdom thought that man was created immortal and without sin by God and in His image (2:23, 1:13-14, 12:1). God did not make death and He does not delight in it (1:13). It was through the envy of the Devil (διδάβολος) that death entered into the world (2:24). Or, since sin and unrighteousness are the cause of death (1:12, 15, 16; 3:1, 10, 19; 4:20-5:8; 5:13-15), one could say that it was through the envy of the Devil (διδάβολος) that sin and transgression came into the world.

There is little doubt that these verses (2:23-24) refer to the story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden.¹ To this extent they are consistent with Ecclesiasticus 25:24, in which death is traced to the sin of our first parents, Eve in particular.² But there is an important difference in Wisdom 2:24--the Devil is identified with the serpent. This is, in fact, the first time we have seen Satan and the serpent of Eden definitely portrayed as one and the same,³ a portrayal which has been made often since then, especially among Christians.⁴

¹Occasionally critics have suggested that 2:24 does not refer to Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden, but to the story of the death of Abel by his brother Cain (Genesis 4:1-16). See, for example, Gregg, Wisdom of Solomon, pp. xlv, 22-23. But such a contention is extremely vulnerable, and very few scholars, either in the past or present, have supported it.

²For Ecclus. 25:24, see above pp. 147 - 149.

³See above, pp. 147-149, 194.

⁴In later Jewish and Christian thought, Satan and the serpent in Eden often have been identified with each other. See, for example, 3 Baruch 9:7 (serpent is visible form taken by the Devil); Apocalypse of Moses 16 (serpent is an agent of the Devil); 2 Enoch 31, Life of Adam and Eve 33, 3 Baruch 4:8, and in the New Testament in Revelation 12:9, 20:2 (in all of these the serpent is the devil himself). Any (con't. next page)

This is a significant development. In Ecclesiasticus 25:24 sin and death are traced to Eve, but there is no attempt to explain why she sinned. Again in Wisdom, sin and death are traced to our first parents, and, although they still are held responsible for their actions (as we will soon see), some attempt is made to explain why they went astray--they were influenced by the Devil (*διάβολος*).

This does not suggest that Satan was the source of death, only that death became a reality on earth through him, that is, because of what he did.¹ This is similar to Ecclesiasticus 25:24, in which Eve is not portrayed as being the source or origin of death, but merely as being the cause of it becoming an historical reality. But these two books differ inasmuch as Ecclesiasticus contends that God is the source of death (11:14, 17:1-2)--in fact, He created it according to His good pleasure (41:3-4). This is in accordance with the general theological position of the Old

(footnote con't.) interpretation which makes the serpent identical with the Devil clearly is not true to the original meaning of Genesis 3 (see above, pp. 39-42).

There is no indication in Wisdom 2:24 as to the exact relationship this author thought existed between the serpent and the Devil (that is, whether the serpent was a form taken by the Devil, an agent of the Devil, the Devil himself, etc.). It is enough just to say that the action of the serpent is traced to the Devil, and the Devil is responsible for what the serpent did.

For additional information about the identification of the serpent as Satan, see: Ginzberg, Legends of Jews, Vol. I, pp. 95-98, and Vol. V, pp. 94-124 (most of the notes on these pages are pertinent); Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Vol. I, pp. 136-149 (a brief discussion about Satan).

¹Actually this writer never does pinpoint the source from which death had its being and power, that is, the creator of death or its origin.

Testament, which attributes all things, good and evil, to God.¹ Wisdom, on the other hand, tells us that God had nothing to do with the creation of death--He brought into being all things that they might exist, and there was no destructive poison in them (1:13-14, 2:23).

In Wisdom, then, death seems to be a reality which slipped into existence without God knowing it, or about which He was unable to do anything. Death definitely is alien to the will and purpose of the Creator. It probably is not unfair to the author of the Wisdom of Solomon to say that in recognizing that sin and death came upon mankind through the Devil and against the will of God, he also acknowledged, at least indirectly, God's inability to deal effectively with the evil forces which opposed His ultimate purposes. This writer had the choice of either blaming God, directly or indirectly, for evil and death, or picturing Him as unable to keep them from intruding upon and disrupting His original plans of creation. He evidently chose the latter. This cannot, however, be said of either the Old Testament in general or of Ecclesiasticus.

There also is another significant difference between Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. In 25:24 of the former, the author contends that everyone, without exception, must die because of Eve's sin. This is a straightforward concept of death, referring to the total person, with no distinction of body and soul. But the author of Wisdom suggests a much more complex theory, apparently intermingling ideas pertaining to death of the body and death of

¹See above, pp. 43 - 51.

the soul.

First of all, because of the Devil's envy all mankind, without exception, must experience physical death, that is, the body of every human being must cease to exist as a living organism (Wisdom 2:24, 7:1, 15:8). The writer of Wisdom, however, does not stop at this point. Death applies as well to the souls of some people, and here a distinction is made. Ungodly or sinful individuals not only will die physically, but also their souls will perish, which, for this author, means that their souls will suffer torment and destruction, and they will have no hope (1:11; 2:3; 3:10-13; 4:18-5:8; 5:14; 16:14).¹ On the other hand, those people who have not strayed from God's way will only experience physical death, because, although men will think they have perished, the truth is that the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, they are in peace, and their hope is full of immortality (3:1-6; 4:7, 14; 5:15-16).²

What the writer evidently says in 2:23-24 is that all people must die physically, and this because of what the Devil (*διδυβολος*) did in the Garden of Eden³ and, further, that those belonging to the Devil's party--

¹The implication of these passages is that this will be an eternal torment, but 15:8b suggests the soul will have to be returned to the source from which it was only temporarily lent; if this verse is taken seriously, it implies that the torment will cease when the borrowed soul is given up. However, when the whole book is studied, I do not think the author meant to imply this latter interpretation of the torment of the wicked.

²Contrast 8:13, in which immortality seems to be thought of in terms of the dead being remembered by those who are alive on earth. Again, this one verse does not seem to represent the actual opinion of the author on this matter.

³Contrast the one time, 14:27, that the author attributes all evil to the worship of idols.

that is, those who accept the ways of the Devil instead of God--also experience death of the soul, whereas the souls of the righteous meet with peaceful immortality.

It is at this point in the Wisdom of Solomon that Wisdom plays an important role in relation to demonology. Since immortality of the soul depends on righteousness (1:12, 15, 16; 3:1, 5, 10, 19; 4:7-5:8; 5:15-16; 6:18, 10:6), and righteousness depends on Wisdom (6:9, 8:7, 9:9-11), then really this writer is saying that immortality depends on Wisdom (6:17-20; 8:13, 17; 9:6, 18; 10:6; 15:3 and 8:4). This being so, it means that the consequences of the Devil's envy--that is, death--can be overcome, so far as the soul is concerned, by Wisdom. Hence, even though initially God was unable to make the Devil (*διάβολος*) powerless, He does give humanity a way of partially overcoming the effects of the Devil's action.¹

There is a definite expression of man's free will here. Even though Wisdom comes only from God (8:21; 9:6, 10), it is available to all who actively seek it (6:12-16, 8:21). Therefore, immortality of man's soul depends, at least in part, on his desire for, and willingness to seek, Wisdom from God. He can, in effect, choose for himself either death, by becoming one of the disciples of the Devil, or immortality, by deciding to do God's will.²

¹ I say partially because there is no way man can overcome physical death.

² Besides the verses just referred to in this paragraph, man's free will is implied in the many verses which describe the future fate of souls as dependent on wickedness or righteousness in this life, that is, giving the impression that man is able to be righteous if he so desires. But in contrast, see the passages which speak of some men as being an accursed race from the beginning (12:10-11), as foolish by nature (13:1), and as being powerless subjects of God (12:18, 16:13).

Of course, in the final analysis Wisdom, which leads to immortality, comes from God as a gift of His love (7:28).

There is no question that the author of Wisdom was greatly influenced by Hellenistic thought. In fact, the adjective hybrid might be applied to the Book of Wisdom, for in places it is a combination of Jewish and Greek ideas. The most obvious visible sign of Greek influence is the use in 2:24 of *διάβολος* (the Devil), instead of *εταναῖος* (Satan). This word (*διάβολος*) is of Greek origin and was first used in Jewish circles in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. It is used there with the definite article for the Hebrew *יָצִוּת* (the adversary) and without the article for *יָצִוּ* (Satan). Here in 2:24, as in 1 Chronicles 21:1, *διάβολος* is used without the definite article as a proper name, Satan or the Devil.¹

In addition to the use of certain words, Greek influence is also conspicuous in the less tangible area of thought and ideas. Confining ourselves to concepts which are related to demonology and which we have already discussed, there are five of definite Greek origin in this Jewish work.

(1) Man consists of a body, spirit, and soul, not just a body and spirit.

(2) Man has both a physical and spiritual element, a mortal body and an

immortal soul. (3) Man was originally created by God to be immortal. (4)

There is an opportunity for blessed immortality of the soul. (Prior to

Hellenistic influence the Hebrews thought of divine retribution, for the

righteous and the wicked, as preceding death, and life after death was

¹For the background of the word *διάβολος* and its use in the Septuagint, see above, pp. 84-88.

believed to be in Sheol--the eternal abode of the dead--with the same dismal survival for the good and evil. In Wisdom, this latter type of existence is reserved only for the wicked.) (5) Blessed immortality for the soul, obtainable through righteousness, is the supreme goal of life. (This is the first time in extant Judaism that the ultimate emphasis is on the other-worldly.)¹

Why should we call attention to these Greek ideas? Because by so doing we see how the doctrine of Satan--definitely Jewish in origin²--has been influenced by certain Hellenistic ideas.

In the preceding paragraphs an attempt has been made to draw together and systematize the random thoughts from the whole of the Wisdom of Solomon which relate, directly or indirectly, to our study of demonology. The author made no attempt to so organize, because this material was only of secondary interest to him and was inserted here and there in support of his main ideas. For the purpose of our study, however, it has been almost a necessity to rearrange some of his ideas, and in so doing it is hoped none has been distorted.

As one looks back over the Book of Wisdom, it would seem to me that some of the most significant characteristics and developments, of interest to us, are as follows: identification of the serpent with the Devil

¹Besides the many books and articles noted in n.1, p. 214, for Greek influence in the Book of Wisdom, see especially Pfeiffer, History New Testament Times, pp. 334-351; Deane, Book of Wisdom, pp. 8-14, 27-30; and Moore, Judaism, Vol. I, p. 448.

²For the background and development of the doctrine of Satan, see above, pp. 51 - 65, 83 - 88.

(διάβολος); inability of God to keep the Devil from causing death and, thereby, foiling His original plans of creation; complex concept of death, which involves the body and the soul; possibility of immortality of the soul for those who actively seek Wisdom, which implies: (1) man's free will to determine in this life what his destiny will be after physical death, and (2) the ability of Wisdom to counteract the consequences of the Devil's work; and Wisdom comes only from God.

Before leaving our examination of this book, we might just point out that in 14:6 there is mention of the "arrogant giants." Even as early as the Old Testament (Genesis 6:1-4) the giants are portrayed as undesirable creatures, and in the intertestamental literature we have seen that their reputation becomes still more questionable, sometimes being associated with the origin of the demons.¹ We cannot be exactly sure how the writer of Wisdom interpreted these giants, but he certainly echoed the earlier themes which cast considerable doubt on the purity of these creatures.

IV Maccabees

The last book to receive a detailed examination in this chapter, and the only other one from Egypt, is the Fourth Book of Maccabees,² a

¹See 1 Enoch and Jubilees.

²This book has been transmitted under several different titles. The one which best describes its contents, "On the Supremacy of Reason," is considered by some to be the original, but such a contention is open to debate. Probably the original title was "Μακκαβαίων δ'." "The name 'IV Book of Maccabees' arises from the fact that the author has selected some narratives of martyrs from the Maccabean period as examples to prove his philosophical proposition." (Weiser, Introduction O. T., p. 422).

book of the Pseudepigrapha written by an ardent Jew sometime between 30 B.C. and 30 A.D.¹ It appears in the form of a popular speech on philosophical and religious matters. Coming into existence as late as it did and being written in Alexandria,² it is questionable whether this particular piece of literature had any direct influence on Jesus. Fourth Maccabees is important, however, because it gives us an idea of the Jewish thought, at least in some circles, and especially in Alexandria, just prior to and/or during the life of our Lord.

For our study of demonology, IV Maccabees has one very interesting verse, 18:B:

No seducer of the desert or ravisher of the field corrupted me, nor did the seducing serpent of deceit defile the purity of my maidenhood, but I lived with my husband all the days of my maturity.

This verse does not present any new ideas, but it shows that four demonic themes we noted earlier were still in existence within Judaism about the time of Christ's life, and, in fact, two of the four themes appear in the New Testament.

(1) The serpent of the Garden of Eden is identified with Satan. The

¹For the further study of this book, consult especially: Hadas, Third and Fourth Maccabees, pp. 88-243, and Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 215-221, 540; but also see Barton and Abrahams, "Books of Maccabees," pp. 241-242, 244; Brownlee, "Maccabees, Books of," esp. pp. 212-215; Deissmann, "Das vierte Makkabäerbuch"; Emmet, Fourth Maccabees; Fairweather, "Books of Maccabees," Dictionary, pp. 194-195, and "Books of Maccabees," Encyclopaedia, p. 550; Fuchs, "Books of Maccabees," pp. 260-264; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," p. 92; Pfeiffer, "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 434-435; Schürer, History Jewish People, Vol. III, pp. 244-248; Torrey, "Fourth Maccabees"; Townsend, "Fourth Maccabees"; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 422-423.

²Hadas (Third and Fourth Maccabees, pp. 109-113) makes a good case for Antioch, but I am afraid not good enough.

earliest time such an identification was positively made was in the Book of Wisdom 2:24,¹ also written in Egypt, and here in IV Maccabees is only the second time in all the literature we have examined, although we noted that in later years Satan and the serpent often were considered to be identical.² It is interesting that this identification of Satan and the serpent is made in pre-Christian Jewish literature only in Egypt.

(2) Women are pictured as being in danger of seduction by evil heavenly beings. As we have seen, this theme first appeared in Judaism in the fallen angels narrative of 1 Enoch,³ attributed to the more ancient Book of Noah, and later it was incorporated in Jubilees.⁴

(3) Evil spirits inhabit desolate or sparsely populated areas. We pointed to the existence of this theme in some rather early passages of the Old Testament, and noted that it was prevalent in ancient Semitic thought.⁵ This theme can be detected in some passages in the Gospels.⁶

(4) Evil spirits actively try to lead astray and harm human beings. We saw the emergence into Judaism of this idea as early as the Noah

¹See above, p. 218.

²See above, n. 4, p. 218.

³See above, pp. 113-114.

⁴See above, pp. 169-170.

⁵See above, pp. 23-35, 78-79, 186-188.

⁶See, e.g., Matt. 4:1, 8:28; 12:43; Mk. 1:12-13, 5:1-4; Lk. 4:1-2, 8:27, 11:24.

sections of 1 Enoch,¹ and Tobit,² and it remained prevalent in the Jewish literature throughout the intertestamental period,³ but the notion of independent evil spirits actively working in opposition to God's purposes and against the welfare of humanity is not found in the Old Testament. However, this concept is very prevalent throughout the Gospels, and, in fact, the early Christians just assumed it as fact.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,
Books of Adam and Eve, and
2 Enoch

Before trying to evaluate the material in this chapter, there probably should be some mention of three Pseudepigraphic works, usually considered very important for a study of demonology, which have intentionally not been discussed in this study. They are the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Books of Adam and Eve, and 2 Enoch. The purpose of this study has been to examine pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonology, but all three of these works came into existence too late to be classified as pre-Christian, and they are not all Jewish.

Perhaps the only question which might be raised over this position is the proposed date of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, for there is little doubt about the dates of the other two; the original Greek text of

¹See above, pp. 126-127.

²See above, pp. 133-135.

³E.g., see above pp. 151-152 for 1 Enoch chaps. 12-36; p. 159 for Jubilees; pp. 200-201 for the Similitudes; p. 203 for Martyrdom of Isaiah; p. 208 for Assumption of Moses; p. 214 for Lives of the Prophets; pp. 217-219 for the Wisdom of Solomon.

the Slavonic Enoch (2 Enoch) dates not earlier than 40 or 50 A.D., and quite possibly later,¹ and the original Semitic texts of the Books of Adam and Eve date around 60 to 70 A.D.² But the date of the Testaments has long been debated.³

There have been two contrasting positions. Some scholars have contended this entire work was originally written by a Jew in the closing years of the second century B.C., and at a later date was altered by

¹For information and bibliographies about 2 Enoch, see: Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 75-76; Charles, "Book of the Secrets of Enoch," and "Date and Place of Writing of Slavonic Enoch"; Forbes and Charles, "Book of the Secrets of Enoch"; Fotheringham, "Date and Place of Writing of Slavonic Enoch," and "Easter Calendar of Slavonic Enoch"; Lake, "Date of Slavonic Enoch"; Littmann, "Books of Enoch," pp. 181-182; Morfill and Charles, Book of Secrets of Enoch; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 93-94; Pfeiffer, "Literature of the Pseudepigrapha," pp. 435-436; Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 95-98; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 430-431.

²For information and bibliographies about the Books of Adam and Eve, see: Bamberger, "Adam, Books of"; Bittenwieser, "Books of Adam"; Fuchs, "Das Leben Adams und Eve"; Ginzberg, "Book of Adam"; James, Lost Apocrypha, pp. 1-8; Marshall, "Books of Adam"; Oesterley, "Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," pp. 95-96; Pfeiffer, History New Testament, pp. 72-73, and "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 425-426; Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 98-99; Schürer, History Jewish People, pp. 147-148; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 131-133; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 445-447; Wells, "Books of Adam and Eve."

³For information and bibliographies about the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, see: Burkitt, Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, pp. 34-36; Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, pp. 179-180; Charles, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, n. 99, p. 119, and n. 6, p. 149; Deane, Pseudepigrapha, pp. 162-192; De Jonge, Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs; Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings from Qumran, pp. 301-305; Kohler, "Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs"; Milik, Ten Years of Discovery, 34-35; Pfeiffer, "Literature of Pseudepigrapha," pp. 421-422; Rowley, Relevance of Apocalyptic, pp. 63-68; Schnapp and Kautzsch, "Die Testamente Der 12 Patriarchen"; Schürer, History Jewish People, Vol. III, pp. 114-124; Smith, "Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs"; Torrey, Apocryphal Literature, pp. 129-131; Weiser, Introduction O. T., pp. 442-445.

Christian interpolations. Others suggest the Testaments is an authentic Christian work, written by a Jewish-Christian convert in the second or third centuries A.D., using some older Jewish sources but revising and supplementing them in the light of Christian theology. A Dutch scholar, M. De Jonge, has recently made a study, one of the most scholarly ever, of this work, and he supports, in general, the latter position, dating the Testaments some place between 190 and 225 A.D.¹

There have been found at Qumran some fragments of an Aramaic Testament of Levi and a Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, both having texts far longer than those sections of our present Greek version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Taking into consideration the findings at Qumran, the many obviously Christian elements in the Testaments, and relying in part on De Jonge, Milik has come up with the following conclusions.

A Jew or Jewish-Christian of the first or second century, using and adapting such Testaments as were already in circulation would have completed an analogous set of Testaments for all the Twelve Patriarchs. That these, as we have them, all came from one author can be seen from the repetition in each of the same literary form.²

And later he writes: "Other elements bear a Christian stamp, and since they cannot easily be considered as interpolations, they suggest a Christian rather than a Jewish origin for the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs."³ Millar Burrows⁴ and F. M. Cross, Jr.⁵ support Milik's theory, though Dupont-

¹Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, pp. 121-125.

²Ten Years of Discovery, pp. 34-45.

³Ten Years of Discovery, p. 35.

⁴More Light on Scrolls, pp. 179-180.

⁵Ancient Library Qumran, n. 6, p. 149.

Sommer¹ rejects it.

After a careful study of De Jonge's work, and taking into account the recent discoveries at Qumran, it seems very probable that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs was written by a Christian not earlier than the second century A.D.

It is, therefore, the position of this paper that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Books of Adam and Eve, and 2 Enoch do not qualify as pre-Christian literature and will not be discussed in detail. At the same time, it would be foolish to contend that there are no pre-Christian elements in these books. So we will very briefly note the most important demonic concepts found in them. But before we do this it should be pointed out that by omitting a detailed study of these three books we will not be deprived of valuable background material needed for an understanding of New Testament demonology, for the New Testament writers seldom allude to the demonic themes of these writings, and besides we find very few new demonic themes here that we have not already discussed in connection with earlier literature.

Let us now summarize the important demonic concepts of the Books of Adam and Eve, 2 Enoch, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In the Books of Adam and Eve the serpent of the Garden of Eden is definitely identified with the Devil, and apparently in two different ways: as actually being the Devil but taking the form of a serpent,² and as being a real serpent

¹Essene Writings from Qumran, pp. 301-305.

²Vita 10:3-4, 20:1.

merely used by the Devil.¹

Eve is depicted as the one who first yielded to the temptation of the Devil, and she then enticed Adam.² In one passage Eve is pictured as being deceived and led astray a second time by the Devil (in the guise of an angel) as she was attempting to do penance (standing thirty-seven days in the Tigris River up to her neck in water and without food),³ but in another passage she is portrayed as resisting this second temptation.⁴ One time, when he is standing in front of the oxen and hindering Adam from tilling the fields, the Devil attempts to deceive Adam into acknowledging him (the Devil) as his master, but Adam outsmarts him.⁵

The one other narrative of interest in the Adam literature is the one about the Devil's fall from heaven.⁶ At the time of Adam's creation the Devil is pictured as being an angel in heaven with several angels under him. Adam is created in God's image and all of the angels in heaven are required to worship him (Adam). But the Devil refuses to do this on the grounds that he, the Devil, is Adam's senior and Adam should worship him. The Devil's angels, following his example, likewise refuse. When God insists that they

¹Apoc. Mosis 15:1-21:6.

²Vita 10:3-4, 16:4, 33:2-3, 35:2-3; Sal. Vita 35:1; Apoc. Mosis 7:2-3, 9:2, 15:1-21:6.

³Vita 9:1-11:1.

⁴Slav. Vita 38:1-39:2.

⁵Slav. Vita 33:1-34:4.

⁶Vita 12:1-17:3.

worship Adam, the Devil decides to set his seat above the stars of heaven and be like God, whereupon God banishes the Devil and his angels to earth.

There is a similar theme in 29:4-5 of 2 Enoch, where it tells us that an archangel and his lesser angels decide to place a throne higher than the clouds above the earth so as to be equal with God, but God responds by expelling them from heaven and making the air their habitation.¹

In chapter 18 of 2 Enoch we have a slightly different version of the fallen angel theme of 1 Enoch. In 2 Enoch there seems to be portrayed two stages in the heavenly revolt. First the angels called Grigori, with their prince, Satanail, "rejected the Lord of light."² These creatures apparently are the initial evil agents among the heavenly beings. Then after their revolt come their brothers, who also turn away from God, and three angels from this latter group descend to earth and take wives from the daughters of men.³ From here on 2 Enoch basically coincides with the fallen angel story of 1 Enoch--giants are born, much lawlessness breaks out, and God punishes the angels.⁴ Apparently the Grigori and Satanail are imprisoned in the fifth heaven,⁵ and their brothers, the second ones to revolt, are imprisoned and tortured in the darkness of the second heaven.⁶ It would be

¹ Compare Eph. 2:2.

² 18:3.

³ 18:4.

⁴ 18:5-6.

⁵ 18:1-4, 7:3.

⁶ 7:1-3, 18:4. Compare 2 Peter 2:4, Jude v. 6.

a mistake to try to arrange the demonology of 2 Enoch into one coherent system--it just is not.¹

The demonology of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is relatively straightforward and systematic. There is in opposition to God a counter spiritual kingdom of evil. This evil kingdom has a leader, usually referred to as Beliar,² but sometimes as Satan,³ the Devil,⁴ the Enemy,⁵ or the Hater.⁶

God's kingdom is the kingdom of light, Beliar's the kingdom of darkness.⁷ Beliar's kingdom is made up of evil spirits⁸ which attack mankind, physically and mentally,⁹ causing all manner of harm and affliction, and influencing humanity to sin against God.¹⁰ People have a

¹As Forbes and Charles ("Book of Secrets of Enoch," p. 447, n. 5) attempt to do.

²Test. Reu. 2:2, 4:11, 6:4; Test. Sim. 5:3; Test. L. 3:3, 18:12, 19:1; Test. Jud. 25:3; Test. Iss. 6:1, 7:7; Test. Zeb. 9:8; Test. Dan 1:7-8, 2:1, 4:7, 5:1, 5:10-11; Test. Naph. 2:6, 3:1; Test. Ash. 1:8, 3:2; Test. Jos. 7:4, 20:2; Test. Ben. 3:3, 3:4, 3:8, 6:1, 6:7, 7:1.

³Test. Dan 3:6, 5:6, 6:1; Test. Gad 4:7; Test. Ash. 6:4.

⁴Test. Naph. 8:4, 8:6; Test. Gad 5:2.

⁵Test. Dan 6:2-4.

⁶Test. Gad 3:2.

⁷Test. Levi 19:1; Test. Jos. 20:2.

⁸Called demons of error in Test. Jud. 23:1.

⁹Test. Sim. 4:9.

¹⁰E.g., the evil spirits are responsible for: fornication (Test. Reu. 6:4; Test. Sim. 5:3), deceit (Test. Jud. 20:1, 25:3; (con't. next page)

free will to decide to which kingdom they will belong,¹ and protection from the onslaught of the evil spirits comes to those who are loyal to God, for the evil spirits are helpless against the righteous.² In the end, at the final judgment, the evil spirits shall be overcome, judged, and bound by the Saviour or "new priest."³

In the Testament of Reuben (5:6-7) there is a slightly different approach to the fallen angel narrative. Here the earthly women "allured" the watchers until they lusted after them, and then the watchers changed themselves into the shape of men and appeared to the women. In another verse⁴ the watchers, which "changed the order of their nature," are mentioned as being responsible for God bringing the flood.

In chapter 20 of the Testament of Judah we are told that two spirits--the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit--wait upon man, and he is free to follow whichever one he desires. Apparently the spirit of truth is God, the spirit of deceit is Beliar. This is similar to the doctrine of the two

(footnote con't.) Test. Iss. 4:4; Test. Zeb. 9:7; Test. Naph. 3:3; Test. Ash. 6:2; Test. Ben. 6:2), anger (Test. Dan 1:7-8, 2:1), lying (Test. Dan 3:6, 4:7), wickedness (Test. Dan 5:6), pride (Test. Dan 5:6), hatred (Test. Gad chaps. 3 and 4, 5:2), the evil inclination (Test. Ash. 1:9; Test. Ben. 3:3), and bloodshed, ruin, tribulation, exile, dearth, panic, destruction (Test. Ben. 7:1-2).

¹Test. Levi 19:1; Test. Jud. 20:1-2; Test. Iss. 6:1.

²Test. Reu. 4:11; Test. Sim. 6:6; Test. Iss. 4:4, 7:1; Test. Dan 4:7, 6:2-4; Test. Naph. 2:6, 3:1, 3:3, 8:4, 8:6; Test. Ash. 6:4-6; Test. Ben. 3:4, 5:2.

³Test. Levi 3:3, 18:12; Test. Jud. 25:3; Test. Zeb. 9:8; Test. Dan 5:10-11; Test. Ben. 3:8.

⁴Test. Naph. 3:5.

spirits found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which will be examined below in Chapter IV.¹

An idea, somewhat akin to the concepts of the two spirits, is found in the Testament of Asher. "Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and two modes of action, and two issues. Therefore all things are by two, one over against the other."² The implication in this entire chapter of Asher is that all life is divided between either God or Beliar.

The importance of the demonology of 2 Enoch, the Books of Adam and Eve, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs for the understanding of pre-Christian or early Christian demonology is highly overrated by most people. They offer few new demonic concepts, and there seems to be little similarity between them and the New Testament.

Overall Evaluation

It would be repetitious to summarize all the material covered in this chapter, for there is a summary at the end of each of the sections dealing with the individual books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. We will, however, make an attempt to evaluate our findings. At first it may appear that all we have in this chapter is a tiresome mass of similar mythological stories, which could have little pertinence to a study of New Testament demonology. If, however, these writings are carefully studied, certain

¹See below, pp. 256-267.

²1:3-4, as translated by Charles.

significant trends emerge and definite conclusions can be drawn, and one soon realizes that the demonology of this pre-Christian Jewish literature is not only helpful for understanding New Testament demonic thought, but, in fact, necessary.

In Chapters I and II of this study, we contended that there are no verses in the Old Testament, either the initial Hebrew or secondary Greek, which imply an active demonology, and that dualism, as such, does not exist in the Old Testament, although some slight trends in that direction begin to appear in a few late passages. We concluded Chapter I as follows.

Hence, the Old Testament alone does not furnish an adequate background for understanding New Testament demonic thought. We must see what the Jewish scholars between the Old and New Testaments did with these trends, which just begin to appear in Hebrew thought during the closing days of the Old Testament era, but appear fully developed in the opening events of Jesus' ministry.¹

It is in the material studied in this present chapter that we see the continued development of these dualistic themes. It is in the intertestamental literature that we find within Judaism the development of a very definite dualistic theology: the so-called demons of the Old Testament become active evil spirits which work independently of God and against His ultimate purposes; Satan ceases to be a mere accuser in the court of God, and becomes the independent leader and "mastermind" of the demons; and God no longer is responsible for all things, both good and evil, but there also is a counter spiritual kingdom of evil which is responsible for harming and leading astray

¹See above, p. 65.

God's creation, but which also is doomed for eternal damnation, as are its human converts.

These changes in demonic thought took place gradually, and they were not universal among all Jews. There was not just one Jewish doctrine of demonology during these years between the Testaments; demonic ideas differed from one school of thought or movement to another. And not only was there a diversity of demonic concepts in literature from different schools of thought and from one book to another, but even individual writers sometimes displayed a multiplicity of ideas in single works, some of which were contradictory. We pointed out that part of the confusion stemmed from the very nature of Apocalyptic Literature--it cannot be interpreted too literally nor forced into a systematic and chronological pattern. But we also looked to the general temper of the times--the overall ambiguity, uncertainty, and contradiction which typify the demonic thought of this era are the characteristics we would expect to find during any period of doctrinal transition within a movement or people.

The very fact that pre-Christian Jewish thought was in a state of confusion and not all identical makes it advisable to sound a note of caution about putting too much stress on the chronological arrangement of the material we have been considering. We cannot assume that Jewish demonology developed in a logical sequence from one book to the next, as arranged in Chart I above on page 104. There was not a universal development of demonic doctrine during the intertestamental period within Judaism, but, rather, several random developments.

Certainly some books show direct influence from earlier ones, as in the case of Jubilees using themes from 1 Enoch. But this is not true, by a long ways, of all the literature which we have examined in this chapter. For example, Baruch does not carry on the development of Jubilees, and the Testament of Job does not develop the themes from Baruch. Hence by approaching this material from a chronological point of view it is not implied that we are tracing the systematic and chronological development of one Jewish doctrine, but rather that we are getting a broad picture of the overall development of a variety of demonic themes within various schools of Jewish thought over the span of 200 to 250 years.

Let us be more specific now. There are some themes we found in the Old Testament which appear several times in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. The demons are referred to both as false objects of worship¹ and as creatures which inhabit desolate areas,² themes which also are found in the New Testament.³ In the Testament of Job Satan is still portrayed as an accuser in the court of God, in some books Satan is mentioned, but not as the leader of the evil spirits, and in others there is no mention of demons or Satan. In Jubilees numerous attempts are made to create better impressions of God by assigning to Satan unbecoming tasks and ideas previously associated with God.⁴ All of these ideas are found in the Old Testament.

¹See above pp. 16-19, 77-78, 153-154, 158-159, 186, 197.

²See above pp. 23-35, 78-79, 186-188, 227.

³E.g., see I Cor. 10:20, Rev. 9:20, and see above n. 6, p. 227.

⁴See above pp. 175-176.

But most of the demonic concepts of the intertestamental period are not found in earlier Jewish literature. The most significant development within Judaism during this period, at least concerning demonology, is the appearance of Apocalyptic Literature, for it is in this strand of thought that pure dualism first appears in Judaism, and it is in this Literature that it continues to be most fully developed. In fact, the story of the fallen angels in the early part of 1 Enoch, inherited from the older Book of Noah, opens the way for the new dualistic theology, which, in turn, leads to an "active" demonology.

It is in the Apocalyptic movement that we see, for the first time, the appearance of active and independent evil spirits which tempt mankind to sin, cause destruction, take life, inflict disease, and generally oppose God. It is in 1 Enoch that we initially see the origin of the demons associated with the fallen angels and the ancient giants. Again in the Apocalyptic Literature we find the idea that God will finally and completely defeat the evil forces in the world, and there is a description of the judgments and afflictive punishments reserved for the evil spirits and their human converts. It is in this same body of literature that the great hoard of evil spirits is pictured as being organized and under the leadership of one particular spiritual being. There is, however, considerable confusion surrounding the identity of this figure.

In the Enoch material the leader of the fallen angels appears to be the leader of the entire kingdom of evil, including the demons. But we are left confused as to whether Azazel or Semjaza fills this position--part

of the time it is one and part the other, though Azazel is used more.

In the book of Jubilees neither Azazel nor Semjaza is pictured in this role. Instead, Mastema is used most frequently as the head of the evil forces, and Beliar is used twice and Satan once. The first time any of these three names is used of God's archenemy is in Jubilees, and this is a significant development. Although Jubilees draws heavily on portions of 1 Enoch, and the demons of Jubilees are portrayed as being the offspring of the fallen angels as in Enoch, nevertheless the use in Jubilees of these new names for the leader of the evil forces is the first stage of a trend which gradually disassociates both the demons and their leader from the fallen angels. In fact, in the literature between the Testaments neither Azazel nor Semjaza is portrayed as the demonic leader except in 1 Enoch.

From the time of Jubilees onward there are several names used to designate the head of the kingdom of evil. Although, in the literature we have and will examine, Mastema is used as a proper name for the supreme evil spirit only in Jubilees, Beliar and Satan appear frequently from then on, and occasionally other titles are likewise used--the Devil, the evil one, the enemy, the ruler of this world, the angel of lawlessness--all of which are used or alluded to in the New Testament.

It should be stressed that Satan--or, for that matter, Mastema and Beliar--are never portrayed in pre-Christian Jewish literature as fallen angels. Both Azazel and Semjaza are portrayed as being among the angels which descended from heaven to sin with the women on earth, but this is not true of the other names we have discussed. The closest connection they have

with the fallen angels is that they are the leaders of the demons which, in some literature, are pictured as the offspring of the fallen angels. And, in fact, after Jubilees and outside of the Enoch material there is no attempt to account for the origin of the demons, and they are no longer directly associated with the fallen angels.

It is interesting that in pre-Christian Judaism Beliar is used more often than Satan as God's archenemy, and that the establishment of Satan (or the Devil) as the predominant and supreme evil creature originates with Jesus.¹ In fact, the major part of the development of the idea of one primary evil spirit is relatively late, taking place, for the most part, after Jubilees was written.²

Another very significant development in 1 Enoch is connected with the fallen angel narrative. When the writer of this story looked for names to give the sinful angels he chose names associated with the natural elements. In all likelihood these names were not pure invention, but probably they were the names adopted from some local Palestinian demonic concepts. It is entirely possible that these names were in Paul's mind as he referred to the στοιχεῖα (the elemental spirits) in Galatians 4:3, 4:9 and Colossians

¹ Besides Satan and the Devil, Jesus is portrayed by the Gospel writers as occasionally using several other titles for the archenemy: Beelzeboul (or some variation--Matt. 10:25, 12:24, 12:27; Mk. 3:22; Lk. 11:15, 11:18, 11:19); the evil one (Matt. 5:37, 6:13, 13:19, 13:38; John 17:15); the ruler of this world (John 12:31, 14:30, 16:11); the enemy (Matt. 13:39; Lk. 10:19); the strong man (Matt. 12:29; Mk. 3:27; Lk. 11:21). Besides these names used by Jesus, the Gospel writers use other titles in passages which are not depicted as sayings of Jesus: the ruler of the demons (Matt. 9:34, 12:24; Mk. 3:22; Lk. 11:15); the tempter (Matt. 4:3).

²Written about 115 to 105 B.C.

2:8, 2:20, and thus that he was referring to the fallen angels, that is, specific evil spirits.¹

Demonology is not, however, confined to the Apocalyptic Literature, though it is most pronounced there. In the fictional Book of Tobit, there is mention of an active demon, but there is no idea of an organized group of evil spirits in opposition to God and His creation. In the Testament of Job, Satan is much more evil and has considerably more destructive power than in the Old Testament. In the Wisdom Literature, the emphasis is more on the philosophical problems of evil and sin, with secondary, yet significant, implications for demonology. In Ecclesiasticus, Eve is pictured as being the first human being to sin, and in this book the way is opened for the later important identification, finally positively made in the Wisdom of Solomon, of the Devil as the serpent of the Garden of Eden.² Also in the Book of Wisdom the physical reality of death for all people is attributed to the Devil, though immortality of the soul is a possibility for some people.

There are other important developments which appear in the Jewish demonology of the intertestamental period: in Jubilees, where Mastema is portrayed as using animals as his agents and a verbal rebuke proves an effective defense against such creatures;³ in the Testament of Job, where

¹See above, pp. 123-125, and Appendix A, below pp. 344-353.

²Wisdom 2:24, see above, pp. 217-219.

³See above p. 175.

Satan is depicted as having supernatural knowledge and as being able to take the forms of humans, animals, or elements of nature;¹ and in the Martyrdom of Isaiah, where we see the first example of actual demon possession.² These are all significant phenomena in the New Testament.

One needs only look at Chart I on page 104 to see that the development of Jewish demonology during the intertestamental period is centered in Palestine, not Egypt. There is only one Egyptian book from each the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha which relates to demonology, and both of these more or less indirectly. Certainly the most significant contribution of the Egyptian intertestament literature to Jewish demonology is in the Wisdom of Solomon, where Satan and the serpent in Eden are identified with each other. It is true that more Jewish writing was done during this period in Palestine than in Egypt, but among the active Jewish writers in Egypt apparently there was little interest in demonology.

We naturally ponder why demonology seemed to be of considerable interest to the Jews of Palestine but not to those of Egypt. It is not likely that we, living in a day and age so far removed from the last centuries B.C., will ever be able to answer this question accurately. The most probable suggestion, however, seems to be that Egypt was, in comparison to Palestine, much more cultured and sophisticated.

The overall outlook of the Egyptian Jews was somewhat tempered by

¹See above pp. 191, 194.

²See above pp. 205-206.

the more scholarly emphasis of Hellenism. The Egyptian Jews showed more interest in philosophical questions, such as the problem of evil, than to the less refined subject of evil spirits. The less cultured atmosphere of Palestine, on the other hand, seemed to foster sectarian groups and movements, out of which emerged interest in such subjects as the existence and activity of evil spirits.

Extensive persecution might also have played some role in this matter. Although the Egyptian Jews suffered some mistreatment, they were not subjected to long periods of severe persecution, as were the Palestinian Jews, and an overall atmosphere of oppression and persecution not only breeds Apocalyptic traditions, the main source of early Jewish demonology, but it leads to finding some explanation for such treatment, which, as we have seen, leads to a discussion of evil spirits.

We probably can say no more than that the overall atmosphere-- political, scholarly, cultural--accounts for the lack of interest among the Egyptian Jews, compared to Palestinian Jews, in the subject of evil spirits.

It is often asked what brought about these many changes in Jewish demonology during the years between the Testaments? In the closing paragraphs of Chapter I we accounted for the origin of dualistic themes in some late passages of the Old Testament "as being the result of inherent tendencies of Hebrew theology coming into contact with foreign influence, especially during the Exile."¹

¹See above, p. 64.

One naturally wonders if there were continued outside influences which came to bear on Judaism during the years between the Testaments and led to the further development of dualistic themes, particularly demonology. The answer quite definitely is yes.

It has long been acknowledged, by the majority of scholars, that Judaism was greatly affected during this period by Persian Zoroastrianism. I think this is unquestionably right; one merely needs to review the findings of people like Cheyne,¹ Moffatt,² Oesterley,³ Christensen,⁴ Glasson,⁵ Langton,⁶ and Gaster,⁷ to mention only a few. There is no other conclusion which can be reached--Persian Zoroastrianism greatly influenced the development of intertestamental Jewish demonology, especially in the Apocalyptic Literature. Cheyne writes that "there is a strong affinity between the religion of Ahura Mazda and that of Jehovah (Yahweh), and that being brought into contact with the Persians, the Jews, alike in Palestine and elsewhere, could not remain wholly uninfluenced by Persian religion."⁸ But we must

¹"Possible Zoroastrian Influences on Israel."

²"Zoroastrianism and Primitive Christianity."

³Jews and Judaism Greek Period, pp. 278-289.

⁴"Essai sur la Démonologie Iranienne."

⁵Glasson, Second Advent, pp. 38-39, and Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, p. 84.

⁶Essentials of Demonology, pp. 61-77, 220-221.

⁷Gaster, "Demon, Demonology," and "Satan."

⁸"Possible Zoroastrian Influences on Israel," p. 224.

remember that when we talk about Persian Zoroastrianism, we also are talking about the more ancient Iranian, Babylonian, Arabian influences which helped in the development of the prior.

It is a mistake, however, to look only to Persia, as is so often done. There also is considerable influence from Greek ideas, particularly upon Apocalyptic dualistic developments. One of the most admirable treatments of this subject is by T. F. Glasson.¹ We cannot stop here to review his book, but he shows, beyond doubt, that much Jewish intertestamental demonology was influenced by Greek literature. "Faced again with Greek thought, the Jews again and again were reminded of parallels in their own scriptures or searched for them there."² Contact with Greek thought often helps to explain the revival of interest among Jews in obscure passages of the Old Testament, for example, Genesis 6:1-4.

Glasson shows Greek influence in themes which: (1) depict the angels of God taking earthly wives; (2) connect demons with the fallen angels; and (3) suggest a twofold punishment (preliminary and final) for the fallen angels.³ Glasson is careful to stress that he does not wish to rule out Persian influence, for it no doubt existed, but he also wants to give the proper stress to Greek influence, which also was felt.

But we must not too readily give all the credit (or blame) to outside influences. Edward Langton quite properly points out that:

¹ Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology.

² Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, p. 59.

³ See Chapters 9 and 10, Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology.

The Hebrews shared with other branches of the Semitic race the power to create and embellish a native demonology. To recognize so much as this is not to question the fact that many foreign conceptions were imported during the centuries when this literature was being composed.¹

There seems little question that the historical circumstances of the Jewish people, coupled with their own theological concerns, led, to some degree, to these new trends.

We come to the conclusion, then, that there was no one influence which led to the many new developments in Jewish demonology during the intertestamental period, but a combination of many factors. Perhaps the closing paragraph of Glasson's book is the best summary of this matter.²

There is no desire in these pages to deny the influence of Persian thought on Jewish eschatology [which includes some of these demonic themes], but rather to redress the balance and to show that it may be equally profitable to look in other directions. Again it is not being implied that the Jews merely synthesized a series of foreign elements from Egypt and Babylon, Persia and Greece. The point rather is that contact with other cultures encouraged and stimulated Jews to develop and extend their teaching in their own characteristic ways, under the control and inspiration of their central faith. In no case was a belief just "taken over." And as far as the Bible is concerned the fundamental element of divine revelation is not affected. For the outer garment, whether a Greek chlamys or a goodly Babylonian mantle, was always shaped to the living body of truth.

Before leaving the intertestamental literature, we should probably review the demonic vocabulary used by the Jews during this period. Many of the demonic expressions which we have found in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are, as we noted throughout this chapter, also used in the New Testament, while others are not. It is especially helpful for the student

¹Essentials of Demonology, p. 121.

²Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology, pp. 84-85.

of New Testament demonology to see the pre-Christian Jewish usage of these words.

Some of the designations for demons are: demons (δαιμόνια), spirits (πνεύματα), evil spirits (πονηρὰ πνεύματα), unclean and impure demons, malignant spirits, malignant evil ones, spirits and powers of Mastema (since some of the manuscripts are corrupt or late in date, the original forms of last several are uncertain). The archenemy of God and leader of the evil kingdom is called: Mastema, (probably the original was מַסְתֵּמָה), Beliar (original probably בְּלִיַּאֲזַר or בְּלִיַּאֲזַר), Satan (Σατανᾶς), the Devil (διάβολος), the evil one (ὁ πονηρός), probably the enemy (ὁ ἐχθρός), the angel of lawlessness, and the ruler of this world (some original forms unknown). People who are tormented by demons are healed (ἰάομαι and θεραπεύω, both mean to heal); the demons are bound (δέω, to bind) or the people are loosed from (λύω ἀπό, to loose from) the demons.

These are some of the more interesting and significant developments, at least in terms of New Testament background, in the demonic vocabulary of the Jews during the intertestamental period.

CHAPTER IV
DEMONOLOGY OF THE INTERTESTAMENTAL PERIOD
(THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS)

Another body of Jewish literature we want to examine is the Dead Sea Scrolls. These documents also fall into the category of Jewish intertestamental literature, because they apparently date from the years between the Old and New Testaments. But for the sake of clarity, we will refer to the material discussed in the preceding chapter as the intertestamental literature, and that of this chapter as the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The number of books and articles written about the Scrolls is so overwhelming, with more being printed every day, that I have not even attempted to include a bibliography for additional study, as I have done in the footnotes of the previous chapters. Not being a student of the Dead Sea Scrolls prior to this study, I have relied heavily on the judgment of such competent scholars as Matthew Black,¹ Millar Burrows,² Frank M. Cross,³ A. Dupont-Sommer,⁴ Theodor Gaster,⁵ and J. T. Milik.⁶

¹Scrolls and Christian Origins.

²Dead Sea Scrolls, and More Light on Scrolls.

³Ancient Library Qumran, and "Dead Sea Scrolls."

⁴Essene Writings from Qumran.

⁵Dead Sea Scriptures in English.

⁶Ten Years Discovery in Wilderness.

It is now generally agreed that the Scrolls are the remains of an Essene library, and their discovery is extremely significant. These Essene documents represent a minority school of thought or sect within Palestinian Judaism in the years just prior to, during, and immediately following the life of Christ.¹

Many people assume that all of the Scrolls were Essene in origin. However, "most libraries of any size (and the Qumran collection appears to have been an extensive one) include volumes of different dates, authorship and origin, and there is no reason to regard the Qumran library as exceptional."² There is "no more justification for supposing that all the books at the Qumran library were produced originally by members of the community to which the library belonged than there is for supposing either that all the books in the Bodleian Library at Oxford were written by members of

¹The Essenes probably descended from the Hasidim, a group of militant Jews which took part in the Maccabean revolt. By the early years of the first century B. C., a priestly wing of the Hasideans had become "a religious order of desert ascetics, under constant pressure and opposition from the Pharisees and the Temple hierarchy" (Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 24). These people--called Essenes--apparently dwelt in many locations, but the majority of them settled in the Qumran area. As nearly as we can determine, the Essenes migrated to this locale in the opening years of the first century B. C., at which time they began to construct the site of Khirbet Qumran. This was not just an ordinary community, but more of a central headquarters for a large scattered settlement.

For the origin of the Essenes, and their history, see: Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, esp. pp. 13-24; Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 227-298, and More Light on Scrolls, pp. 191-203. Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 37-79; Milik, Ten Years of Discovery, pp. 44-98.

²Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, pp. 12-13.

the University of Oxford or that all books in the Library of Nashdom Abbey are works of Anglican Benedictines."¹

But as sure as we are that many Scrolls are not of Essene origin (such as the manuscripts of Old Testament books), we are just as certain that many did originate within the sect. They include such works, for example, as commentaries on Biblical books; collections of prayers, blessings, and benedictions; collections of psalms or hymns; the Manual of Discipline, known also as the Rule of the community (a formal statement of the principles and practices of the sect); the War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness, referred to often as the War Scroll (a description of the final struggle between the good and evil forces); and the Document of the New Covenant in the Land of Damascus, usually called the Damascus Document (similar to the Manual of Discipline, with many historical allusions).²

But some Scrolls fall into the "not sure" category, because we are unable to come up with any conclusive evidence to determine whether or not they are of Essene origin. Fragments of the following works are some that would go under this heading: Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Epistle of Jeremiah, Book of Noah, I Enoch, Jubilees, Genesis Apocryphon, and parts of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

¹Sparks, "Books of Qumran Community," p. 227.

²Parts of this work were found in the famous Genizah in Old Cairo as long ago as the 1890's, but it was never identified with the Essenes. Now there is no question that it has its origin in this sect. In the past it was merely called Fragments of a Zadokite Work, because there is mention of its writers being sons of Zadok.

Many scholars tend to assign Enoch and Jubilees, as well as some of the others just mentioned, to Essene origin.¹ Considering the significance we attributed to these works in the last chapter, such an identification, made positively, would have far-reaching implications for our study of demonology. But since such conclusions so far have been based more on speculation than evidence, and since we will not find any concrete evidence in this chapter to substantiate such claims, we will assume these books originated outside of Essene circles. Certainly such literature was very popular with the Qumran sect,² but nothing more can be said with the evidence at hand. We will anxiously await further studies which will give us positive answers of yes or no, but for now we will be content with merely pointing to the similarities and differences of these intertestamental books and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

It also is difficult to reach any definite conclusions about the original dates of the Scrolls. We must realize that the dates of the surviving fragments are of little help in this matter. Such dates merely show us when the existing manuscripts were made, but give us no clues as to the dates of the original compositions. Just because a Scroll comes from the Qumran Scriptorium does not mean that it was initially composed there. Manuscripts late in date may merely be late copies of early books. There

¹For example, see Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings Qumran, pp. 295-305.

²There have been found among the Scrolls fragments from at least nine different manuscripts of Jubilees and ten of Enoch.

is no way for us to determine the original dates of many of these compositions, and with all the sectarian Scrolls we can do little more than make rather broad estimates.

We know from other sources when the Biblical books date, but concerning the Scrolls actually composed by the members of the sect we can say little more than that they probably range all the way from about 175 B.C. to 50 A.D. It seems likely that the Manual of Discipline was one of the earlier compositions and the War Scroll one of the later ones. The other Scrolls fall between these two extremes. The Psalms, like the Old Testament Psalms, come from many different periods and are merely gathered together in a single work. At least with our present knowledge of the Qumran Literature, we must be very conservative about putting very much stress on the "exact" dates of the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹

Let us now turn to the doctrinal ideas of the Qumran Scrolls, in particular those related to demonology. First of all, it must be realized that there was no one orthodox doctrine or creed within the Qumran community.² The literature of these people was neither subject to strict

¹It seems very unlikely that one can be so sure and exact about dates as is Rabinowitz, "Sequence and Dates of Extra-Biblical Dead Sea Scroll." For help in the problem of dates, see: Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, pp. 12-13; Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 73-223; Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 83-84, 87-90, "Dead Sea Scrolls," esp. note 22 p. 648, and "Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran."

²Matthew Black (Scrolls and Christian Origins, pp. 5-8) correctly points out that "apart from its basic tenet of monotheism there was never any officially defined or recognized type of 'orthodoxy' in ancient Judaism before A.D. 70."

theological censorship nor required to conform with the decisions of councils. Apparently there was a considerable degree of freedom of thought.¹ Under the circumstances we would not expect to find an exact uniformity of ideas from one document to the next.

In addition to the beliefs of the individual members not always coinciding, it is very unlikely that the overall theological development of the movement as a whole remained stagnant year in and year out. No doubt some points of doctrinal divergence among the documents can be attributed to the different dates of composition.

And it appears almost certain that another contributing factor to the variations in concepts can be explained by the general subject matters of the individual Scrolls, and the different purposes for which they were written. For example, "the Thanksgiving Psalms deal especially with matters of inner, individual experience. The Manual of Discipline is concerned with the organization of the community and the administration of its affairs. The conflict with external foes dominates the Habakkuk Commentary. The War scroll contemplates the impending crisis."² It is natural that, from one document to the next, some doctrines would be stressed, others omitted, and the same doctrines treated differently.

Yet in the midst of this lack of doctrinal uniformity, there are certain basic theological concepts which seem to underlie the whole of the

¹Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 277.

²Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 277-278.

Dead Sea Scrolls, and among these there are no great fundamental differences.¹ And so it is specifically with the demonology of the Scrolls; there is no one demonic doctrine in all the documents, yet there are certain basic themes related to demonology which run throughout the Qumran Literature, regardless of the date of composition, subject matter treated, or purpose of writing.²

The absolute sovereignty of God is a concept which is fundamental for the Essenes at Qumran. In this sense they are true to the basic theology of the Old Testament. But coupled with this is a doctrine of spirits, which, though similar in some respects, is vastly different from any Jewish thought we have thus far examined. This doctrine of spirits involves a definite predestination and a rather unique kind of dualism.

The fundamental statement of this precept is in the Manual of Discipline 3:13-4:26, but it is found less explicitly in several of the other writings too.³ According to this dogma, the world is in the grip of two warring spirits, each created by God from the very beginning, and each the

¹In Protestant Christianity today there certainly is not what one could call doctrinal uniformity, yet there are certain basic precepts which underlie the thought of all branches of the Protestant Church.

²For a short introduction to the demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, pp. 277-289.

³These ideas of predestination, dualism, and two spirits are by no means confined to the Manual of Discipline; it is merely in that document that we have an explicit statement of the doctrine of the two spirits. These precepts underlie all of the Scrolls of Essene origin, and often are stated rather definitely. For example, see: Thanksgiving (con't. next page)

very antithesis of the other.¹ The one is the "spirit of truth" or "prince of light," the other the "spirit of perversity" or "angel of darkness." The latter is none other than Belial (בליעל, not בליער),² and is most often called by that name in the Qumran Literature. (The proper names Satan and Mastema³ never appear in the extant fragments of the Scrolls.) Thus there is a cosmological dualism here--two spirits fiercely opposing each other in the physical universe.

But there also is an ethical dualism here, because these two spirits not only exist as part of the cosmological nature of the universe, they also battle in the heart of every man. Each person is under the domination or in the grip of either the prince of light or angel of darkness, and is called respectively one of the "sons of righteousness" or "sons of error."

(footnote con't.) Psalms, numbers 1, 3, 16, and especially column 15 (the Psalm number is no longer distinguishable); War Scrolls 12:1-5, esp. 13:9-12, 16:11-13; Damascus Document 2:7-13; Commentary on Habakkuk 1:12, 2:3, 2:12-13.

¹For information about the Essene doctrine of the two spirits, and dualism in general, see: Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 134; Brown, "Qumran Scrolls and Johannine Gospel and Epistles," pp. 403-419; Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, pp. 280-289; Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 156-161; Davies, "Paul and Dead Sea Scrolls," pp. 171-174; and Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, Flesh," pp. 97-101, 103-104.

²For the etymology of Belial and its use in other Jewish literature, see above pp. 165-168; for the use of Belial in the Qumran Literature, see below pp. 267-270. It is interesting that in the Dead Sea Scrolls the original form--Belial--instead of the corrupt form--Beliar--is used. See above, p. 165.

³For the etymology and earlier use of Mastema, see above pp. 159-163; for its use in the Qumran Literature, see below pp. 268-270.

Everybody has a certain portion of each spirit, and even though a person may be one of the sons of righteousness who walks "in the light," he nevertheless is partially influenced by the angel of darkness (Belial), and sometimes walks in the ways of folly and sin. Actually the sons of righteousness are in constant agony because afflictions and tribulations never cease to be caused by Belial, who is bent on causing the followers of light to stumble. And Belial does not work alone in this endeavor; other evil spirits work under his direction in this onslaught against man,¹ who is supported in this struggle by God and His angel of truth. This, then, is an ethical dualism, which takes place within the rational faculties of man and helps shape his decisions and motives.

W. D. Davies is correct in stressing the permanent nature of this struggle, both in its cosmological and ethical sense, which goes on between these two spirits. Since the beginning of creation, this dualistic warfare has been a permanent element of the physical universe and the rational man. There is no emphasis "on the invasive, transcendent character of the two spirits, but on their enduring presence and persistence until the End; they suggest not an inrush of specially given energy but, if we may so express it, two constant currents of good and evil forces in conflict."²

Yet this is not a situation which will go unchecked forever. God

¹See, for example, 3:24 and 4:20-21. There are also numerous good spirits.

²"Paul and Dead Sea Scrolls," p. 173.

has appointed a time when Belial and all his associates will meet with utter and permanent destruction--they are destined "to eternal perdition in the fury of the God of vengeance, to eternal trembling and everlasting dishonor, with destroying disgrace in the fire of dark places" (4:13-14).¹ They will be totally destroyed without the escape of any remnant whatsoever. This pertains not just to Belial and his spiritual assistants, but also to all humans who fall into the category of "sons of error" or followers of the angel of darkness. In fact, the War Scroll, probably written at least an hundred years later than the Manual, deals almost entirely with this final struggle between the forces of righteousness and evil, in which the former will completely liquidate the latter.

Although at first it may appear that this final conflict is to be an earthly battle fought in the mountains or wilderness of Jerusalem, it actually will have somewhat of a supernatural character to it, for God will send his angelic hosts and protective angels into the battle to help Israel defeat the powers of darkness.² This belief that God's angels will fight in Israel's ranks against her adversaries is found frequently in the Scrolls, but it certainly is not a concept unique to Essenic Judaism. Its development can

¹Quoted according to Burrows' translation; see Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 375.

²See, for example: War Scroll 1:9-11, 7:6, 12:3-9, 15:14; Book of Hymns 3:34-36; etc.

be traced from the Old Testament,¹ through some of the Jewish writings of the intertestamental period,² into the New Testament. Just after Judas has betrayed Jesus and the crowd moves in to take Him prisoner, Jesus says: "Do you think that I cannot appeal to my Father, and he will at once send me more than twelve legions of angels?"³ Also the angels minister to Jesus after His struggle with Satan in the wilderness.⁴ All of these passages show that the ancient Hebrews and the later Christians believed that God's angels would help with the fight against their enemies and the demonic powers.⁵

This doctrine of the two spirits which we have been discussing can rightly be described as only a form of "limited" dualism, or perhaps better, as a system of "absolute" predestination.⁶ It is God who, in all of His wisdom and before creation, predetermined that all of these things would

¹See, for example: Ex. 23:20, 33:2; 2 K. 19:35; 2 Chron. 32:21; etc.

²See, for example: 1 En. 10:1-20, 56:5; Jub. 5:6, 10:9-11; Ass. Mos., see above, p. 209.

³Matt. 26:53, R.S.V.

⁴Matt. 4:1; Mk. 1:13.

⁵For this entire concept, consult the following: Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, p. 154; Nötscher, Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran Texte, p. 165; Yadin, Scroll of War of Sons of Light Against Sons of Darkness, p. 237.

⁶Brown ("Qumran Scrolls and Johannine Gospel and Epistles," p. 405) calls it a "modified" dualism. It is dualism because the universe is under the dominion of two opposing principles of good and evil, but modified because both are created and dependent upon God.

come to pass: He created the two spirits, one good and one evil; He placed mankind under the sway of these two spirits, and decided who would be subjects of the prince of light and who of the angel of darkness; He brought about affliction, suffering, and tribulation; He was responsible for the sin of the world which eventually will result in the eternal perdition of many people (the sons of error), as well as of Belial and his spiritual assistants; and He determined how long this struggle between good and evil should last. Let us quote several pertinent passages from the Manual of Discipline.¹

From the God of knowledge is all that is and that is to be; and before they [creatures] came into being he established all their designing. And when they come into being for their testimony according to his glorious design, they fulfill their work; and nothing is to be changed. In his hand are the ordinances of all; and he provides for them in all their affairs.

He created man to have dominion over the world and made for him two spirits, that he might walk by them until the appointed time of his visitation; they are the spirits of truth and error. (3:15-19)

.....
 For he created the spirits of light and of darkness, and upon them he founded every work and upon their ways every service. (3:25-26)

In these two spirits are the origins of all the sons of man, and in their divisions all the hosts of men have their inheritance in their generations. In the ways of the two spirits men walk. And all the performance of their works is in their two divisions, according to each man's inheritance, whether much or little, for all the periods of eternity. For God has established the two spirits in equal measure until the last period, and has put eternal enmity between their divisions. (4:14-17)

.....
 But God in the mysteries of his understanding and in his glorious

¹These passages are quoted from Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls, pp. 374-376. I have inserted in parentheses the numbers of the columns and lines of the scrolls quoted.

wisdom has ordained a period for the ruin of error, and in the appointed time of punishment he will destroy it forever. (4:18-19)

.....

Thus far the spirits of truth and of error struggle in the heart of a man; they walk in wisdom and folly; and according to each man's inheritance in truth he does right, and so he hates error; but according to his possession in the lot of error he does wickedly in it, and so he abhors truth. For in equal measure God has established the two spirits until the period which has been decreed and the making new; and he knows the performance of their works for all the periods of eternity. And he causes the sons of men to inherit them, that they may know good and evil, making the lots fall for every living man according to his spirit in the world until the time of visitation. (4:23-26)

There is no doubt that in this Essene doctrine of two spirits we are able to detect several underlying sources, one of which is Zoroastrianism.

K. G. Kuhn provides us with a concise and accurate summary of relevant Zoroastrian ideas, when he says:

There, too, we find in the beginning the dualism of the two original spirits of good and evil (Yasna 30, 3 ff.), as a result of which all mankind is divided into the two opposing groups of "followers of Asha" and "comrades of Drug," i. e., "the people of truth" and "the people of lies." This dualism rests on a primeval choice. The determination of these two original spirits as good and evil comes from the fact that they themselves made the original choice. In the same way the determination of men as belonging to one of the two inimical groups is due to the fact that each individual has made the choice between Asha and Drug, truth and lie, well-doing and evil-doing. According to this choice of theirs, they then must act accordingly. Their ultimate fate is determined thereby: a state of either glorification or damnation and annihilation.¹

In Zoroastrianism the original wicked spirit was not created an evil

¹"New Light on Temptation, Sin, Flesh," p. 98. For other discussions about Zoroastrian influence on the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially concerning dualism and the doctrine of the two spirits, see: Cross, Ancient Library Qumran, pp. 160-161; Dupont-Sommer, Jewish Sect of Qumran and Essenes, pp. 118-130; Kuhn, "Die Sektenschrift und die iranische Religion"; Zaehner, Zoroastrianism, pp. 50-53.

substance, but turned from righteousness by his own preference. He was not forced to transgress, either by God or by an inner compulsion of his own nature; this was a free choice. Likewise, the subsequent determination of each person, as either good or evil, has always been a matter of individual option. But the Essene doctrine we have been studying is somewhat different. Neither the angel of darkness (Belial) in the beginning, nor any man since then, has been permitted to select his own destiny; the moral status of Belial, as well as every individual human, has been predetermined by God. So we find a resemblance to Zoroastrianism, though not a duplication.

Another obvious influence on this Essene doctrine, though again not a replica, is the monotheistic emphasis of the Old Testament, which we examined in Chapter I of this study.¹ It will be remembered that the Hebrew scriptures portray God as the creator of all things, and as being in complete control of the universe. He is at least indirectly, if not perhaps directly, responsible for all happenings except sin, which is man's own responsibility. He uses morally good and obedient celestial beings to carry out his righteous judgments of destruction and affliction, a work which dualism would attribute to morally evil spirits. We concluded that within such a theological framework there is no place for an independent kingdom of evil in opposition to God.

There is no question that the Essenes came into direct contact with

¹See above, pp. 43-51, 62-65.

the Old Testament, but their contact with Zoroastrianism probably was more indirect. Towards the end of the Old Testament period the general theological position of the Scriptures runs into opposition and begins to be modified. Within Judaism during the intertestamental period we see the emergence of ideas more similar to Zoroastrianism, and, in fact, partially brought about by previous contact with that religion. It is during this era, especially in Apocalyptic Literature, that we see the development of a definite dualism and a trend away from absolute monotheism.

As noted in the last chapter, it is in the years between the Testaments that we see the appearance, for the first time in Judaism, of active and independent evil spirits (demons) which tempt mankind to sin, cause destruction, take life, inflict disease, and generally oppose God. It is during these years that there develops an independent leader of the demons, known by various names. God is no longer held responsible for all things, good and evil, but there is a counter spiritual kingdom which actively opposes God's ultimate purposes. Yet these evil spirits, as well as their human followers, are doomed to utter destruction and eternal damnation at the time of God's final reckoning. And, as in Zoroastrianism, the original spirits and humans were created righteous, but chose to transgress.

Probably the presence of Zoroastrian ideas in the Qumran Literature is due more to the Essenes' keen interest in the Apocalyptic traditions than to direct contact with Zoroastrianism. But be that as it may, we definitely see the joint influence of the Old Testament and Zoroastrianism, the latter

probably as reflected in the intertestamental literature. From the intertestamental literature or Zoroastrianism we see a close affinity with the following Essene ideas: a counter spiritual kingdom, under the direction of one evil spirit, actively opposing God; every individual alligning himself with one or the other of the opposing kingdoms; all sin, affliction, and disharmony attributed to the evil spirits and their earthly followers; and the final destruction of the evil forces, both human and superhuman members. In accordance with the Old Testament, we see in the Scrolls a return to the presupposition of a more strict monotheism, which makes God responsible for all things, both good and evil, and does away with any idea of opposing evil forces independent of God's direction.

Hence, in the Qumran doctrine of two spirits, as well as elsewhere in the Scrolls, we see traces of ideas from two backgrounds we have already studied--the Old Testament and the intertestamental literature. However, it must be stressed that the concepts from both of these bodies of literature are not carried over into the Qumran literature in their original forms. All we have in the Scrolls are some similarities which show influence from these other Jewish traditions, not a direct borrowing of dogma. The Essene writers definitely made use of previous and contemporary Jewish tenets, but, for the most part, they appear greatly modified and combined with other ideas. The result, in the case of the doctrine of the two spirits--a doctrine of considerable importance for the Essenes, and very pertinent for our study of demonology--is the development of the purest form of monotheistic predestination. "The whole conception is a corollary of God's absolute sovereignty

and man's complete dependence upon him."¹ This represents a new step in Jewish theology, inasmuch as monotheism had never been carried to this extreme. "A man is judged according to his spirit, but his spirit is as it has been given him."²

Of course, one immediately asks: "How can God, on the one hand, create evil and predestine man to do evil and then, on the other hand, because of these predestined deeds, which are unavoidably ungodly and evil, judge and damn mankind?"³ None of the Scrolls reflects on this matter, and apparently it was not even felt as a problem. Millar Burrows makes the following rather shrewd observation:

The division of all mankind into two lots no doubt seemed to the members of the sect a simple matter of observed fact, and the assumption that they were themselves the sons of light and all others were the sons of darkness obviated any difficulty in drawing the line between the two divisions. They were painfully aware that the spirit of darkness was contending with the spirit of light even in their own hearts, but they recognized with humble gratitude that they belonged to the lot of God.⁴

Under the circumstances, as with the Old Testament, we cannot expect to find in the Dead Sea Scrolls any demons, that is, independent evil spirits. There are spirits which appear to work evil, but they are the obedient instruments of God's will. Further, man is not portrayed as yielding to the enticement of these spirits, but merely as having no choice in what he is.

¹Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 292.

²Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 293.

³Kuhn, "New Light on Temptation, Sin, Flesh," p. 99.

⁴Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 292.

There is no possible way this can be construed as an active demonology. This is a return, as far as demonology is concerned, to the basic position of the Old Testament.

In reading the Dead Sea Scrolls, therefore, Belial and his assisting spirits should not be thought of as representing an evil kingdom independently opposed to God. They are, instead, the result of God's creative wisdom and will, and can do only that which has been assigned them. This is not to suggest that we should minimize the power and evil effects of Belial's activity. He is portrayed in the Scrolls as the angel of darkness, the leader of all of the wicked forces in existence. All of his spiritual and human followers are said to be in "the lot of Belial." They cause sin, destruction, idolatry, immorality, tragedy, sickness, death, etc., and they will wage a fierce war in the end. Certainly Belial is a real and active force with which to reckon.

Belial appears frequently in the Qumran Literature, in fact, a collective total of over thirty times.¹ As mentioned above,² Belial is the only proper name which is used in the Scrolls for the leader of the demonic forces, but as one looks back over the various activities attributed to Belial by the Essenes, it is obvious that Belial in the Dead Sea Scrolls is synonymous

¹Yadin (Scroll of War of Sons of Light Against Sons of Darkness, p. 232) says it appears 33 times: 12 in War Scroll, 5 in Manual of Discipline, 10 in Thanksgiving Hymns, and 6 in Damascus Document. Burrows (More Light on Scrolls, p. 287) points out that it even appears more times.

²See above, pp. 256-257.

with Satan--by whatever name he may be called, including Belial or Beliar-- as we came to know him in the other Jewish writings of the intertestamental period. But there is this one difference: in the Qumran literature Belial is an agent doing the will of God, while in the other intertestamental literature the leader of the evil forces is a spirit independent of God's domination.

Just as surely as Belial in the Qumran literature is the same Belial that we saw in the Book of Jubilees and the Ascension of Isaiah,¹ Mastema, on the other hand, does not appear in the Scrolls as we saw it used earlier in the Book of Jubilees, that is, as a proper noun.²

Almost all scholars agree that מַסְתֵּמָה is not used in any of the extant Dead Sea Scrolls as a proper noun, Mastema, but as a common noun, as used in the Old Testament,³ meaning enmity, hatred, or animosity.⁴ It is used at least five times in the Scrolls, and each time in reference to Belial, the angel of darkness. The Manual of Discipline, speaking of the angel of darkness, refers to "the dominion of his enmity" (3:23). The

¹See above, pp. 165-168.

²See above, pp. 159-163.

³See above, pp. 161-162, esp. n. 1, p. 162.

⁴Both Yadin, (Scroll of War of Sons of Light and Sons of Darkness, pp. 233-234) and Burrows (More Light on Scrolls, p. 288) make a special effort to point out that Mastema is not used in the Qumran Literature as a proper name. Other scholars affirm this contention in their translations of the passages in which the word is used; see, for example: Gaster, Dead Sea Scriptures in English; Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings from Qumran.

War Scroll says that Belial is cursed because of his "plan of enmity" (13:4), and a few lines later Belial is referred to as "an angel of enmity" (13:11). In another passage (14:9) of the War Scroll there is mention of Belial and "all the mysteries of his hatred." Then in the Damascus Document there is reference to the "angel of enmity" (16:5).¹

Yadin² argues convincingly that in the various Scrolls מַסְתֵּמָה , used as a common noun, describes the "characteristic actions of Belial." He goes one step further and suggests that מַסְתֵּמָה probably should be translated as a common noun in Jubilees as well. He bases his argument on the fact that the tasks of Mastema in Jubilees "are identical with those of Belial." We concluded, however, in the previous chapter that מַסְתֵּמָה is used as a proper name in Jubilees.³

It is interesting to compare the contrasting uses of Mastema and Belial in Jubilees and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In Jubilees the leader of the evil spirits is almost always Mastema, and Belial is so designated only twice, but in the whole of the Qumran Literature Belial is the evil

¹In this one passage in the Damascus Document, Charles ("Fragments of a Zadokite Work," Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, [ed. Charles], Vol. II, p. 834) translates "the angel of Mastema," and Rabin (Zadokite Documents, pp. 74, 75 n. 1) translates "the angel Mastema." Both of these translations are based on the manuscripts which were found in the Cairo Genizah, and even Rabin, writing as late as 1953, did not have access to the more recent manuscripts found at Qumran. Such scholars as Burrows, Dupont-Sommer, Gaster, and Yadin render מַסְתֵּמָה in this passage as a common noun.

²Scroll of War of Sons of Light Against Sons of Darkness, pp. 233-234.

³See above, pp. 161-162.

leader and Mastema, as a proper name, is never used. Yadin suggests that the sect's only name for the leader of the demonic forces was Belial, and that "all the other names are simply titles describing his character and actions."¹

Certainly the usage of Belial and Mastema in the Dead Sea Scrolls is more in keeping with most other Jewish literature for, as we pointed out in the previous chapter, Mastema is hardly ever used in any other writings as it is in Jubilees. At the same time, however, the Scrolls are unusual inasmuch as they never once, at least among those which have been made public, use the name Satan. This is especially surprising since we noticed in the last chapter the great and increasing interest in and development of the concept of Satan among Jews about the same time many of the Scrolls were written--the last century or so B.C. and the first century A.D.

Before leaving our study of the Qumran Literature, it might be wise to examine the suggestion, by Dupont-Sommer, that both Abraham and Daniel are portrayed as exorcists who drive away demons which cause illness.²

Let us turn to the Genesis Apocryphon,³ where one of the alleged

¹ Scroll of War of Sons, etc., p. 234.

² See Dupont-Sommer, especially "Exorcismes et Guérisons dans les Écrits de Qoumrân," and also Essene Writings from Qumran, pp. 287-288, 322.

³ Originally this work was called the Lamech Scroll. "Because of the references to Lamech and his wife in small bits of the text which had come loose on the outside of the scroll, it had been supposed (con't. next page)

examples of exorcism is found. This Scroll has turned out to be a very interesting piece of literature. It is one of the few "Aramaic" texts from the Qumran discoveries, but it is rather poorly preserved. "It is really a sort of apocryphal version of the stories from Genesis, faithful, for the most part, to the order of the chapters in the Scripture."¹ Black suggests we have here an early Aramaic Targum,² and Dupont-Sommer calls it "a precious example of the Essene midrash."³ The extant fragments of the twenty-two columns of this scroll, only five of which have been published, deal with Lamech, Enoch, Noah, and Abram.⁴ Parts of this work are similar to the Book of Enoch (especially to Noah passages) and to the Book of Jubilees. These similarities have led to the speculation

(footnote con't.) that this might be the lost apocryphal book of Lamech" (Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, pp. 7-8). For general information about the Genesis Apocryphon, consult: Avigad and Yadin, A Genesis Apocryphon; Black, Scrolls and Christian Origins, pp. 192-198; Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings Qumran, pp. 279-294.

¹Avigad and Yadin, A Genesis Apocryphon, p. 38.

²Scrolls and Christian Origins, pp. 193-198. A Targum is a paraphrase of an Old Testament passage, in Aramaic instead of Hebrew. When Aramaic became the spoken language of most Palestinian Jews, there was need for Aramaic Scriptures. We are not sure exactly when this change in speech took place in Palestine; it had started as early as the second century B.C. and was certainly complete by the first century A.D.

³Essene Writings Qumran, p. 280. A Midrash is an exposition or commentary of Scripture.

⁴These five columns, 2 and 19-22, were first published by Avigad and Yadin, A Genesis Apocryphon. For a brief summary of the contents of the unpublished portions, see Avigad and Yadin, pp. 16-37.

that maybe the Genesis Apocryphon served as one of the sources for these two works,¹ but it is more likely that this Scroll was originally written as late as the first century B.C.²

We are concerned in particular with the story in columns 19-20, which is similar, though expanded, to the narrative of Genesis 12:10-20. These columns describe the things that happened to Abram and Sarai soon after going to Egypt to get away from the famine in Hebron. Three Egyptian Princes met Abram after he was in Egypt, and feasted with him. They marvelled at the beauty of Sarai, Abram's wife, and reported what they had seen to Pharoah Joan, the King of Egypt. Pharoah sent for Sarai and he too was fascinated by her loveliness. He took her for his wife and sought to have Abram killed. But Sarai told the King that Abram was only her brother, not her husband, and Abram's life was spared.

Abram left in grief and prayed to God to bring judgment upon Pharoah. God sent an evil "spirit"³ which afflicted Pharoah with some kind of an ailment. After suffering for two years, he sent for all the physicians and wise

¹ Avigad and Yadin, A Genesis Apocryphon, p. 38. It seems more likely, however, that Jubilees and Enoch were used by the writer of the Genesis Apocryphon, or that they all had some common source. Since Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon both treat the book of Genesis, it is not surprising to find similarities in these two.

² Black, Scrolls and Christian Origin, p. 198; Burrows, More Light on Scrolls, p. 8; Kutscher, "Dating the Language of Genesis Apocryphon."

³ The original translators of this scroll, Avigad and Yadin, rendered this a "pestilential wind" and "evil wind" (A Genesis Apocryphon, pp. 43-44). Burrows followed suit with "crushing wind" and "evil wind" (More Light on Scrolls, pp. 389-390). But Dupont-Sommer argued that (con't. next page)

men of Egypt. However, they were unable to help him because the spirit began to afflict them too, so they fled. When Pharoah sent for Abram to see if he could help, it was learned that Sarai was Abram's wife, not sister, and that Abram could help only after Sarai was returned. Pharoah rebuked Abram for having deceived him, but returned Sarai, whom he had not known as a wife because of the plague. Abram, in turn, prayed for Pharoah and laid his hands on his head--the affliction was taken away and the evil spirit departed.

Dupont-Sommer maintains that Abram is, in this story, portrayed as an exorcist and healer. He says the illness of Pharoah was caused by the evil spirit (demon), and that Abram drove away the demon and thereby cured the King.

It seems to me that the one overall fallacy of Dupont-Sommer's argument is that he apparently fails to recognize that this evil spirit did not just attack Pharoah on its own initiative, but that the spirit was an agent of God, sent by Him to afflict Pharoah. This is not an independent spirit, but a personification of God's will. To assume that Abram had the power to cast out this spirit and heal the disease suggests he had the power to override the will of God. I cannot believe that this was the intended meaning

(footnote con't.) these translations were wrong and that it should be "spirit of chastisement" and "evil spirit," the point being that we have here a "spirit," not a "wind" ("Exorcismes et Guérisons dans les Écrits de Qoumrân," esp. pp. 249-250, and Essene Writings Qumran, pp. 287-288). In a letter to me (August 8, 1962) Millar Burrows, in referring to Dupont-Sommer's argument for "spirit" instead of "wind," wrote: "I found his argument convincing and wondered why I had not thought of it myself. You may quote me on that if you wish."

of the original writer.

It appears to me that this writer was trying to illustrate the power and mercy of God, not the ability of Abram to exorcise and heal. After Pharoah took Sarai, God sent the spirit of affliction; after Sarai was returned, God had no reason to punish him further, so the spirit was withdrawn. The story probably should be interpreted in the spirit of the opening part of chapter 22 of the Damascus Document: "And on the day that the man obligates himself to return to the law of Moses the angel of enmity will depart from him if he makes good his words."¹

It may be asked, then, why the author portrayed Abram as laying his hands on Pharoah's head. If God sent the spirit by Himself and is thus portrayed, why, if He removed it, is Abram put into the scene? Dupont-Sommer suggests the Essenes were accomplished healers and did so by the laying on of hands. If this is correct, as it may be, it is not surprising that the author of the Genesis Apocryphon pictured this forgiving act, which involved the removal of disease, in this manner. Or he might have been trying to connote the idea of God's blessing, bestowed by Abram as God's medium.² But this does not suggest that he pictured Abram as having the power and ability to drive away a demon and heal an illness, both of which were in accordance with God's will. The most we can say is that Abram is here depicted as God's agent or means whereby God does these things.

¹Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 363.

²Compare Genesis 48:14-16.

Apparently Dupont-Sommer makes two or three broad assumptions which underlie his whole theory, and which have led him into error. He seems to assume that the Essenes were very interested in healing, and, in fact, were accomplished in that art. This may, or may not, be a fact, but certainly his conclusions are drawn from rather slim evidence, to say the least. First of all, he draws an exaggerated emphasis from one sentence by Josephus, which refers to the Essenes: "They also take great pains in studying the writings of the ancients; and choose out of them what is most for the advantage of their soul and body; and they inquire after such roots and medicinal stones as may cure their distempers."¹ Dupont-Sommer writes: "According to Josephus (War, II, 8, 6, §136), the Essenes were particularly expert in the art of healing the sick."² I think he considerably overstates Josephus' observations. Secondly, he assumes the origin of the Scrolls and the Book of Jubilees are the same, and thus accepts the latter as a fair representation of Essene ideas. He then uses chapter ten of Jubilees, which tells about the angels teaching Noah medicines to counteract the afflictions of the evil spirits, as further evidence that the Essenes were interested in healing and exorcism. Without more proof than we have now, one cannot legitimately suppose Jubilees is Essene in origin. Again, it may or may not be, but we just cannot be sure; if anything, however, the evidence suggests it is not.

¹ Josephus, Wars of the Jews, Bk. II, chpt. 8, sect. 6.

² Dupont-Sommer, Essene Writings Qumran, n. 2, p. 288.

The second basic error, which seems to account for his misjudgments, is in supposing that demon possession and illness are one and the same thing, or, at least, that where there is one there always is the other. This causes him to confuse the methods used for healing disease and those for expelling evil spirits. He points to many examples in the New Testament which tell of a person being healed by the laying on of hands, and he then assumes that the laying on of hands, both in the New Testament and the Genesis Apocryphon, not only is an act of healing, but also one of exorcising. Dupont-Sommer writes, referring to the incident of Abram: "Here the laying on of hands is an exorcism: the evil spirit is expelled from the body of a sick man who is thus healed."¹ He continues by pointing to supposedly parallel cases in the New Testament.² The problem with his approach, as we will see in the next chapter,³ is that the Gospels teach, with few "doubtful" exceptions, that demon possession and illness are two separate phenomena. In fact, ironically enough, two of the passages (Mark 16:17-18 and Luke 4:40-41) quoted by Dupont-Sommer to make his point teach, on the contrary, that there is a clear distinction between demon possession and exorcism on the one hand, and illness and healing on the other; all the other verses he mentions (Mark 5:23, 6:5, 7:32, 8:23-25), perhaps with the exception of Luke 13:10-13, pertain

¹Essene Writings Qumran, note 2, p. 288.

²For example: Mark 5:23, 6:5, 7:32, 8:23-25, 16:17-18; Luke 4:40-41, 13:10-13.

³See below, n. 5, p. 316.

only to illness, without even a vague allusion to demon possession.

Under the circumstances, it seems to me very doubtful that Abram is portrayed in the Essene writing as an exorcist and healer. There can be no real "cause and effect" relationship between Abram and the restoration of the King. The most we can say is that Abram is used as a way to personify the forgiveness and mercy of God, or, that he is portrayed as the earthly medium through which God acts.

The second part of his article¹ suggests that Daniel also is portrayed as an exorcist and healer, and uses for his evidence the Prayer of Nabonidus. The five surviving fragments of this Scroll reveal that it is a story about the seven years that Nabonidus, the last ruler of the Neo-Babylonian empire, spent at Teima in Egypt. The text is badly preserved, but Burrows translates it as follows:²

The words of the prayer which Nabonidus, king of Assyria and of Babylon, the great king, prayed when he was smitten with a severe inflammation by the command of the Most High God, in the city of Teima: I was smitten for seven years and I was put far from men. But when I confessed my trespasses and my sins, he left me a seer. He was a Jew of the exiles in Babylonia. He gave his explanation and wrote that honor should be given and great glory to the name of the Most High God. And he wrote thus: When you were smitten with a severe inflammation in the city of Teima by the command of the Most High seven years, you prayed to the gods made of silver and gold, of bronze, of iron, of stone, of clay . . . of the gods . . .

¹"Exorcismes et Guérisons dans les Écrits de Qoumrân," pp. 253-261. See also Essene Writings Qumran, pp. 322-325.

²More Light on Scrolls, p. 400. It will be noticed that the text breaks off in the middle of a sentence.

Dupont-Sommer finds fault with this translation, which resembles that of Milik's,¹ and suggests that we should read: "But I prayed to the Most High God and an exorcist forgave my sins," instead of: "But when I confessed my trespasses and sins he left me a seer." He suggests, because this story resembles that in chapter four of the Book of Daniel, that the exorcist is Daniel. He then draws the conclusion that, in this Qumran scroll, Daniel is portrayed as one who is able to: (1) forgive sins, (2) expel demons, and (3) cure disease. Let it be said that one might legitimately doubt if these qualities really are attributed to Daniel.

Even if his proposed translation were correct, which seems doubtful,² Dupont-Sommer's general thesis still is hard to accept. He does not suggest that God works through Daniel or that Daniel is His instrument of mercy. The entire emphasis is on Daniel's ability to do these things, as it was in the above case with Abram. Again he seems to overlook the idea of absolute monotheism, which seems to have been a basic principle of the Essenes:

Behold, thou art Prince of gods and King of honored ones,
Lord of every spirit and Ruler over every work.

¹See Revue Biblique, LXIII (1956), pp. 407-415.

²Actually this text is so poorly preserved it is very difficult to derive any really satisfactory translation. Dupont-Sommer admits this difficulty, and then devotes four pages (256-259) in his article trying to solve it. He concludes that his rendition is the only suitable one, and, further, he adds that he has not had to amend the text, as have Burrows and Milik. This part of his article is too involved and not pertinent enough for our study of demonology to justify a more thorough treatment.

Apart from thee nothing is done;
It is not known without thy will.¹

Also, even to the closing summary of his article,² he suggests that illness, in the Qumran Literature and the New Testament, is the result of demon possession. His article--at least as I understand it, the Scrolls, and the New Testament--must be rejected.

Let it be reiterated: in the Dead Sea Scrolls there is no mention of evil spirits of any kind which exist and/or work independently of God's creative wisdom and power.

¹Thanksgiving Psalm, No. XVI, col. 10, quoted from Burrows, Dead Sea Scrolls, p. 413.

²See p. 261 of his article.

CHAPTER V

DEMONOLOGY OF THE RABBINIC LITERATURE

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonic concepts which serve as a background for the study of New Testament demonology. In the previous chapters we have considered the demonology of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, the Pseudepigrapha, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although these bodies of literature include all of the extant pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish writings relevant to our study, some scholars contend that since the Rabbinic Literature, though written during the Christian Era, contains much pre-Christian material, it too should be included as part of the background for New Testament demonology. But it is the purpose of this chapter to show that this is basically an erroneous contention which leads to the distorted and false exegesis of Biblical verses, both in the Old and New Testaments, which pertain (or, in some instances, "supposedly" pertain) to demonology.¹

At the outset of this chapter it probably should be pointed out that a different approach will be used. In the preceding chapters almost every passage relating to demonology has been discussed in detail, or at least

¹It should be emphasized that the position supported in this chapter pertains only to the subject of demonology. It cannot necessarily be generalized to cover the whole field of the relationship between Biblical and Rabbinic teaching.

mentioned. In considering the Rabbinic Literature, however, we will tend to be concerned less with specific passages and more with general trends and broad concepts. After all, even though it is an interesting and enlightening subject, we are not concerned, in this study, with the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature for its own sake, but only as it relates to the Bible. We do not, I think, have to write a prolonged and detailed description of the various demonic tenets alleged by the Rabbis in order to reach the following significant two-fold conclusion: (1) the demonic themes dispersed throughout the Rabbinic Literature developed, for the most part, after the Old Testament and, therefore, cannot be used in the latter's interpretation; and (2) the overall emphasis of demonic ideas in the New Testament is fundamentally different from that in the Rabbinic Literature, so it is questionable how much the latter can be used in the interpretation of the former.

Before going any further, it would be helpful to clarify what is implied by the term "Rabbinic Literature." In this thesis, the term Rabbinic Literature is used to refer to the writings of the ancient Rabbis, that is, the early Targums, the Mishnah, the Talmud (Palestinian and Babylonian versions) and the early Midrashim. Although most of this Rabbinic Literature was actually reduced to writing between about 200 and 800 A. D., much of it existed considerably earlier in oral form, some of it even as early as 400 B. C., and many of the ideas expressed in the Rabbinic Literature date even much earlier than that.¹

¹The entire problem of dating Rabbinic Literature and the concepts found therein is very difficult. Although we can be fairly accurate in determining the date a particular passage was reduced to writing, in many instances the ideas expressed existed in oral form hundreds of years before they were recorded. In fact, different pronouncements on a single page may date centuries apart. For the problem of dating the Rabbinic (con't. next page)

There is, therefore, good reason for suggesting that the conscientious scholar should examine the Rabbinic Literature for pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonic concepts which contribute to the background material necessary for understanding the demonology of the New Testament. But it is the contention of this chapter that after the Rabbinic Literature is studied the conclusion must be drawn that there are few passages from the writings of the ancient Rabbis which can be used in the interpretation of Biblical demonology.

Rabbinic Literature¹ is notorious for being a heterogeneous mixture of contents, composed of disjointed sayings which are often incompatible

(footnote con't) Literature, consult: Stewart, Rabbinic Theology, esp. pp. 3-10; Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism. In referring to the development of Haggadah, Vermes writes: "In general, the period of great creative activity began in the fourth or third century B.C. and relaxed only towards the end of the second century A.D." (p. 228).

¹The study of Rabbinic Literature is a very specialized field. Not only is the material so voluminous that it is overwhelming, but one needs to have a very good knowledge of Hebrew history, culture, and religion to appreciate and understand what the Rabbis are trying to convey.

Not claiming to be a Rabbinic scholar, I have mostly relied on translations and secondary sources. The best translations seem to be those by the Soncino Press (for example: Babylonian Talmud, gen. ed. Epstein, 35 vols., 1935-1952; Midrash Rabbah, gen. eds. Freedman and Simon, 10 vols., 1939; and a new Hebrew-English edition of the Babylonian Talmud, gen. ed., Epstein, first volume published in 1960, second one in 1962, the others to follow.

There are a number of reliable scholars who have discussed different aspects of Rabbinic demonic thought, and when they are all considered together there is a rather complete coverage of the demonology of Rabbinic Literature. However, the reader should never blindly accept the interpretations of these scholars without looking up the pertinent texts, for the various writers do not always agree with each other. Besides, it is not possible to get the "feel" of Rabbinic Literature unless one takes the time to read extensively in this great mass of writings. (con't next page)

and contradictory,¹ and the demonic passages are no exception. There is no such thing as a systematic doctrine of Rabbinic demonology. The various demonic beliefs of the ancient Rabbis come to light as one patiently digs through a vast maze of unrelated sayings and dissimilar incidents. But the reader must guard against becoming so engrossed in and bewildered by the details of the numerous and often farfetched passages that he fails to recognize the broad demonic themes and patterns which very definitely emerge from this material, and, after all, it is these overall motifs in which we are most interested.² Let us now examine them.

(footnote con't)

Following are listed some of the better discussions of Rabbinic demonic material: Bamberger, Fallen Angels, chap. 16; Blau, "Satan," pp. 69-70; Foerster, "δαίμων, δαιμόνιον," pp. 12-14; Goldberg, "Demons in Talmud and Midrash"; Kohler, "Demonology," pp. 516-518; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, (scattered pages throughout the book), and Satan, chap. 2; Loewe, "Demons and Spirits (Jewish)"; Noack, Satanás and Sotería, pp. 12-24; Oesterley, "Demon, Demonic Possession, Demoniacs," pp. 439-440, and "Belief in Angels and Demons," pp. 200-209, (Oesterley has other articles concerning Rabbinic demonology, but these are the best ones); Stewart, Rabbinic Theology, pp. 59-61, 85-89; Strack and Billerbeck, Kommentar Zum Neuen Testament, Vol. IV, pp. 501-535; Whitehouse, "Demon, Devil," pp. 592-593.

I would especially recommend the book by Bamberger, chap. 16. This is the best single treatment, but it is not complete and needs to be supplemented.

¹"Inconsistencies appear frequently; and even when they are noted, the effort to reconcile them is superficial. No serious effort was made to integrate the theological opinions of the rabbis into a coherent system" (Bamberger, Fallen Angels, p. 90).

²"Only when a view is found with some frequency, and when it accords with the general spirit of rabbinic thought, dare we say that this is the opinion of 'the rabbis of the Talmud'" (Bamberger, Fallen Angels, p. 90).

One of the most significant developments in Rabbinic Literature is the complete unanimity with which the Rabbinic teachers reject dualism. Certainly there is frequent mention of all kinds of demons, including Satan, but, although these evil spirits do such things as oppose, harass, afflict, tempt, and destroy God's creatures, they do so with the permission of, or even under the direction of, God Himself. God is responsible for everything that happens, and this includes the activities of the many evil spirits.

In Rabbinic Literature the demons are portrayed as being an innumerable horde of evil spirits¹ which inhabit almost every area of the universe.² They are not, however, an organized body under the leadership of any specific figure. Although Ashmedai is referred to as the king of the demons,³ Igrath as their queen,⁴ and Sammael as their chief,⁵ none of these is ever depicted as actually taking a positive role of leadership. They appear to be just the better known and more troublesome demons.

¹They exist by the thousands, even hundreds-of-thousands: Mid. Deut. Re'eh, IV, 4; Tal. Berakoth 6a; Tal. Pesahim 112b.

²For example: in the sky and on the earth (Tal. Giṭṭin 68a); in towns (Tal. Pesahim 111b) and in fields (Mid. Gen. Bereshith XX, 11; Tal. Berakoth 3a-3b); in houses (Mid. Gen. Bereshith XX, 11); in beds (Tal. Berakoth 5a); on roofs (Tal. Pesahim 111b); in schoolhouses (Tal. Kiddushin 29b); in bathhouses (Tal. Berakoth 60a; Mid. Eccl. III, 7, 5); in privies (Mid. Eccl. II, 8, 1; Tal. Shabbath 67a, 151b; Tal. Berakoth 60a, 62a); in ruins (Tal. Berakoth 3a-3b); in cemeteries (Tal. Pesahim 112a); and in various kinds of trees, particularly the Palm (Tal. Pesahim 111b).

³Tal. Pesahim 110a; Tal. Giṭṭin 68a.

⁴Mid. Num. Naso, XII, 3.

⁵Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brochah XI, 10.

There are several terms used by the ancient Rabbis to designate demons; among the most common are "harmers" (מַזְיָקִין), "demons" (שְׂדֵיִם), and less frequently "evil spirits" (רוּחֹת רָעוֹת or רוּחֵי רָעוֹת). There are many others used here and there, but apparently the use of one term instead of another has no significance; they all seem to be synonyms, the use of which keeps monotonous repetition at a minimum.

The Rabbis depicted a few of the demons as having specific names,¹ but most of them as being merely impersonal entities. However, they do not all have the same characteristics. Different demons are pictured as having varied qualities, just as are different people.

Among the Rabbis demons appear with both angelic and human attributes:² they resemble the angels inasmuch as they have wings,³ fly all over

¹For example: Ashmedai (Mid. Num. Naso XI, 3; Tal. Pesahim 110a; Tal. Giṭṭin 68a); Asya (Tal. Pesahim 111a); Bar Shirika Panda (Tal. Shabbath 67a); Belusia (Tal. Pesahim 111a); Ben Temalion (Tal. Me'ilah 17b); Hormin, son of Lilith (Tal. Baba Bathra 25b); Igrath (Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3; Tal. Pesahim 112b); 'Igrath Izlath (Tal. Pesahim 111a); Jonathan (Tal. Yebamoth 122a); Joseph (Tal. 'Erubin 43a; Tal. Pesahim 110a); Keṭeb Meriri and Keṭeb Yashud Zaharaim (Tal. Pesahim 111b); Lilith (Mid. Num. Shelach Lecha XVI, 25; Tal. Shabbath 151b; Tal. 'Erubin 100b; Tal. Niddah 24b); Mahalath, mother of Igrath (Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3; Tal. Pesahim 112b); Palga, demon causing headaches (Tal. Pesahim 111b); Sammael or Samael (Mid. Gen. Noach LVI, 4; Mid. Ex. Bo. XVIII, 5; Mid. Ex. Beshallah XXI, 7; Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10; etc.); Shabrire, water demon causing blindness (Tal. Pesahim 112a; Tal. 'Abodah Zarah 12b); Shimadon, demon causing destruction (Mid. Gen. Noach XXXVI, 1, 3); Zerada, demon causing headaches or vertigo (Tal. Pesahim 111b), and, of course, Satan (mentioned often, see below pp. 294-299.)

²All of the angelic and human characteristics are enumerated in a single passage, Tal. Hagigah 16a, but individual ones of them are also found in other places. See the following three notes.

³Mid. Deut. Ki Thetze VI, 6; Tal. Niddah 24b.

the world, and can foretell the future (that is, have heavenly knowledge);¹ they are like men because they eat and drink, propagate,² and die. They are capable of changing from an invisible to a visible state, and back again, at will, and when they are visible they appear in various forms: for example, as people,³ birds,⁴ he-goats,⁵ seven-headed dragons,⁶ etc. Demons have shadows, but probably not double shadows.⁷ They are able to talk, both the human and demonic dialects.⁸ Some demons can fly as fast as an arrow,⁹ and others can run faster than a horse.¹⁰ Particular ones can even change

¹Tal. Pesahim 112b; Tal. Giṭṭin 68a; Tal. Sanhedrin 65b.

²Propagation automatically implies a belief in the existence of male and female demons. Compare Mid. Num. Naso XI, 3; Tal. 'Erubin 18b; Tal. Giṭṭin 68a. There also was the belief that after being forced to leave the Garden of Eden, Adam and Eve remained apart from each other for 130 years, and during this time they both consorted with demons (Adam with female demons and Eve with male ones), the result being that Eve bore demon-children by the demons, and the female demons bore Adam's demon-children. See Mid. Gen. Bereshith XX, 11; Tal. 'Erubin 18b; and below, n. 2, p. 300 (con't. on p. 301).

³Tal. Megillah 3a; Tal. Yebamoth 122a; Tal. Giṭṭin 66a; Tal. Sanhedrin 44a.

⁴Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3; Mid. Deut. Ki Thetze VI, 6.

⁵Tal. Baba Batha 25b.

⁶Tal. Kiddushin 29b.

⁷Tal. Yoma 84a; Tal. Yebamoth 122a; Giṭṭin 66a.

⁸Tal. Yebamoth 122a; Tal. Giṭṭin 66a, 68a; Tal. Baba Bathra 134a.

⁹Mid. Deut. Ki Thetze VI, 6.

¹⁰Tal. Baba Bathra 73a.

colors.¹ One writer equates demons and the evil impulse,² but this certainly is not a prevalent view.

Although demons have these many diverse characteristics, the great majority of them have one primary objective; causing havoc throughout God's creation.

There is no question that this breed of spirits, especially harmful at night, but also active during the day,³ possess an extraordinary gift for causing harm, destruction, and death.⁴ People can be injured just by the gaze of a demon.⁵ Evil spirits are to be blamed, in some instances, for such human afflictions as blindness,⁶ paralysis,⁷ delirium,⁸ madness,⁹ asthma,¹⁰ digestive diseases,¹¹ headaches,¹² and vertigo.¹² They also can

¹ Tal. Yoma 75a.

² Mid. Gen. Vayera LII, 7. See above p. 146, and below p. 295.

³ Mid. Gen. Noach XXXVI, 1; Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3; Tal. Shabbath 151b; Tal. Pesahim 112b; Tal. Kiddushin 29b, 39b.

⁴ Mid. Gen. Noach XXXVI, 1; Tal. Pesahim 110a, 111b, 112b; Tal. Yoma 84a; Tal. Soṭah 48a; Kiddushin 29b, 39b.

⁵ Mid. Deut. Re'eh IV, 4.

⁶ Tal. Pesahim 112a; Tal. 'Abodah Zarah 12b.

⁷ Tal. Pesahim 111b.

⁸ Tal. Giṭṭin 67b (vii, 1).

⁹ Mid. Num. Chukkath XIX, 8; Tal. Giṭṭin 67b; and causing a mad dog, Tal. Yoma 83b.

¹⁰ Tal. Bekoroth 44b.

¹¹ Especially after eating without washing your hands: Tal. Hullin 107b; Tal. Ta'mith 20b; Tal. Yoma 77b.

¹² Tal. Pesahim 111b.

be responsible for discomforts of a less serious nature, for example, bruised feet,¹ fatigue of the knees,¹ and bad dreams.² In the area of education, demons haunt schoolhouses³ and cause scholars' clothes to wear out.⁴ Turning to worship, sometimes people worship demons instead of God,⁵ and at least one Rabbi suggests it is possible for a demon to compel a Jew to eat unleavened bread.⁶ Sexual desire is likewise attributed to demons.⁷

But people are not helplessly left to the mercy of these wicked spirits. There are certain preventive measures which, if taken, are supposed to lessen the danger of being harmed by the demons, and, if a person has already been afflicted, they serve as remedies.

The chief source of relief is God, from whom man can always seek protection and help.⁸ God will respond as people proclaim His sovereignty,⁹

¹ Tal. Berakoth 6a.

² Tal. Berakoth 55b.

³ Tal. Kiddushin 29b.

⁴ Tal. Berakoth 6a.

⁵ But it is man's own fault for becoming vulnerable to idolatry: Mid. Gen. Bereshith XXIII, 6, and XXIV, 6. See above, n. 1, p. 197, for the many times we have already seen this theme, and below p. 291.

⁶ Tal. Rosh Hashanah 28a.

⁷ Tal. Pesahim 111a.

⁸ For example, even when he is in a privy (Tal. Berakoth 60b).

⁹ Mid. Num. Balak XX, 20.

call upon the power of his name,¹ keep the Law,² recite certain Scriptures,³ and pray.⁴ Besides piety, learning is an attribute which serves as a bulwark against evil spirits.⁵ The angels of God also are a source of protection because they cannot be overcome by the demons.⁶

But the majority of the steps suggested for reducing the menace of the demons seems to have been influenced more by magic and superstition than by Jewish religious traditions. They include precautions and remedies as: do not go places by yourself, or even be by yourself, especially at night;⁷ if out at night, be sure to walk in the moonlight or carry a torch;⁸ behave modestly in a privy;⁹ do not drink an even number of anything;¹⁰ do not drink water on Wednesday or Friday nights, and do not drink water from

¹Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3.

²Mid. Deut. Re'eh IV, 4.

³For example, the shema' (Mid. Num. Balak XX, 20; Tal. Berakoth 5a; etc.); and Zech. 3:2 (Tal. Berakoth 51a).

⁴Tal. Kiddushin 29b.

⁵Tal. Berakoth 33a; Tal. Pesahim 112b; see also Bamberger, Fallen Angels, pp. 106, 277, n. 73.

⁶Mid. Gen. Vayera XLVIII, 11; Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3; Mid. Num. Balak XX, 20. Also see above, pp. 259-260.

⁷Tal. Berakoth 3a-3b, 43b.

⁸Tal. Berakoth 43b.

⁹Tal. Berakoth 62a.

¹⁰That is, do not drink 2, 4, 6, etc., glasses of a drink, but 1, 3, 5, etc., is all right. Tal. Baba Mezi'a 86a.

a pool or a ruins on any night;¹ if a mad dog (caused by an evil spirit) rubs against your clothing, take them off and run;² and use armlets, different kinds for different demons.³

These are only a minor portion of such measures, and, although they may seem rather farfetched to the twentieth-century mind, they are not so unreasonable when one realizes that the Rabbis believed, for example, that demons were more likely to attack solitary persons, were most dangerous in dark and deserted places, were especially active at night--particularly Wednesdays and Fridays, were believed to abide in water, etc. There are, however, a sizeable number of passages which appear to be completely irrational.⁴

The demons, far from being good, are nevertheless not considered

¹Tal. Pesahim 112a.

²Tal. Yoma 84a; if the dog bites a person the remedy is quite involved, see Tal. Yoma 84a.

³Tal. Pesahim 111b.

⁴For example, if a person wants to see demons he should "take the after-birth of a black she-cat, the offspring of a black she-cat, the first-born of a first-born, let him roast it in fire and grind it to powder, and then let him put some into his eye, and he will see them" (Tal. Berakoth 6a). Or, to avoid being attacked by a band of demons, there are certain things one should not do: "Do not take your shirt from the hand of your attendant when dressing in the morning, and do not let water be poured over your hands by one who has not already washed his own hands, and do not return a cup of asparagus brew to anyone save the one who has handed it to you" (Tal. Berakoth 51a). Or against a demon you should say the following: "'Thou wast closed up; closed up wast thou. Cursed, broken, and destroyed be Bar Tit, Bar Tame, Bar Tina as Shamgez, Mezigaz and Istamai.' For a demon of the privy one should say thus: 'On the head of a lion and on the snout of a lioness did we find the demon Bar Shirika Panda; with a bed of leeks I hurled him down and with the jawbone of an ass I smote him'" (Tal. Shabbath 67a).

by some of the Rabbis to be entirely and always wicked. They do have their kindlier moments and, occasionally, are even friendly and helpful. One Rabbi points out that there is support for the belief that both house and field demons are, under certain circumstances, friendly.¹ Another Rabbi writes: "As he [Noah] was going to plant the vineyard the demon Shimadon met him and proposed, 'Come into partnership with me in this vineyard, but take care not to enter into my portion, for if you do I will injure you.'"² Basically this demon, as portrayed here, is not unfriendly. There is one story about Ashmedai that portrays him as being kind and gentle with several unfortunate persons.³ There are several passages which depict demons as being willing servants and workers for people,⁴ and they assist man in, among other things, performing magic.⁵ Also the very fact that many people worship demons instead of God⁶ indicates that these spirits are not always dreaded, but sometimes held in high regard.

This brings us to another subject which we have not yet discussed in this chapter--the phenomenon of demon possession. The ancient Rabbis are evidently aware of this concept, but, for all practical purposes, they

¹Mid. Gen. Bereshith XX, 11.

²Mid. Gen. Noach XXXVI, 3.

³Tal. Gittin 68a.

⁴Mid. Num. Naso XI, 3; Mid. Song of Songs III, 7, 5; Mid. Eccl. II, 8, 1.

⁵Mid. Ex. Va'era X, 7; Tal. Sanhedrin 67b.

⁶Mid. Lev. Achare Moth XXII, 8; Tal. Sanhedrin 65a. See above, n. 5, p. 288.

ignore it.¹ With few exceptions,² one finds little more than an occasional reference to demon possession and/or exorcism.³ One of these exceptions⁴ is worth nothing because it involves a friendly demon. Two Rabbis are on their way to Rome to seek the annulment of some anti-Jewish legislation. On their way they meet a demon, named Ben Temalion, which volunteers to assist them. The demon goes on ahead and possesses the Emperor's daughter. By the time the Rabbis arrive apparently no one has been able to exorcise Ben Temalion, so one of the Rabbis says: "Ben Temalion leave her; Ben Temalion leave her," and immediately the demon departs. In gratitude the Emperor annuls the anti-Jewish decree. This incident also is interesting because it gives us another example of a verbal exorcism.⁵

¹K. Kohler ("Demonology," p. 517) contends there are several Rabbinic passages which indicate demon possession, for example: Tal. Shabbath 151b, where it says that anyone who sleeps in a house alone is likely to be "seized" by Lilith; Tal. Yoma 83a, where there is mention of people being "seized" by a stupor or a ravenous hunger; Tal. Yoma 83b-84a, where it is suggested that a mad dog is the result of an "evil spirit resting upon" it; Tal. Rosh Hashanah 28a, where there is mention of the possibility of a man being "compelled" by a demon to eat unleavened bread; and others. Some of these may well indicate demonic influence, but it is stretching the point to claim that they are examples of actual demon possession, at least as possession is understood in this study (see above, pp. 205-206). However, as we will see in the following sentences of the text, there are some legitimate references to possession and exorcism.

²There are two notable exceptions: Mid. Num. Chukkath XIX, 8; Tal. Me'ilah 17b. The first of these references only makes mention of a demon of madness which takes possession. The second passage is discussed in the text.

³Tal. Kerithoth 3b; Tal. Sanhedrin 65a. Both of these merely mention that burning incense to a demon is not idolatry, but an act of exorcism.

⁴Tal. Me'ilah 17b.

⁵See above, p. 175.

As one reads all about the activities and characteristics of the demons, it is easy to forget one basic tenet, probably the most significant one, underlying the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature--demons are always subordinate to God and should never be considered as rebels against Him or His ultimate purposes. This may seem paradoxical to us today, as we consider all the hardship and suffering which is attributed to the demons, but for the ancient Rabbi this was basic--God is conceived of as the general director and overseer of all activity in the world, that of the demons as well as of the more righteous creatures.¹

There are several passages which demonstrate this principle, for example: God uses both angels and demons to assist Him in His work;² bad and false dreams are caused by demons and good and true ones by angels, but in all types of dreams it is really God speaking to His people, either through the angels or the demons;³ God punishes wicked people by having their death come to them at the hands of the destroying angels, that is, the demons, and it is bad enough to die but they make it worse;⁴ frequently demons "have permission" to bring about harm and death, which implies God's approval.⁵ Actually one does not need these or other specific examples of demonic passages which illustrate the sovereignty of God, for this is a theme found throughout the whole of the Rabbinic Literature.

¹Mid. Gen. Bereshith XI, 10; and the next paragraph in the text.

²Mid. Num. Naso XIV, 3; Mid. Song of Songs I, 1, 5.

³Tal. Berakoth 55b.

⁴Mid. Num. Naso XI, 7.

⁵Tal. Berakoth 51a; Tal. Pesahim 110a, 112b.

Let us now take a brief look at Satan.¹ Since he is also a demon or evil spirit, the overall emphasis of what we have been saying about demons in general holds true with Satan as well, although, of course, some details differ.

In Rabbinic Literature Satan is mentioned frequently and is portrayed as being a very prominent and malicious evil spirit,² but none of the Rabbis pictures him as being the leader or mastermind of the demonic forces. As mentioned earlier,³ the demons are not an organized body and do not have a chief.

Many of the names frequently associated with Satan in other writings are eliminated by the ancient Rabbis. The Rabbis most frequently refer to the chief demonic figure as Satan, but never as the Evil One, the Enemy, Belial, or Mastema. All of these names, as we have already seen, are used for the supreme evil spirit in pre-Christian Jewish literature, and some of them are used in the New Testament. Furthermore, neither Satan nor any other evil spirit is identified with the serpent of the Garden of Eden by the Rabbis; in the Rabbinic Literature the serpent is a reptile, not a demon. The Rabbis do, however, identify the chief demonic figure with Samael

¹Perhaps it should be re-emphasized that our objective in this chapter is not to provide a detailed coverage of Rabbinic demonology, but, instead, to reveal basic trends. Hence, no attempt is made in the following paragraphs to mention every aspect of Rabbinic Satanology, and the references in the notes are not intended to be exhaustive.

²Occasionally "Satan" is used only figuratively. For example, we read that Satan dances between the horns of an ox, that is, that the ox is very vicious. See Tal. Berakoth 33a and Tal. Pesahim 112b.

³See above, p. 284.

(or Sammael),¹ the Accuser,² the Tempter,³ the Evil Inclination,⁴ the Prime of Gehenna,⁵ the Archrobber,⁶ the Angel of Death,⁷ etc.

The primary functions of Satan are fairly well described in a single sentence of the Talmud: "Satan comes down to earth and seduces; then ascends to heaven and awakens wrath; permission is granted to him and he takes away the soul."⁸ Satan is here pictured as a tempter, an accuser, and a destroyer, and although all three of these attributes are mentioned in this one sentence, the Rabbinic Literature is saturated with passages which include only one or two of them at a time.⁹

For the most part Satan's activities can be classified as the work of

¹Mid. Gen. Vayera LVI, 4; Mid. Ex. Bo XVIII, 5; Mid. Ex. Beshallah XXI, 7; Mid. Lev. Achare Moth XXI, 4; Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10.

²Tal. Berakoth 46a; Tal. Rosh Hashanah 16b.

³Mid. Gen. Bereshith, XX, 6, XXII, 6; Mid. Gen. Vayera XLVIII, 11, LIV, 1; Mid. Gen. Vayetze LXX, 8; Mid. Gen. Mikketz LXXXIX, 1; Mid. Ex. Bo XIX, 2.

⁴Mid. Ex. Mishpatim XXX, 17; Tal. Baba Bathra 16a. This is far from being a prevalent view. See above, pp. 146, 287.

⁵Tal. Shabbath 104a. This again is very seldom used as a title for Satan.

⁶Mid. Gen. Noach XXXVIII, 7. Another seldom used title.

⁷Mid. Eccl. III, 2, 2; Tal. Baba Bathra 16a.

⁸Tal. Baba Bathra 16a.

⁹See the references in the notes for the last paragraph and for the next paragraph.

one of these three--tempter,¹ accuser,² or destroyer.³ Usually Satan is portrayed as being unfriendly, vicious, and destructive, and a recent writer describes him as follows: "He is spy, stoolpigeon, agent provocateur, prosecutor, hangman."⁴ If one takes the time to look up the references in the last several notes it will be realized that this is a fairly accurate description of Satan's character; perhaps it should be even more condemnatory.⁵

Satan's effectiveness should never be underestimated. His ingenuity and shrewdness are well illustrated in two similar stories.

¹For example: Mid. Gen. Bereshith, XX, 6; XXII, 6; Mid. Gen. Vayera XLVIII, 11, LIV, 1, LVI, 4; Mid. Gen. Vayetze LXX, 8; Mid. Ex. Bo XIX, 2; Mid. Ex. Mishpatim XXX, 17; Mid. Ex. Ki Thissa XLI, 7; Mid. Num. Balak XX, 11, XX, 23; Tal. Shabbath 89a; Tal. Gittin 52a; Tal. Kiddushim 29b-30a; Tal. Sanhedrin 89b, 95a, 107a.

²For example: Mid. Gen. Vayera LVII, 4; Mid. Gen. Vayeshed LXXXIV, 3; Mid. Gen. Mikketz XCI, 9; Mid. Ex. Bo XVIII, 5; Mid. Ex. Beshallach XXI, 7; Mid. Ex. Mishpatim XXXI, 2, 12; Mid. Ex. Ki Thissa XLIII, 1; Mid. Lev. Achare Moth XXI, 4, 10; Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10; Mid. Esther VII, 13; Tal. Eccl. III, 2, 2; Tal. Berakoth 46a; Tal. Yoma 20a; Tal. Rosh Hashanah 16b; Tal. Sanhedrin 89b.

³For example: Mid. Ex. Ki Thissa XLI, 7; Mid. Num. Korach XVIII, 21; Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10; Mid. Eccl. III, 2, 2; Tal. Berakoth 51a; Tal. Megillah 11b; Tal. Nedarim 32a.

⁴Bamberger, Fallen Angels, p. 94.

⁵Satan is constantly on the alert to see how he can cause trouble, especially where people are living in harmony and contentment. He is able to tempt people so successfully that they succumb to all kinds of sinful actions and thoughts--from minor things like quarreling to more serious ones like idolatry or sexual immorality. Satan is the accuser in God's heavenly court, as Michael is the defender, but sometimes he is overzealous and accuses the righteous as well as wayward. He shows no hesitation in being destructive, not even in bringing about death. He is often aided in his work by being able to take about any form he desires--spirit, human or animal-- and by being aware of many heavenly transactions.

In one Satan takes the form of a deer out in the woods where David is hunting. David pursues the deer with such intensity that Satan is able to lead him astray into Philistine territory where he (David) is then captured.¹ Another time Satan appears in the likeness of a bird, and David shoots an arrow at him. The arrow misses the bird but hits and breaks a screen which has been shielding Bath Sheba as she washes her hair. David sees her beauty and lusts for her.²

However, Satan is not always successful in his attempts to antagonize mankind,³ and there are certain precautions one can take to minimize his effectiveness. The most practical ones seem to be the suggestions that people should govern their own behavior in such a way that Satan has few opportunities to seduce and accuse, and also that they should avoid intentionally trying to annoy or offend Satan by the things they say and do.⁴ In addition Rabbis suggest that one way to reduce the danger of being seduced into sexual immorality is by getting married at an early age.⁵ And one can resist many of Satan's temptations by reciting certain passages

¹Tal. Sanhedrin 95a.

²Tal. Sanhedrin 107a.

³For example: Mid. Gen. Bereshith XXII, 6; Mid. Gen. Vayera LVI, 4; Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10; Tal. Gittin 52a; Tal. Nedarim 32a; Tal. Sanhedrin 89b.

⁴Tal. Berakoth 19a, 60a; Tal. Erubin 26a; Tal. Sukkah 38a; Tal. Kethuboth 8b; Tal. Menahoth 62a.

⁵Tal. Kiddushin 29b-30a.

of the Torah.¹ Then there are other safeguards which are more farfetched.²

Whereas we were able to point to several passages which showed a kindlier side to some demons,³ this is not the case with Satan. For the most part he is neither depicted as being a friendly demon nor as doing any worthwhile tasks. There is, however, one noticeable exception.⁴ Satan is said to have had a "pious purpose" in accusing Job before God as he did; he did not want God to think so highly of Job that He forgot about Abraham's faithfulness and devotion.

In one passage⁵ we see a touch of the trickster or practical joker at work in Satan. A certain man had often directed verbal slurs toward Satan, and Satan decides to teach him a lesson. Disguised as a beggar with great sores on his face, Satan goes to the man's house seeking bread. At first he is kept outside and given bread at the door, but the beggar (Satan) finally persuades the people of the house to let him eat at the table with them. His table manners are so appalling that the man of the house scolds him, whereupon the beggar (Satan) pretends to die. Then this man's neighbors accuse him of killing the poor old beggar. Satan later reveals himself to the householder.⁶

¹For example: Mid. Gen. Bereshith XXII, 6; Mid. Ex. Ki Thissa XLI, 7.

²For example: Tal. Rosh Hashanah 16b.

³See above, pp. 290-291.

⁴Tal. Baba Bathra 15b-16a.

⁵Tal. Kiddushin 81a-81b.

⁶This is similar to the narrative in the Testament of Job where Satan goes to Job's house in the guise of a beggar. See above, p. 191.

But even if we cannot find very much good to say about Satan, he, nevertheless, like all other demons, is subordinate to God and cannot be considered a rebel against His sovereignty.¹ In fact, Satan addresses God as: "Sovereign of the Universe."² Not only does God place certain restrictions on what Satan can do,³ but Satan works with God's approval and often under His direct supervision.⁴ There is no thought of a dualistic doctrine of good and evil, that is, God versus Satan.

At the same time, there are three interesting incidents, depicted by the ancient Rabbis, which create the impression that God worries about what Satan might or could do if he decided to, and, therefore, God goes out of His way to keep from offending him.⁵ Yet, there is no doubt that God is in complete control, at least at the present time.

Having considered the general trends in the demonic concepts of the ancient Rabbis, what pertinent conclusions can be drawn? One of the

¹ See above, pp. 284, 293.

² Tal. Shabbath 89a, 104a; Tal. Baba Bathra 16a.

³ Mid. Gen. Vayera XLVIII, 11; Mid. Ex. Bo XVIII, 5; Mid. Lev. Achare Moth XXI, 4; Mid. Num. Naso XI, 7; Mid. Num. Korach XVIII, 21; Tal. Yoma 20a; Tal. Nedarim 32b.

⁴ Mid. Gen. Vayera LVII, 4; Mid. Ex. Bo XVIII, 5; Mid. Ex. Beshallach XX, 10, XXI, 7; Mid. Ex. Mishpatim XXX, 17, XXXI, 12; Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10; Mid. Esther VII, 13; Tal. Yoma 20a; Tal. Baba Bathra 15b-16a; Tal. Sanhedrin 89b.

⁵ In the first story, when God is about to bring the Hebrew people out of Egypt where they have been in bondage, Satan arises to accuse them of their many sins. But God distracts Satan by inciting him against Job. Hence, as Satan occupies his time accusing Job, the Hebrew people are able to leave Egypt (Mid. Gen. Vayera LVII, 4; Mid. Ex. Beshallach XXI, 7).

In the second incident, it appears that God subjects (con't next page)

most significant developments is the conspicuous absence among the Rabbis of certain demonic themes which are very prevalent in earlier Jewish writings--particularly those of the intertestamental period--and in the New Testament.

In the Rabbinical Literature, for example, there is no suggestion that demons were once good angels which went astray, or that they are the offspring of such angels, ideas we saw in the Apocalyptic Literature and which are alluded to in 1 Peter 2:4 and Jude 6.¹ The Rabbis offer several different theories for the origin of evil spirits, but in all of them demons are pictured as having been originally created by God as "evil" spirits, not as good ones turned bad.² Hence, demons did not accidentally come into being; they are the result of God's creative powers. Bamberger adds a good

(footnote con't.) Job to much harm, even when He (God) knows it is wrong, just because Satan insists upon it. As one Rabbi puts it: "Were it not expressly stated in the Scripture, we would not dare to say it. God is made to appear like a man who allows himself to be persuaded against his better judgment" (Tal. Baba Bathra 16a).

In the third incident we read that the Torah was given to Moses in secret because of Satan (Tal. Sanhedrin 26b). The implication is that Satan objected to Moses having the Torah so it was given to him without Satan's knowledge in order to avoid trouble.

¹There seems to be an allusion to the fallen or rebel angels in the Mid. Deut. Ve'zot Ha'brachah XI, 10. There is brief mention made of two angels, Uzah and Azael, who came down from near God's divine presence in heaven; they "coveted the daughters of the earth and they corrupted their way upon the earth" until God suspended them between earth and heaven. But the important thing to notice is that here in this Midrash these two angels, even though they go astray, are never in any way associated with demons.

²There are at least four different explanations offered by the Rabbis for the origin of evil spirits.

(1) God created the souls of the demons on the sixth (con't next page)

thought at this point: "It appears that the economy of heaven, like that of earth, requires the service of such characters, who are not always animated by pure devotion to the public weal."¹

Not only do the Rabbis ignore the fallen-angels narrative, but they do not even use the names of the wicked angels--Semjaza, Azazel, Arakiba, Rameel, etc.²--for demons. For example, Azazel, portrayed in Apocalyptic Literature as one of the leaders of the evil spirits, also appears frequently in the Rabbinic Literature in connection with the Scapegoat ceremony described in Leviticus chapter 16,³ and, although it is readily

(footnote con't) day of creation, that is, the eve of the first Sabbath, but when He started to form their bodies the sanctity of the Sabbath commenced and He could not finish them. Hence they remained spirits without bodies. (Mid. Gen. Bereshith VII, 5, VI, 9; Tal. Pesahim 54a; Tal. Aboth chap. 5, Mishnah 6).

(2) Adam and Eve severed physical relationships with each other for many years following their expulsion from the Garden of Eden. And "throughout the entire one hundred and thirty years during which Adam held aloof from Eve the male demons were made ardent by her and she bore, while the female demons were inflamed by Adam and they bore" (Mid. Gen. Bereshith XX, 11, XXIV, 6). (In Tal. 'Erubin 18b the story is altered so it is only Adam, not also Eve, who consorted with the demons.) With this theory some of the demons evidently existed before Adam and Eve.

(3) When some people tried to build a tower to ascend to heaven, God transformed certain ones of them into "apes, spirits, devils, and night-demons" (Tal. Sanhedrin 109a). Compare Gen. 11:4-9.

(4) This one pertains particularly to Satan. It says that when Eve was created from one of Adam's ribs, "Satan was created with her" (Mid. Gen. Bereshith XVII, 6).

¹ Bamberger, Fallen Angels, p. 94.

² See 1 Enoch 6:3-8, 69:2-3, etc.

³ There are many references to the Scapegoat ceremony, and some go into considerable detail as to the preparation of the goats. In many such references there is no actual mention of Azazel, but they obviously pertain to Azazel. See, for example, Tal. Yoma 39b, 40b, 41b, (con't. next page)

admitted that we cannot be exactly sure what the Rabbis imply when they use Azazel, it is obvious that they quite definitely are not referring to an active evil spirit.¹ Furthermore, the Rabbis fail to use many of the popular names for the supreme evil spirit--for example, Belial, Mastema, the Evil One, the Enemy, the Devil, Beelzebul.²

In the Apocalyptic Literature, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the New Testament, there is frequent mention of the final destruction of the demonic forces. The Rabbis, on the contrary, make no outright reference to the final triumph of God over the evil spirits, although there appear to be some slight allusions to this concept.³

(footnote con't) 61b, 62a, 62b; Tal. Temurah 6b-7a, 22a, 24a; etc. But sometimes Azazel is specifically mentioned: Tal. Yoma 67b, 71a; Tal. Hullin 11b; etc.

¹There are three explanations offered for the meaning of Azazel, and all three are in Tal. Yoma 67b.

(1) Azazel is something hard and rough, as "az" and "el" mean strong or impudent. It may be a mountain peak or it may not.

(2) Azazel is the name of the hardest of all mountains.

(3) Azazel is so called because it contains atonement for the affairs of Uza and Aza⁴el (see n. 1, p.300 for these two names).

The general implications of the passages which refer to Azazel is that Azazel, in Rabbinic Literature, refers to a place and not to a demon. Leo Jung, translator of the Yoma volume in the Soncino Press series, confirms this conclusion (see n. 7, p. 196). Tal. Hullin 11b is the only passage which gives the impression that Azazel may refer to some kind of a personal demon or being, not a place. In Chap. I of this study, we concluded that Azazel, as used in the Leviticus narrative of the Old Testament, probably refers to an inactive wilderness demon (see pp. 35-39).

²They do, of course, use several other names. See above pp. 294-295.

³There are at least four Rabbinic passages that I know of which have a slight "ring" of the final destructive motif. (Con't next page)

Again, in the intertestamental literature and the New Testament, it is just assumed that the demons are a well-organized group, under the leadership of one specific evil spirit, the primary purpose of which is to oppose the ultimate purposes of God. There is no such idea in the Rabbinic Literature. Instead, demons are God's obedient servants which are saddled with the more unsavory tasks.¹

All of these omissions by the Rabbis are related to dualism. The Rabbis, unlike some of the early Jews and the Christians, did not support a dualistic concept of good and evil--that is, God versus the demonic forces. It cannot possibly be argued that the Rabbis were unaware of these notions, but, rather, that they were acquainted with them and intentionally and emphatically rejected them. We, perhaps, can explain the reason for this rejection, but first let us consider some plus factors in the Rabbinic Literature.

Approaching Rabbinic Literature now from a different angle, there are

(footnote con't)

(1-2) Reference is made in two passages of the Midrash--Num. Naso XII 3, 9--to the time that Moses made an end to setting up the Tabernacle (a revised version of Num. 7:1), and the significance of "end" is that it denotes the time that the demons were exterminated from the world.

(3) Mid. Gen. Mikketz LXXXIX, 1 informs us that as long as the Evil Tempter is in the world there will be thick darkness, and the shadow of death; but when the Evil Tempter is uprooted these will then pass away.

(4) In Mid. Ex. Mishpatim XXX, 17, a somewhat corrupt passage, it appears to say that some day God will slay the evil inclination. This is pertinent for us because in this same passage the evil inclination is equated with the Tempter, that is, Satan.

¹For example, see above pp. 284, 293.

some developments here which we have not seen in earlier Jewish Literature and which are not in the New Testament. Look, for instance, at the names of the evil spirits. There are many more demons with specific names in the Rabbinic Literature, and, as a result, there are a great number of names applied to the evil spirits by the Rabbis which heretofore had not been so used.¹

In addition, some names which have been used for demons in earlier Jewish Literature are likewise used in Rabbinic Literature, but they appear in the latter in a far more advanced stage of development. One of these is Samael (or Sammael), a name which is frequently applied to Satan by the Rabbis,² but of which there is little mention in pre-Christian Jewish Literature.³ Then there is Ashmedai, which displays a certain prominence in Rabbinic Literature,⁴ but which is mentioned previously in Jewish religious literature only in the Book of Tobit.⁵ And, of course, there is Lilith, used

¹See, for example, most of the names in n.1 , p. 285 .

²See above n.1 , p. 295, and p. 284.

³We noted the only use of Sammael in the Martyrdom of Isaiah, written during the last quarter of the first century B. C. (see above, pp. 203-205). Sammael or Samael is used frequently in Jewish Literature after the time of Christ, but not before. We know very little about the origin of the name and apparently it has little known significance. It may have been derived from *שִׂמְאֵל* (the venom of God), an appropriate name for the angel of death, or it perhaps could be a corrupt form of an insignificant Syrian god, Shemal. (See Blau, "Samael").

⁴See above, p. 284, and n. 1, p. 285.

⁵In the Book of Tobit the form of the demon's name is Asmodeus, but they are the same. See above, p. 139.

by the Rabbis as a vicious and active female demon,¹ which is found in previous Jewish Literature only in Isaiah 34:14 of the Old Testament, and there in such a vague way that it is difficult to determine whether or not it is a reference to an evil spirit.²

The Rabbis mention many varied methods, several of which are far removed from traditional Jewish religious practices, for protection against the onslaught of the evil spirits, and for remedies after one is afflicted or overcome by them.³ This sort of material is kept to a minimum in pre-Christian Jewish Literature and in the New Testament.

In the Apocalyptic Literature and in the New Testament, God is clearly opposed to all evil spirits, the latter definitely being His avowed enemies. In the Rabbinic Literature, on the other hand, God is portrayed as not only having created the demons, but also as using them as His useful, faithful, and obedient emissaries.⁴ In the Old Testament, too, impersonal spirits, whether performing favorable or unfavorable tasks, are portrayed as God's obedient agents, but such spirits play a minor role in the Hebrew Scriptures and there certainly is no indication that these spirits are responsible, directly or indirectly, for extensive harm, affliction, suffering, and sin, as they are in Rabbinic Literature. And although Satan is depicted in the Old Testament as an untrustworthy or overzealous accuser in the heavenly court, there is no obvious and direct proclamation of this fact; instead, one

¹ See n.1, p. 285.

² See above, pp. 30 - 34.

³ See above, pp. 288 - 290, 297 - 298.

⁴ See above, p. 293.

must deduce this conclusion for himself as the Satan passages of the Old Testament are studied.¹ In the Rabbinic Literature, on the other hand, there is no hesitancy to proclaim the close relationship the Rabbis believed existed between God and the evil spirits. In the Dead Sea Scrolls God has created a more or less artificial dualism--the evil forces are opposed to God, but He has preordained and limited this dualistic struggle.² Hence, the Rabbinic affiliation of God and the evil spirits is the very antithesis of Jewish Apocalyptic and Christian dualistic concepts of good versus evil, and the Rabbinic portrayal of the evil spirits as active vicious creatures, though emissaries of God, is out of keeping with the Old Testament and the non-Apocalyptic Jewish literature of the inter-testamental period.

We have noted the conspicuous absence among the Rabbis of certain demonic tenets which are prevalent among earlier Jews and Christians, but there are some demonic developments in the Rabbinic Literature which are not to be found in any earlier Jewish Literature or the New Testament.

What significance do these observations have on our study? They indicate that the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature is more advanced and detailed than the demonology of the Old Testament, the Jewish religious literature of the intertestamental period, or the New Testament, and, therefore, that the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature is of a more recent date than the demonology of these other bodies of literature. Certainly

¹See above, pp. 51 - 62.

²See above, pp. 256-266.

there are some earlier demonic motifs which are used by the Rabbis, but basically those earlier ideas used in the Rabbinic Literature have been reinterpreted to coincide with the general theological position of the Rabbis and the overall temper of their later times.

It might well be thought that no reliable scholars would argue that Rabbinic demonology predates the Old Testament. The evidence is overwhelming in the other direction. Not only do most Old Testament passages which are even indirectly related to demonology date earlier than the oral period, the era to which the beginning of the Rabbinic tradition can be traced, but most of the demonic doctrines found in the Rabbinic Literature have developed from discussions pertaining to passages in the Old Testament. There can be no question that Rabbinic demonology postdates the Old Testament, certainly Old Testament passages which are sometimes considered demonic.

But there are reliable Biblical scholars who have helped contribute to ill-founded and erroneous assumptions about demonology because their exegesis of certain Old Testament passages has been based, to no small degree, on Rabbinic teachings. As great a scholar as he was, W. O. E. Oesterley nevertheless was one of the worst offenders in this matter. He assumed that Hebrew demonology of all eras had a common core or individuality of its own¹ and, therefore, that "there is at least a justification (of course it does not amount to proof) for believing" that Rabbinic

¹Oesterley wrote that later Judaism, "while owing much to external, must surely reflect, as well, elements which must have been national property for many centuries" ("Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 325).

demonology "is based in part upon earlier teaching, and that signs of this ought to be found in the Old Testament."¹ Having asserted that the beliefs of the Rabbis must reflect earlier Jewish concepts, Oesterley then goes to the Old Testament looking for passages which, when ignoring the intended meaning of the original writer, can appear to be in accord with the later demonic views of the Rabbis.

Let us look at some of the Old Testament interpretations (or more properly misinterpretations) which are the product of this approach. Since some Midrashim suggest that Psalm 91 refers to demons,²--in fact, one even states that Moses composed it for protection from evil spirits³--it is assumed that the original writer of the Psalm was referring to demons. Since in the Rabbinic Literature demons appear in the form of all types of animals--serpents, he-goats, dragons, monsters, birds, etc.⁴--it is argued that the serpent in the Garden of Eden and other serpents elsewhere, he-goats and other wild or monstrous animals, ostriches, dragons, etc. also refer to demons when they appear in the Old Testament. Since Lilith is unquestionably portrayed by the Rabbis as an active evil spirit,⁵ she must be the same in the Old Testament. Or, since the Rabbis believed that demons cause various

¹Oesterley, "Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 321.

²Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3; Mid. Deut. Ki Thetze VI, 6; Mid. Lam. I, 3, 29.

³Mid. Num. Naso XII, 3.

⁴See above pp. 285-287.

⁵n. 1, p. 285.

diseases and afflictions,¹ it is presumed that they must also exert the same harmful influence on people of the Old Testament. These are only a few of the many examples.²

Oesterley contended that this approach to the Old Testament was especially valid when interpreting ideas which are found in Arab, Babylonian, and Rabbinic "systems of demonology, systems which existed respectively before, during, and after the biblical period."³ Since he believed that the demonic ideas of the ancient Semites influenced the Old Testament writers, and the Old Testament influenced the Rabbis, he assumed that when both the ancient Semites and the later Rabbis asserted similar ideas, "the presumption will be very strong that a demonology should also exist in the Old Testament, could we but uncover it."⁴

In one article Oesterley spent seven pages indicating certain beliefs concerning demons which are common to Arab, Babylonian, and late Jewish demonology and which, therefore, probably existed in the Old Testament and should be looked for there.⁵ He included such concepts as: there are an immense number of demons in the world (one Rabbi says seven-and-a-half million, and another says that every man has ten thousand

¹See above pp. 284, 287-288.

²See the following works by Oesterley: "Angelology and Demonology in Early Judaism," pp. 343-347; "Belief in Angels and Demons," pp. 202, 209; "Demon, Demoniacal Possession, Demoniacs," pp. 439-440; "Demonology of O. T."

³"Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 325.

⁴Oesterley, "Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 325.

⁵"Demonology of O. T.," I, pp. 325-331.

at his right hand and a thousand at his left); there is a definite connection between the demons and the spirits of departed persons; all sickness is due to demons, as well as storms which harm men; demons have the greatest power and are most harmful at night; demons favor certain places to take up their abode--wilderness, tombs, waterless places, etc.; demons have the power to become visible or invisible at will, and are able to appear in the form of animals or humans; there is a definite relation between demons and certain animals, for example, bulls, mosquitoes, donkeys, serpents; and there are different species of demons, for example, violent demons, night demons, wind demons, etc. He summed up these pages by writing: "The foregoing considerations certainly seem to offer some a priori grounds for expecting to find a system of demonology in the Old Testament."¹

But Oesterley then admitted, and rightly so, that "strictly speaking, there are some other considerations which ought to be taken into account in order to see how strong the case for believing that numbers of indirect and covert references to demonology are to be found there."² (Oesterley certainly is correct in suggesting that there are some other factors to be considered, but I question whether he realized what they were.) He quickly added, however, that it was "possible to do no more here than make a mere reference to these."³ They included such matters as the whole subject of serpents, of angelology (presuming that a large angelology in the Old

¹"Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 331.

²"Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 331.

³"Demonology of O. T.," I, p. 331.

Testament indicates a large demonology as well), and of departed spirits.¹ Using Rabbinic demonology, as well as the demonology of the early Semites, as his guide, Oesterley goes on to find no end of obscure references to demons in the Old Testament.²

This approach is unacceptable because it does not take into consideration the intentions of the original writers, but instead relies, to a great degree, on how the Rabbis, studying many generations later, interpreted the written Scriptures. I do not mean to suggest that the Rabbinic Literature should be ignored; on the contrary, it should be given careful consideration. But it must be used with caution and in moderation. We must be careful not to read back into the Old Testament meanings which were not originally intended.

And when dealing specifically with demonology, such an approach fails to take into consideration another very significant factor. Almost all of the references to demons in Rabbinic Literature are found in the Babylonian, not Palestinian, writings. The Palestinian Rabbis remained almost silent

¹ In less than a page he points to the necessity of studying in detail these important concepts before it is really possible to decide whether or not there are many references in the Old Testament to demons.

² The entire second part of his article ("Demonology of O. T.," II, pp. 527-544) is devoted to the Prophetic Literature, and the third (III, pp. 132-151) to Psalm 91. He finds demons in passage after passage: Ex. 7:9 ff.; Num. 21:6 ff.; Deut. 8:15, 32:10, 32:24; Isa. 13:21-22, 14:29, 30:6, 34:13-16, 35:7, 43:20, 59:5; Jer. 8:17, 9:10-12, 10:22, 49:33, 50:39-40; Ezek. 29:5, 29:11-12, 32:2 ff.; and many others. These references clearly did not originally imply demonism. See Chap. I of this study where Oesterley's approach is also discussed, (above pp. 14 -16).

on the subject of demonology. For example, I know of only two references in the entire Mishnah that mention evil spirits: (1) Aboth chapter 5, Mishnah 6, where it is stated that God created the souls of the demons on the eve of the first Sabbath but the sanctity of the Sabbath kept him from forming their bodies (see above, page 300, note 2, section 1); and (2) Shabbath 29b, second Mishnah, where it is written that one may extinguish a lamp on the Sabbath out of fear of an evil spirit (or for a few other stipulated reasons) without being guilty of desecrating the Sabbath. If one checks the various footnotes throughout this chapter on Rabbinic Literature, very few references will be found to the writings of Palestinian Rabbis. It seems unlikely that this is mere coincidence.

Probably a partial explanation for the demonic emphasis of the Babylonian Rabbinic Literature, and not the Palestinian Rabbinic Literature, is the fact that Babylonia had, for many centuries, been infested by Persian-Zoroastrian dualism, which included an active demonology. It is inconceivable to believe that the Jewish Rabbis in Babylonia, living under the direct and constant influence of these dualistic concepts, would have failed to have been influenced, even if unconsciously, to the degree that they would have integrated some dualistic concepts into their monotheistic Judaism. It is not surprising, then, to find that the Rabbis in Babylonia read into certain Old Testament passages--passages written in the monotheistic-centered atmosphere of Palestinian Judaism before or soon after the Exile--a dualistic demonic interpretation which did not exist in the minds of the original writers. This is another reason that we must be very cautious about interpreting possible Old Testament demonic verses

in the light of Rabbinic demonic thought.

W. O. E. Oesterley is considered one of the greatest of all scholars of demonology, and he certainly has contributed much knowledge to this field. For this reason it is with great hesitation that I criticize his work in such a condemnatory manner. Yet, it is because he has attained such stature as an expert in this field that attention must be drawn to his errors. Over the years he has written much about demonology--articles in periodicals and encyclopedias, and chapters in books.¹ People more or less accept his opinions "as truth," without questioning them.

This apparently is what a more recent scholar, Edward Langton, has done. Langton is considered the greatest living scholar of demonology.² But he seems to have relied heavily on Oesterley, and has come out with many of the same erroneous conclusions. In fact, the chapter on Old Testament demonology in his book, Essentials of Demonology,³ follows the general outline or plan of Oesterley and Robinson's discussion of Old Testament demonology in Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development.⁴

¹See, for example, the following works by Oesterley: "Angelology and Demonology in Early Judaism," esp. pp. 340-347; "Belief in Angels and Demons"; "Demon, Demoniacal Possession, Demoniacs"; "Demonology of Old Testament"; Jews and Judaism during Greek Period, pp. 278-293; and with Robinson, Hebrew Religion: Its Origin and Development, pp. 108-121.

²Few people have attempted such a broad scope of material about the spirit world as has Langton. He has written the following books: Ministeries of the Angelic Powers; Angel Teaching of the New Testament; Supernatural; Good and Evil Spirits; Satan, A Portrait; Essentials of Demonology.

³See pp. 37-59.

⁴See pp. 110-121.

The similarity is too noticeable to be mere coincidence.¹

In chapter one of Essentials of Demonology, Langton discusses ancient Semitic demonology, and frequently he shows how similar Rabbinic demonology is to the more primitive concepts of the Semites. He then stresses that "it is important to keep continually in mind the fact that though Rabbinic Literature in its present form is late it undoubtedly embodies many early conceptions, and there is no reason to suppose that these foreign conceptions only became known to the Jews at the time of the Exile."²

In other words, Langton contends that there is great similarity between the demonology of the Old Testament and the Rabbinic Literature, since both contain ancient Semitic demonic ideas, and that Rabbinic Literature can, therefore, be legitimately used in the interpretation of Old Testament demonology. Such an approach enables Langton to interpret many Old Testament passages as demonic, passages which originally did not refer to demons.³

Certainly these are not the only two scholars who have taken this line of interpretation, but they have exerted more influence on the modern mind in the field of demonology than anyone else. I do not suggest their

¹ Also, the fact that Oesterley wrote the foreword to Langton's Good and Evil Spirits indicated there was a close association between the two men.

² Langton, Essentials of Demonology, p. 51.

³ See esp. chap. 2 of his book, where he discusses O. T. demonology, and see above in this study where some of his interpretations of O. T. passages are discussed (pp. 14 -16 , 32 -34).

works are of no use. Quite to the contrary! One can read the writings of these two men and have reference to almost every demonic passage which exists in ancient Jewish and Christian literature, as well as much information about Greek, Persian, Arabian, Egyptian, etc. demonic concepts. No two men have provided us with so much information. But I do suggest that the conclusions they draw are often erroneous, and, in many instances, they are false because these writers have relied too heavily on Rabbinic Literature. This approach not only colors the interpretations of Old Testament passages, but it also produces distorted ideas concerning passages in other Jewish or Christian literature. I have waited until now to discuss in detail this approach used by Oesterley and Langton, even though I referred to it in Chapter I when looking at the Old Testament,¹ because I felt we would need to study the Rabbinic Literature before the significance of this criticism could be fully appreciated.

Our first conclusion is that the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature postdates the Old Testament and, therefore, must be used with care and understanding in interpreting the demonology of the Old Testament. But what about the relation of the Rabbinic Literature to the New Testament? It is the position of this paper that it is also questionable if Rabbinic Literature can be used in the interpretation of New Testament demonology, because not only do the demonic doctrines of the Rabbis postdate those of the New Testament,² but also they are fundamentally different.

¹See above, pp. 8-9, 14-16.

²Some scholars would take issue with this (con't. next page)

As we compare Rabbinic demonology with that of the New Testament, it is easy to see that New Testament demonic ideas are relatively simple and not so developed. Those of the Rabbis, on the other hand, are far more elaborate and expanded. For example, in the New Testament there are not the many personal names for demons, as we find among the Rabbis.¹ In the New Testament, in fact, there are not nearly so many demons, that is, they are not portrayed as existing by the hundreds-of-thousands all over the world, and the evil spirits are not responsible for so wide a range of misfortune in the New Testament.² The New Testament does not offer any theories--much less several--to explain the origin of evil spirits;³ Jesus just accepted them as a fact without elaborating on their origin. In the New Testament there are not the many prescribed precautions one takes for protection against the onslaught of evil spirits, nor are there the numerous recommended remedies after being afflicted.⁴ In fact, in the New Testament demons seldom cause illness or disease,⁵ although they afflict people in other

(footnote con't.) conclusion and suggest, instead, that the demonic teachings of the Rabbis are earlier than the New Testament, but they are unable to support their case. See, for example, Conybeare, "Christian Demonology," Jewish Quarterly Review, Vol. IX, pp. 83-87.

¹ See above, n. 1, p. 285.

² See above, pp. 284, 287-288, for Rabbinic Literature.

³ See above, pp. 300-301 for Rabbinic theories.

⁴ See above, pp. 288-290 for the Rabbinic suggestions.

⁵ It should be pointed out that, contrary to what people often suppose, the Gospel writers nearly always make a clear distinction between demon possession and illness. Look, for example, at the following (con't. next page)

ways.¹

At first sight it may appear that the ideas surrounding the figure of Satan are more developed in the Gospels than in the Rabbinic Literature, but this misconception is, I think, caused by the fact that the Gospel writers use so many different names for Satan which the Rabbis reject--the Devil, Beelzebul, the Evil One, the Enemy, etc.² As mentioned

(footnote con't.) passages from Mark and Matthew.

And in the evening, after sunset, they brought to him [Jesus] all those who were sick and those possessed with demons. . . . And he healed many who were sick with various diseases, and cast out many demons (Mk. 1:32-34).

When sending out the twelve disciples Jesus instructs them, among other things, to:

Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons (Matt. 10:8).

In both of these verses, as well as many others (Mk. 3:10-11, 6:13; Matt. 4:24, 8:16, 10:1; Lk. 4:40-41, 6:17-18, 7:21, 9:1, 13:32), illness and healing, as contrasted with demon possession and exorcism, are treated as separate entities. There is, however, at least one passage (4:38-39), and probably a second (13:10-17), in Luke which attribute illness to demons.

¹For example, a demoniac may be extremely violent and/or strong (Mk. 5:3-5; Matt. 8:28; Lk. 8:29), run around naked (Lk. 8:27), live among tombs or in the mountains and wilderness (Mk. 5:2-3, 5:5; Matt. 8:28; Lk. 8:27, 8:29), yell and cry (Mk. 1:23-24, 3:11, 5:5, 5:7; Matt. 8:29; Lk. 4:33-34, 4:41, 8:28), foam at the mouth (Mk. 9:18, 9:20; Lk. 9:39), gnash teeth (Mk. 9:18, Lk. 9:39), roll on the ground (Mk. 9:20; Lk. 4:35, 9:42), try self destruction and/or mutilation (Mk. 5:5, 9:22; Matt. 17:15), be blind, deaf and/or dumb (blind--Matt. 12:22; deaf--Mk. 9:25; dumb--Mk. 9:17, 9:25; Matt. 9:32, 9:33, 12:22; Lk. 11:14).

Hence, people who are burdened by such abnormal behavior and/or physical handicaps may or may not be the victims of demons. The unusual conduct and physical limitations just described are not always portrayed by the Gospel writers as being caused by demons.

²See above, pp. 294-295, 301-302.

above,¹ however, these various names were intentionally ignored by the Rabbis, and their rejection must not mislead us in the evaluation of the overall relation between the Satanic doctrines of the New Testament and of the Rabbinic Literature. (The reason for this rejection will be discussed shortly.) If one goes beyond these names into the real content of the Satanic teachings, the Satanic doctrines of the Rabbis obviously show more extensive development. In the Gospels the concept of Satan is rather straightforward and simple. Satan certainly is believed to exist, and as the active and effective leader of the evil spirits, but there are not the many elaborate and detailed developments surrounding the figure of Satan in the New Testament as there are in the Rabbinic Literature.²

These comparisons of the demonic tenets of the New Testament with those of the Rabbinic Literature suggest that the demonology of the latter has gone through long periods of speculation, formulation, and development, possibly representing the efforts of several generations of Rabbinic scholars. Although it does not necessarily hold true for every single aspect of Rabbinic demonology, certainly these comparisons support the contention that the overall content of the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature postdates the demonology of the Gospels.

Actually, the only portions of demonic passages in which there is a genuine inferior level of development in Rabbinic Literature as compared with the New Testament is in the area of demon possession and exorcism.

¹See p. 303.

²See above, pp. 294 -299.

In the Synoptic Gospels--especially Mark, but also Matthew and Luke--there are many instances of demon possession and exorcism by Jesus. In Rabbinic Literature, as noted above,¹ there is only slight mention of this phenomenon. There can be no doubt that the Rabbis were acquainted with the matter of demon possession and exorcism, for it was prevalent in Palestine and other places, but for some reason the Rabbis did not care to discuss this aspect of demonology.

Israel Abrahams cannot accept this position. He writes:

Demon "possession" as a cause of disease, and "exorcism" as its cure, were well known to the Rabbis. But it is certain that these beliefs and practices were uncommon in Palestine at the time of Jesus. The easy assumption to the contrary has no foundation. . . . It is in the Babylonian Talmud that we find an appalling mass of demonology which, though it stands in relation to earlier beliefs,--Biblical, Apocalyptic and Rabbinical--cannot properly be cited, as applicable to the time of Jesus in the Holy Land.²

Abrahams agrees, therefore, that the beliefs and practices of possession and exorcism were not unknown to the Rabbis, but he does not agree that there was some special reason why the Rabbis intentionally and emphatically ignored them. Instead, he suggests that the reason there is so little mention of demon possession and exorcism in the Rabbinic Literature is because these concepts were so unknown and of such little concern to the great bulk of Jewish people, particularly those who lived in Palestine during the first two centuries of the Christian Era. He supports this position by pointing to the fact that almost every passage of the Rabbinic Literature

¹ See pp. 291-292.

² Abrahams, Studies in Pharisaism and Gospels, First Series, p. 110.

relating to possession or exorcism is found not in Rabbinic writings from Palestine, but in those from Babylonia which were written during the third and following centuries A.D.

The facts of the matter, however, just do not support Abrahams' contentions.¹ There are references to show not only that Jewish people in Palestine, as well as other areas, were well aware of concepts of demon possession and exorcism, but, in fact, that many Jews actually practiced the art of exorcism. From what little evidence we have, it seems more likely that the Jewish people who lived in Palestine during the first two centuries of the Christian Era were well acquainted with theories of demon possession and practices of exorcism, but prior to the ministry of Jesus the latter were probably performed, for the most part, by various kinds of magical incantations.

Let us examine some of the evidence. First of all, there is that well-known passage in Josephus which refers to Solomon's ability to expel demons by incantations.² Commenting on this passage by Josephus, Schürer writes: "From the way Josephus speaks of the Solomonic incantations we feel constrained to assume that they must have been embodied in special books. Origin distinctly alleges as much."³ We know that at least some Jews in

¹The findings of many scholars bear out the rejection of Abrahams' contentions: Barrett, Holy Spirit and Gospel Tradition, p. 54; Cadoux, Historic Mission of Jesus, p. 74; Gould, Mark, p. 24; Guignebert, Jewish World in Time of Jesus, p. 101; Harnack, Expansion of Christianity, Vol. I, pp. 159-160; Langton, Essentials of Demonology, p. 156; Richardson, Miracle Stories, pp. 68-72; Schürer, Jewish People in Time of Christ, Vol. III, pp. 152-153; Swete, Mark, pp. 21-22; Taylor, Mark, pp. 175-176; etc.

²Josephus, Antiquities of Jews, Bk. VIII, chap. II, sect. 5.

³Schürer, Jewish People in Time of Christ, Vol. III, p. 153.

Palestine knew about demon possession prior to the Christian Era because above in Chapter III we noted a case of demon possession which is discussed in the Martyrdom of Isaiah, written in Palestine during the last quarter of the first century B.C.¹

And what Biblical evidence do we have? At a very early stage in the ministry of Jesus He began to expel demons from demoniacs and the onlookers were amazed.² They were not surprised at the fact that people were possessed by demons, or even that Jesus would attempt to exorcise them; their amazement was the result of the method of exorcism He employed--He used no magical formulas, but merely an authoritative verbal command.³ Jesus' reputation as an effective exorcist spread rapidly,⁴ and people, sometimes traveling many miles, would bring their possessed friends or relatives to Jesus so He could cast out the demons.⁵

But Jesus was not the only exorcist at that time. Some prominent Jews also seemed to be able to expel demons. In Matthew 12:27 and Luke 11:19 Jesus is depicted as asking the Pharisees: "By whom do your children cast them [demons] out?" Before long, many people were overcoming demons in Jesus' name. He commissioned the Twelve,⁶ as well as other

¹See above, pp. 205-206.

²Mark 1:21-27.

³Taylor (Mark, pp. 175-176) is especially revealing on this point.

⁴Mk. 1:28, 1:32-34; Lk. 4:37, 4:40-41.

⁵Mk. 1:32-34, 7:24-30, 9:14-27; Matt. 4:24, 8:16, 9:32-34, 12:22, 15:21-28, 17:14-18; Lk. 6:17-18, 9:37-42, 10:13-17.

⁶Mk. 3:14-15, 6:7; Matt. 10:1, 8.

followers,¹ to exorcise demons, and they were successful.² And during His lifetime even non-Christians were using His name to cast out the evil spirits.³

And after the death of Christ such activity apparently did not decrease, but increased. In Acts 5:16 we read about Jews from all around Jerusalem bringing demoniacs to the disciples, who successfully exorcised the demons. Then in Acts 8:5-13, 16:16-18, and 19:13-19 we see examples of Jews in Samaria, Philippi, and Ephesus, respectively, who are not only aware of the beliefs and practices of possession and exorcism, but who, in some cases,⁴ are practicing exorcists. And Harnack⁵ emphasizes the very important role that Christian exorcists played in the Early Church's missionary efforts.

The weight of all this evidence makes it inconceivable that the Palestinian Jews of the first two centuries of the Christian Era could possibly have been unaware of the beliefs and practices of demon possession and exorcism. Furthermore, they did not ignore or reject such ideas, but readily accepted and practiced them. This being the case, why do we find so little mention of possession and exorcism in the literature of the ancient Rabbis?

¹Lk. 10:17-20. It is here implied that Jesus gave them authority over the demons.

²Mk. 6:13; Lk. 10:17-20.

³Mk. 9:38; Matt. 7:22; Lk. 9:49.

⁴Acts 19:13-19.

⁵Harnack, Expansion of Christianity, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

It is the contention of this paper that the Rabbis intentionally and designedly failed to discuss demon possession and exorcism, just as they also, as mentioned earlier,¹ deliberately and purposely rejected certain other Jewish and Christian dualistic-demonic beliefs--the fallen-angel tradition, popular names for Satan (Belial, Mastema, Beelzubul, etc.), the final-destruction motif for demonic forces, demonic organization under a single evil spirit. But why were they rejected?

The answer lies in the fact that Rabbinic Judaism was primarily "the religion of the Book,"² and the Rabbis were bitterly opposed to Christianity or any Jewish movement which had strayed from the religion of the Torah. These rejected ideas had first begun to appear, as we saw above in Chapter III, in the Apocalyptic Literature, and they were then continued and further developed by Jesus and the early Christians. (If one compares the findings of Chapter III of our study with the demonology of the Gospels, there can be no doubt that the roots of Christian demonology are to be found in the Apocalyptic Literature). These dualistic-demonic concepts were foreign to the basic theology and practices of the more traditional Judaism, which had a monotheistic non-demonic emphasis based on the Old Testament. Hence the Rabbis intentionally rejected them, even though they were popular among many Jews.

But the Rabbis were confronted by an awkward situation. They could not possibly reject all of the contemporary demonic ideas, because they were

¹See pp. 303, 317-318.

²As Matthew Black calls it ("Development of Judaism in Greek and Roman Periods," p. 698).

too engrained in the very lives of the people, yet, demonology in general, and certainly the magical and exaggerated demonology of the early Christian Era, was foreign to Old Testament religion.¹ Hence, they compromised! They took the advanced demonology of the early Christian centuries, stripped it of its most offensive qualities, and then adapted it to the overall framework of Old Testament monotheistic non-dualism.

In Rabbinic Literature, therefore, we see a special brand of demonology, unlike previous Jewish or Christian ideas. It is dissimilar to the Old Testament and the non-Apocalyptic Literature of the intertestamental period in many details concerning evil spirits, yet it resembles the basic non-dualistic emphasis of these writings. It is unlike the demonology of the Apocalyptic Literature and the New Testament because, for the most part, it rejects the overall dualistic approach of these writings. Thus we see a rather unique kind of demonology.

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that the Rabbis so completely rejected Christian demonic literature that there can be found no similarities between the demonologies of the Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament. There are some very interesting aspects of Christian demonology which are paralleled in Rabbinic Literature. For example, demons have supernatural knowledge,² exorcism is performed by

¹ See the final conclusion in Chap. I of this study, p. 65.

² For Rabbinic Literature, see the following passages in the Talmud: Pesahim 112b; Gittin 68a; Kiddushin 81a; Sanhedrin 89b. In the Gospels the demons often seem to have supernatural knowledge, for they know beforehand that Jesus is the Messiah (e.g., see: Mk. 1:24-25, 3:11-12, 5:6-7; Matt. 8:28-29; Lk. 4:33-34; 4:41, 8:28).

a verbal command,¹ demons torment humans and animals,² and angels help the forces of righteousness in the struggle against the demonic powers.³ And, as mentioned above, both Satan and the demons are found in the New Testament and Rabbinic Literature, although they are portrayed differently.

What significant conclusions can be drawn from our examination of the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature? First of all, since we found that the demonic concepts of the Rabbinic Literature postdate those of the Old Testament, great restraint should be exercised in interpreting the latter by the former. The Rabbis tried to adapt many later demonic concepts to the general monotheistic and non-demonic framework of the Old Testament, and frequently they read demonic interpretations back into Old Testament passages which originally were not demonic. Hence, the exposition of Old Testament passages by the literature of the Rabbis, written several hundred years later, cannot necessarily be taken as the correct interpretation of the passages in question. We must look directly to the Old Testament passages and, by sound methods of exegesis, try to determine what meanings

¹In Rabbinic Literature, see the one example in Tal. Me'illah 17b (consult above, p. 292). Jesus always expels demons by a spoken command. We first saw the work of demons brought to a halt by a verbal command in the book of Jubilees (see above, p. 175).

²See in the Rabbinic Literature: Tal. Yoma 84a, and in the Gospels: Mk. 5:13; Matt. 8:32; Lk. 8:33.

³See the following passages in the Midrash: Gen. Vayera XLVIII, 11; Num. Naso XII, 3; Num. Balak XX 20. In the Gospels, see Matt. 26:53, where Jesus says He could, if he wanted to, call upon twelve legions of angels for help and protection. See also Matt. 4:11 and Mk. 1:13, where the angels minister to Jesus after His experience of temptation by Satan. We first saw this theme in the Apocalyptic Literature, and also in the Dead Sea Scrolls, (see above, pp. 259-260).

the original writers had in mind. In the field of demonology, many Old Testament passages have been misinterpreted by relying on later Rabbinic interpretations.

Secondly, the Rabbis consciously and intentionally rejected the dualistic demonic concepts typical of some of the intertestamental Jewish literature and of the New Testament. Although there are some similarities between the demonic ideas of the Rabbis and those of the Apocalyptists and Christians, they are few and superficial, because the Rabbis returned to the non-dualistic and non-demonic emphasis of the Hebrew Scriptures, and made all spirits, good and evil, responsible directly to God. There is no question that the Rabbinic Literature contains demonic ideas which can be traced to Christian and pre-Christian Jewish thought, but this material has been so recast by the Rabbis that it is of little help in understanding New Testament Demonology.

We can, therefore, draw two ultimate conclusions about the demonology of Rabbinic Literature. (1) The student of Biblical demonology receives little help from the Rabbinic Literature for determining the meanings of passages, of either the Old or New Testaments, which refer (or, especially in the case of the Old Testament, "allegedly" refer) to demonology. In fact, the use of Rabbinic demonic teachings in interpreting Biblical passages frequently leads to the faulty exegesis of the latter.

(2) On the other hand, the study of Rabbinic demonology serves a very helpful function in understanding the total Jewish background out of which New Testament demonology emerged. Without such a study it would have been

easy, in light of the intertestamental literature examined above in Chapter III, to have assumed that all Jewish thought subsequent to the Old Testament period fostered a type of cosmic dualism typical of the Apocalyptic Literature. But we have seen in this chapter that within Judaism there was also the continuation of the Old Testament's basic rejection of dualism, although the Rabbis did allow the development of demonic figures. Hence, both the dualistic and non-dualistic Jewish traditions served as the background out of which New Testament demonology arose, although it was the dualistic-demonic ideas of the Jewish Apocalyptic Literature of the intertestamental period which seems to have been the predominant influence in the formulation of Jesus' demonic concepts.

CONCLUSION

It is impossible to grasp the full significance of New Testament demonology without first having a thorough understanding of pre-Christian Jewish demonology. It has been the purpose of this thesis to make a detailed and objective study of all pre-Christian Hebrew and Jewish demonic concepts, and to evaluate their relevance to the demonic passages of the New Testament.

In the course of the five chapters of this thesis we have examined both the Hebrew and Greek versions of the Old Testament, the Jewish religious literature of the intertestamental period (which includes the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, and the Dead Sea Scrolls), and the Rabbinic Literature.

In Chapter I we approached the study of the Hebrew Old Testament from three different avenues. First, we examined many passages which are often thought to contain demonic references, but we concluded that none of them was originally meant to imply demonism.

Secondly, we examined the theology of the Old Testament and reaffirmed our contention that in the Hebrew Scriptures there is no doctrine of active evil spirits in opposition to God, for in the Old Testament God is portrayed as being in complete control of the world and responsible for all events which take place therein, both good and evil. Certainly other

spirits were believed to exist, but in the Old Testament they are all portrayed as morally good and obedient celestial beings which are used as divine instruments to carry out God's righteous judgments of destruction and affliction, a work a dualistic theology would have attributed to evil spirits working in opposition to God and man.

Thirdly, we traced the development of the Satanic concept from a common noun to a proper name, noting how Satan gradually became the celestial divine agent in the heavenly court which was looked upon with suspicion and finally could not be trusted to carry out God's purposes. It is only in post-Exilic Judaism that Satan appears as a proper name and that some of the less benevolent divine tasks, which previously had been attributed to God but seemed out of keeping with His general character, begin to be attributed to Satan. But at all times in the Old Testament Satan is subordinate to God.

We concluded, therefore, that in the original Hebrew Scriptures there are no passages which refer to active evil spirits and that demonology is not an Old Testament phenomenon. We did recognize, however, that although dualism as such does not exist in the Old Testament, trends in that direction--trends which go hand in hand with demonology--begin to emerge in post-Exilic passages. We suggested that most likely their emergence was the result of the Hebrew's inherent quest for a solution to the problems of evil and suffering coming into contact with foreign dualistic concepts.

We concluded Chapter I as follows:¹

Hence, the Old Testament alone does not furnish an adequate background for understanding New Testament demonic thought. We must see what the Jewish scholars between the Old and New Testaments did with these trends, which just begin to appear in Hebrew thought during the closing days of the Old Testament era, but appear fully developed in the opening events of Jesus' ministry.

In Chapter II we turned to the Septuagint, the earliest and most important translation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament into Greek. As the Hebrew and Greek texts were compared, we discovered that there are no significant differences in the demonology of the two. In most passages the Greek conveys the same meaning as the Hebrew, but in some the Greek appears slightly more demonic, and in others slightly less. Certainly the Septuagint does not suggest any important new trends or emphases in Jewish demonic concepts. There are still no evil spirits which actively oppose or threaten God's omnipotence.

By far the most significant result of the Septuagint was the expression of the Hebrew faith through the medium of the Greek language. This was important not only because it opened the door for Greek influence upon the Hebrew faith, but also because Greek was the language used for writing the New Testament.

The student of New Testament demonology needs to begin to trace the history of the Christian demonic vocabulary from the Septuagint, through the intertestamental period, into the New Testament. It is here in the Septuagint that we see the first Jewish usage of δαιμόνιον (demon); and

¹See above, p. 65.

the Greek *διάβολος* (Devil) becomes a synonym for the Hebrew *שָׂטָן* (Satan), a usage which remained in Judaism and was carried over into Christianity.

In Chapter III we turned our attention to the years between the Testaments, and examined the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. There is no question that the literature studied in this chapter is by far the most significant for our purposes. It is during the intertestamental period, and specifically in some of the books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, that we find the continued development of dualistic themes which we noted were just beginning to appear in the last years of the Old Testament period, and the emergence within Judaism of an active demonology.

It is in the intertestamental literature that the so-called demons of the Old Testament become active evil spirits which work independently of God and against His ultimate purposes; Satan ceases to be a mere accuser in the court of God, and becomes the independent leader and "master-mind" of the demons; and God no longer is responsible for all things, both good and evil, but there also is a counter spiritual kingdom of evil which is responsible for harming and leading astray God's creation.

But we must not be misled into thinking that there was one Jewish demonic doctrine during these years. This certainly was not the case. The entire intertestamental period was, for Judaism, a changing era which was characterized by uncertainty, ambiguity, and contradiction, and these traits were reflected in the demonology of that period. We saw different

demonic concepts from one book to another, from one school of thought to another, and even within single books by the same person. And we noted that part of the confusion stemmed not just from the changing times, but from the fact that much of this literature is Apocalyptic, and Apocalyptic Literature, by its very nature, cannot be interpreted literally or forced into logical and systematic patterns.

There is, of course, a great maze of Jewish literature in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, but we have narrowed the pertinent portions for our study down to passages from only four books of the Apocrypha--Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Wisdom of Solomon--and seven of the Pseudepigrapha--1 Enoch, Jubilees, Testament of Job, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Assumption of Moses, Lives of the Prophets, 4 Maccabees--and some of these have only one or two relevant verses. We arranged the passages chronologically and according to their place of origin--Palestine or Egypt. We then discussed them one by one, first those from Palestine, then those from Egypt.¹

The most important development within Judaism during this period, at least as far as demonology is concerned, was the appearance of Apocalyptic Literature, for it is in this strand of thought that dualistic demonic doctrines first appeared in Jewish circles, specifically in portions of the Book of Enoch which are based on the more ancient Book of Noah. It is here that we saw the story about the evil angels which descended and

¹ See Chart I above, p. 104.

defiled themselves with women. The women conceived and bore children by the angels, and the offspring of this union was a race of great and evil giants, the departed spirits of which became demons. This narrative obviously is based on Genesis 6:1-4, and it is an excellent example of how demonism can be read back into the Old Testament by later generations.

In this Enoch narrative we saw the first Jewish portrayal of an entire kingdom of evil organized under the leadership of a specific evil creature--sometimes depicted as Azazel and other times as Semjaza--which was opposed to God, was responsible for all unrighteousness, and was ultimately doomed for final destruction.

We discovered something very significant about the names of the fallen angels. Evidently when the original writer of this narrative looked for names to give the sinful angels he chose names associated with the natural elements. In all likelihood these names were not pure invention, but probably they were names adopted from some local Palestinian demonic concepts. It is entirely possible that these names were in Paul's mind as he referred to the στοιχεῖα (the elemental spirits) in Galatians 4:3, 4:9 and Colossians 2:8, 2:20, and thus that he was referring to the fallen angels, that is, specific evil spirits.

Jubilees turned out to be another very important book for our purposes. The fallen angel story is borrowed from Enoch, but in Jubilees it has been altered. The most significant change was the elimination of either Azazel or Semjaza as the leader of the evil forces. Instead,

Mastema was used most frequently to designate God's archenemy, but Beliar was used twice and Satan once. This is the first time any of these three names was so used. We noted that this was a significant development, because here is the first stage of a Jewish trend which gradually disassociated both the demons and their leaders from the fallen angels. In fact, neither Azazel nor Semjaza is portrayed as the demonic leader except in Enoch, and after Jubilees, other than in some portions of Enoch, the demons are no longer depicted as the offspring of the evil angels and daughters of men.

We also pointed out that in pre-Christian Judaism Beliar is used more often than Satan as God's archenemy, and that Satan (or the Devil) is not firmly established as the predominant evil spirit until portrayed as such by Jesus.

But the fallen angel narrative and its related themes are not the only demonic developments of the intertestamental period, nor is demonology confined to the Apocalyptic Literature. We noted other interesting and important demonic themes. In the Book of Tobit we saw an excellent example of a type of demonology typical of the more magical beliefs of the ancient Semites. In the Testament of Job, based on the Old Testament book of Job, Satan is much more evil and has considerably more destructive power than in the Old Testament. Satan also is depicted in this book as having supernatural knowledge and as being able to take the forms of humans, animals, and elements of nature. In the Martyrdom of Isaiah we saw the first Jewish reference to demon possession, In Jubilees we saw Mastema using animals as his agents, and also in this book we found the first Jewish example of the evil forces being

effectively rebuked by a verbal command. In the Lives of the Prophets we saw Beliar (God's archenemy) concentrating on leading people astray and committing destructive deeds, but there is no mention of lesser evil spirits in this book.

In the Wisdom Literature the emphases were found to be more on the philosophical problems of evil and sin, with secondary, yet very significant, implications for demonology. In Ecclesiasticus, Eve is pictured as being the first human being to sin, and in this book the way is opened for the later important identification, finally positively made in the Wisdom of Solomon, of the Devil as the serpent of the Garden of Eden. Also in the Book of Wisdom the physical reality of death for all people is attributed to the Devil, though immortality of the soul is a possibility for some people.

There is no question that during the intertestamental period Jewish interest in demonology was centered in Palestine, not Egypt. We attributed this primarily to the more cultural and sophisticated atmosphere of Hellenistic Egypt. The only really significant contribution the Egyptian Jews made to demonology was the identification of the Devil with the serpent of Eden.

It is often presumed that the introduction into Judaism of most of these tenets primarily indicates Persian influence. We pointed out that certainly Persian influence was a major factor, but we also were definite in our contention that Greek influence was also significant, especially in the fallen-angel story. And we showed that it is a mistake to look entirely to outside influences, for the historical circumstances and theological

concerns of the Hebrew people were also important factors in the development of Jewish demonic concepts.

The development of the demonic vocabulary during the intertestamental period proved to be very interesting, because we saw terms and phrases used in the Jewish literature of this period which also are frequently used in the New Testament. Some of these designations for demons are: demons (*δαίμονια*), spirits (*πνεύματα*), evil spirits (*πονηρὰ πνεύματα*), unclean and impure demons, malignant spirits, malignant evil ones, spirits and powers of Mastema (original forms of last several are uncertain because manuscripts are corrupt or original forms missing). The archenemy of God and leader of the evil kingdom is called: Mastema, (probably the original was *מַסְתֵּמָה*), Beliar (original probably *בְּלִיַּאֲרַי* or *בְּלִיַּאֲרַי*), Satan (*Σατανᾶς*), the Devil (*διάβολος*), the evil one (*ὁ πονηρός*), probably the enemy (*ὁ ἐχθρός*), the angel of lawlessness, and the ruler of this world (some original forms unknown). People who are tormented by demons are healed (*ἰάομαι* and *θεραπεύω*); the demons are bound (*δέω*, to bind) or the people are loosed from (*λύω ἀπό*, to loose from) the demons.

There could be no question in our minds after studying this chapter that the Apocalyptic Literature of pre-Christian Palestinian Judaism is of utmost importance for the study of Biblical demonology.

In Chapter IV we examined the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the Scrolls we noted a partial return to the basic theological position of the Old Testament--there are no evil spirits of any kind which exist and/or work independently of God's control, and God's absolute sovereignty is never

in doubt. Yet, at the same time, there is a very real and active kingdom of evil spirits under the leadership of one particular evil spirit which harms, harasses, and tempts mankind.

We saw here a doctrine of spirits which is peculiar to the Dead Sea Scrolls. It is characterized by a kind of modified or limited dualism. According to this dogma the world is in the grip of two warring spirits, each created by God from the beginning, and each the very antithesis of the other. The one is the "spirit of truth" or "prince of light," the other the "spirit of perversity" or "angel of darkness." The latter is none other than Belial and has a group of evil spirits at his disposal. These two spirits exist cosmologically, but also there is an ethical dualism, for they battle for the heart of every man. The evil spirits and their human converts constantly try to harass and tempt the "sons of righteousness," who are supported in their struggle against the "sons of error" by God and his angels, and all people are under the domination or in the grip of one or the other of the two spirits. God has, however, appointed a time when Belial and his associates will meet with utter and permanent destruction. Thus we see here both a cosmological and ethical dualism.

But this probably should be described as a modified dualism, because neither the angel of wickedness (Belial) in the beginning, nor any man since that time, has been permitted to select his own destiny. The moral status of Belial, as well as of every individual human, has been predetermined by God before creation. Hence, man is judged according to which spirit he follows, but he has no real choice--the matter has been predestined by God. Even though

there is a kingdom of evil spirits, it exists and works only in accordance with God's creative wisdom and power.

It should also be mentioned that in the Dead Sea Scrolls the proper names Mastema and Satan are not mentioned; Belial is the only designation for the leader of the evil spirits.

In Chapter V we looked at the Rabbinic Literature. Although there is no question that these writings were actually recorded during the Christian Era, many of the ideas in them can be traced back several hundred years B.C. So it is necessary to examine the literature of the Rabbis to see if there are any pre-Christian demonic concepts which could add light to our study.

One of the most significant developments we found in Rabbinic Literature was the complete unanimity with which the Rabbinic teachers reject dualism. Certainly there is frequent mention of all kinds of demons, including Satan, but, although these evil spirits do such things as oppose, harass, afflict, tempt, and destroy God's creatures, they do so with the permission of, or even under the direction of, God Himself. God is responsible for everything that happens, and this includes the activities of the many evil spirits.

This, of course, is typical of the general theological position of the Old Testament, but after a careful comparison of the Rabbinic Literature and the Old Testament, we concluded that the demonic ideas of the Rabbinic Literature definitely postdate those of the Old Testament, and,

therefore, that great caution should be used in interpreting the Old Testament by the Rabbinic Literature. The Rabbis tended to adapt many later demonic concepts to the general monotheistic and non-demonic framework of the Old Testament, and frequently they read demonic interpretations back into Old Testament passages, where originally no demonism was implied.

We, therefore, must reject the approach to Old Testament demonology which ignores the original context of passages and tries to discover Old Testament verses which can be construed to support the later views of the Rabbis. We noted that this approach was used by two great scholars of demonology, W. O. E. Oesterley and Edward Langton, and that it has led to many erroneous conclusions.

We also compared the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature to the demonic teachings of the Jewish literature of the intertestamental period and to the New Testament. We discovered that apparently the Rabbis made a conscious effort to reject the dualistic demonic concepts typical of Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and the New Testament. The Rabbis wrote from the monotheistic and non-dualistic point of view of the Hebrew Scriptures, and they rejected those ideas which were fundamentally opposed to the Old Testament.

But the Rabbis were confronted by an awkward situation. They could not possibly reject all of the contemporary demonic ideas, because they were too engrained in the very lives of the people; yet, demonology in general, and certainly the magical and exaggerated demonology of the early Christian Era, was foreign to Old Testament religion. Hence, the Rabbis

compromised! They took the advanced demonology of the early Christian centuries, stripped it of its most offensive qualities, and then adapted it to the overall framework of Old Testament monotheistic non-dualism.

So there are some similarities between the demonology of the Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament. For example, demons have supernatural knowledge, exorcism is performed by verbal command, demons torment people and animals, and Satan is the archenemy of God (however in Rabbinic Literature he is not the leader of the evil spirits). But such similarities are actually superficial, because the general theological position of the Rabbis is different from that of Jesus and the first Christians--the Rabbis basically reject the idea that the demonic forces work independently of God's specific direction.

Therefore, the student of Biblical demonology finds little help in the Rabbinic Literature for the actual interpretation of specific demonic passages (or, supposedly demonic passages) in either the Old or New Testaments, but Rabbinic demonology does help in understanding the total Jewish background out of which New Testament demonology emerged.

As we look back over the entirety of this study, what conclusions can be drawn?

The first observation is that in pre-Christian Judaism there was no one doctrine of demonology, but more a smattering of various demonic concepts. Nor was interest in demonology universal in pre-Christian Judaism. We discovered that, for the most part, the subject was ignored in pre-Christian Jewish literature, and that pre-Christian passages which refer to demonology are found in only eleven books of the Apocrypha

and Pseudepigrapha, and some of these are but minor or incidental references.¹ And, further, what little Jewish interest there was in demonology during the intertestamental period was centered in Palestine, with almost no interest displayed in the Jewish literature of Egypt. Thus, not only was there no one doctrine of demonology in pre-Christian Judaism, but, in fact, in most Jewish circles there flourished no demonic doctrines at all.

The second obvious conclusion is that it is to the Apocalyptic Literature of Palestine that one must look to see the origin and development of pre-Christian Jewish demonology, and there can be no doubt that the demonic ideas which emerged from the Apocalyptic Literature were the greatest single influence on the formulation of Jesus' demonology.

Therefore, when the student of Biblical demonology is making an exegetical study of particular demonic passages in the New Testament,² there is no need to turn to the Old Testament, most books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, nor the Rabbinic Literature. It will be sufficient to consider four books of the Apocrypha--Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Baruch, Wisdom of Solomon--and seven books of the Pseudepigrapha--I Enoch, Jubilees, Testament of Job, Martyrdom of

¹See Chart I, above on p. 104. There are undoubtedly some pre-Christian demonic ideas in 2 Enoch, the Books of Adam and Eve, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, but none of these was written before the time of Christ, and none has any significant demonic themes which are not in the eleven books of the Apocrypha and Pseudigrapha which are mentioned in the text. There are undoubtedly some pre-Christian ideas also found in the Rabbinic Literature, but they have been modified by and combined with later demonic ideas.

²We concluded in Chapter I of this study that there are no passages of the original Hebrew Old Testament which imply an active demonology.

Isaiah, Assumption of Moses, Lives of the Prophets, 4 Maccabees-- when attempting to interpret specific New Testament demonic passages. Some of the demonic ideas of these books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha appear unchanged in the New Testament, others are revised, and many are eliminated, but there are few demonic concepts found in the New Testament which do not have their roots in this inter-testamental literature.

However, it has been helpful for an understanding of the total background out of which New Testament demonology emerged to have studied the Old Testament, all of the Jewish intertestamental literature, and the Rabbinic Literature, for by so doing it has helped us to realize that the dualistic demonic concepts which undoubtedly influenced Jesus were not the predominantly held Jewish beliefs. We realize that Jesus, as far as demonology is concerned, was primarily influenced by the minority views of the Jewish Apocalyptists.

It should once again be emphasized that, for the student of New Testament demonology, a knowledge of pre-Christian Jewish demonology is not only helpful, but it is necessary for grasping the real significance of the demonic passages of the New Testament. And it is only when the New Testament is studied in the light of this Jewish background material that one becomes fully aware of the extent and type of influence pre-Christian Jewish demonology had on the demonology of Jesus and the early Christians.

It is hoped that this thesis will serve as the background for a

thorough and detailed examination of the demonology of the New Testament. For just as Christianity is the fulfillment of Judaism, so a study of New Testament demonology would be the fulfillment of this study. And, at the same time, just as the Old Testament is needed to understand the New, so this study, or one similar to it, is needed to appreciate and realize the deep meaning and significance of Christian demonology.

APPENDIX A

NAMES OF THE FALLEN ANGELS AS THEY APPEAR IN THE ARAMAIC (UNPUBLISHED), GREEK, AND ETHIOPIC MANUSCRIPTS OF THE BOOK OF ENOCH

Matthew Black has very generously made available to me the names of the sinful angels as they appear in the unpublished Aramaic manuscripts, found at Qumran, of the Book of Enoch. In fact, it was at his urging and with his assistance that I made the detailed study which appears in this appendix.

The discovery of the Aramaic manuscripts is very significant. Principal Black tells me they were definitely written prior to 70 A.D. Although he cautions that this is the only positive thing we can say about their date, he adds that they probably are much earlier than 70 A.D., and could possibly date from the second century B.C. Certainly these are the earliest extant manuscripts of I Enoch.

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we had only some Greek manuscripts, the earliest ones dating from about the ninth century, A.D., and some Ethiopic manuscripts, the oldest ones dating from about the sixteenth century. Although the original Greek manuscripts of Enoch were made at a very early date from the original Aramaic, and the Ethiopic ones were first made from the Greek probably as early as the sixth century, we will soon see that the Greek and Aramaic texts contain many corrupt readings.

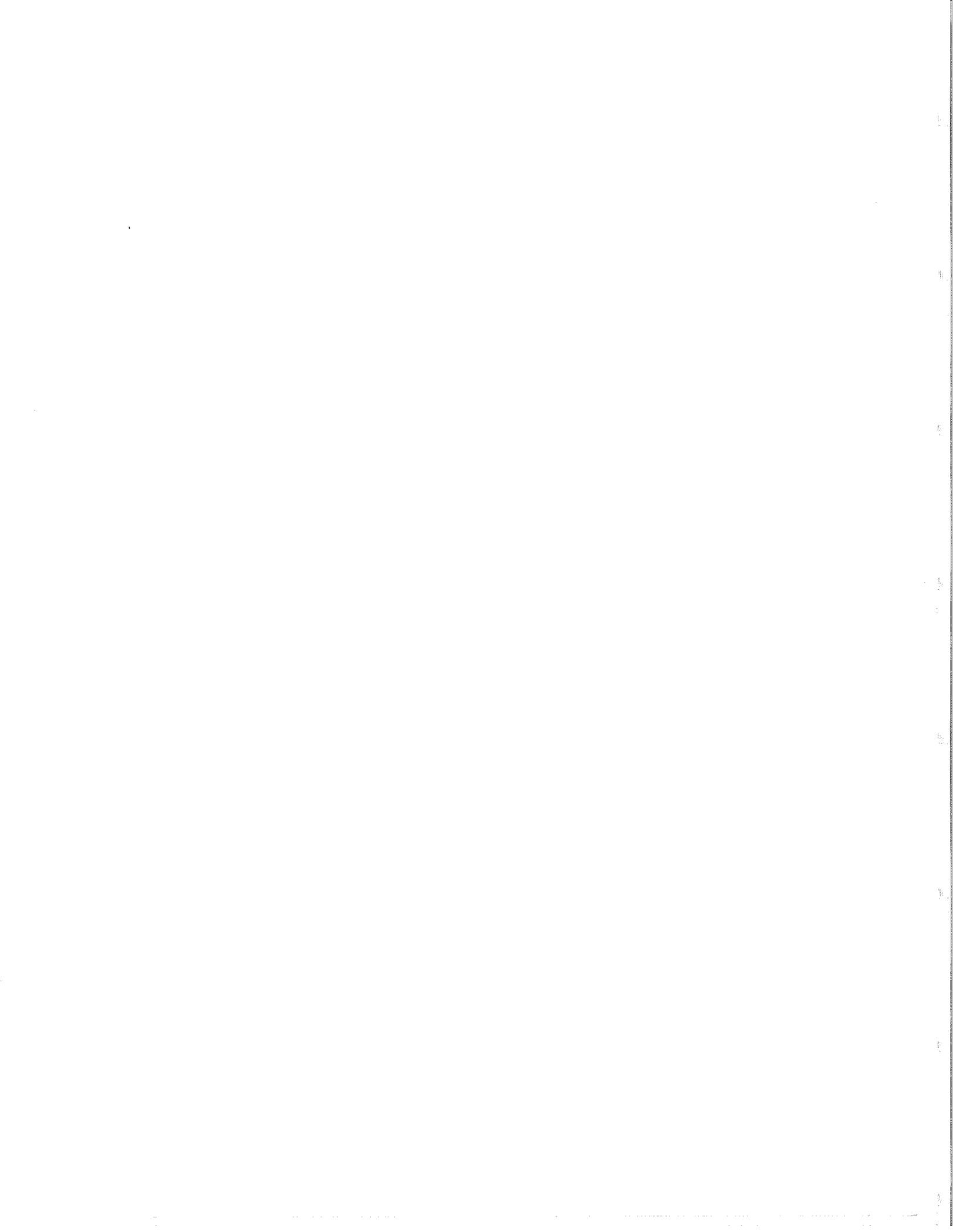
In 1912 Charles published his second and revised edition of the Book of Enoch, and in it he made a study of the names of the fallen angels.¹ On page 17 he included a chart which shows the various Greek and Ethiopic renditions of the names, many of which had become corrupt. He, of course, did not have the Aramaic texts, but he tried to reconstruct the original Semitic of these names from the Greek and Ethiopic, and often he appears to have been correct.

On the following page there is a table which combines the findings of Charles with the new information from Qumran. In this table a comparison is made of the names of the fallen angels as they appear in the Aramaic, Greek,² and Ethiopic manuscripts of Enoch. Since the list of bad angels in verse 69:2 is probably an intrusion which was not here in the original version of this book,³ the names are arranged in the order in which they are found in verse 6:7 of the Aramaic text. The names do not follow the same order in all of the manuscripts, so directly preceding each name I have put a number in parentheses to designate that name's place in the

¹ Charles, Book of Enoch, pp. 16-17.

² On the table there are names included from two different Greek versions. "Greek S" is used on the table to designate the fragments--6:1-10:14, 8:4-9:4, 15:8-16:1--of the Book of Enoch which are preserved in Syncellus. "Greek G" designates the larger fragments 1:1-32:6 and 19:3-21:9--which were discovered in Akhmîm, Egypt, in 1886-1887 and published in 1892 by M. Bouriant. Charles ("Book of Enoch," Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Vol. II, p. 167) thinks "Greek S" is more original than "Greek G". These, incidentally, are the designations used by Charles.

³ See Chapter III of this study, p. 122.



respective manuscripts. In a few instances a name is missing in the Aramaic of verse 6:7 but is supplied in 8:3, and occasionally a name appears in a different form or with a different spelling in verses 8:1 or 8:3 than in 6:7; in such instances the forms used in 8:1 or 8:3 are put in parentheses directly under the form used in 6:7. There are a few names which apparently did not appear in the Aramaic in any form, so they are placed at the end of the table.

As the table is studied, the numerous corruptions that these names have suffered become obvious. In some instances the original forms have become hopelessly obscured, and with several the origins are doubtful. At the same time, however, there are also quite a number which appear not to be obscured and are in their original forms. We want, as nearly as is possible, to determine the word or words from which each of these names was derived, in hopes that we will be able to understand better the supposed general natures and functions of the angels which were depicted in Enoch as having gone astray. Let us now consider each name individually, taking them in the same order that they appear in the Aramaic column of the table.

(1) ~~שמירחה~~--The origin of this word is very doubtful. In 6:3 this angel is portrayed as the leader of the fallen angels, and in 8:3 as a spirit which "taught enchantments, and root cuttings." Charles suggests the name is derived from שמעויר, "Mighty Name," or from שמחואיר.¹ Considering this angel's role in 8:3, Charles' suggestion could be correct, since

¹Book of Enoch, p. 16.

names were often associated with magical spells. But another word from which it possibly was derived is **חזו**, meaning "astrologer" or "seer."¹ Hence the combination of **ש** ("name"²) with **חזו** would designate an "Astrologer's Name" or a "Seer's Name." Since this angel is depicted as the leader of the bad angels, and since, as we will soon discover, several of the other angels are associated with celestial objects, this is a possibility. But at best, the origin and meaning of **שמירחזו** is doubtful.

(2) **תקך**]--This angel's name is missing in the Aramaic manuscripts of 6:7, and only part of the name is preserved in 8:3. The opening letters of the word are lost, but the closing ones are **תקך**, which can mean "strong" or "mighty."³ It is barely possible that the opening letters were **אח**, from **אור**, which means "light," and is sometimes rendered "sunlight," "moonlight," "daylight," or even "lightning."⁴ The angel's name could, therefore, originally have meant "Mighty Lightning," "Mighty Sunlight," etc., but this is purely conjectural.

(3) **רמשנאל**--This is another one which is questionable. Many of the names end in **אל**. Charles translates **אל** as "god,"⁵ which is certainly

¹Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 302; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 284, 285.

²Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 1116; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 1131-1132.

³Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 1118; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 1138, 1040.

⁴Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 70, 21; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 81, 22.

⁵Book of Enoch, p. 16

a correct rendition. But 𐤆𐤍 also can mean "strong" or "mighty."¹ In the context of these names this latter translation seems more appropriate than "god." Hence in all of the names 𐤆𐤍 will be translated as "mighty." The first part of the name is 𐤔𐤓𐤓, which can mean "creeping things," either of the ground or of the sea.² Possibly [𐤆𐤍𐤔𐤓] designates some kind of a "mighty creeping monster." Charles suggests this name is a corruption of Ἀρακιήλ, that is, Arakiêl, mentioned in 8:3 as the spirit which taught "the signs of the earth." This seems doubtful, and certainly his suggestion that it comes from ארקיאל with ארץ meaning "earth," would, in light of the Aramaic, seem most improbable.

(4) [𐤆𐤍𐤔𐤓]--This is the first name which presents no problems. In 8:3 Kôkabêl is said to be a teacher of "the constellations," and 𐤔𐤓𐤓 means "star."³ Therefore, [𐤆𐤍𐤔𐤓] very probably means "Mighty or Lofty Star." The source of this usage probably is Isaiah 14:13, where 𐤔𐤓𐤓 is used figuratively of haughty nations.

(5) The Aramaic of the fifth word is missing and to determine the original is an impossible task. Charles suggests that it could be from 𐤈𐤌𐤍𐤔, meaning "perfection of God,"⁴ but this is very doubtful.

¹Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 42; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 47.

²Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 942-943; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 895.

³Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 42, II; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 47.

⁴Book of Enoch, p. 16

(6) [רעמאנל]--This is another name which seems straightforward and simple. It probably means "Mighty Thunder," as רעט means "thunder."¹

(7) [דניאנל]--This word is very difficult. Since דני means "judgment," "strife," "dispute," or "judge,"² [דניאנל] could mean "Mighty Strife" or "Mighty Judge," but this seems very unlikely.

(8) זיקאל--This name is missing in the Aramaic manuscripts of 6:7, but it is supplied in the Aramaic of 8:3, and this is another one about which we can be almost certain. The function of this angel is described in 8:3 as teaching "the knowledge of the clouds." Since זיקא is the Aramaic for "shooting star," "comet," or occasionally "lightning,"³ זיקאל probably means "Mighty Comet," or perhaps "Mighty Lightning." Charles' suggestion that it is from שוקראל, שוק meaning "clouds,"⁴ seems most questionable.

(9) ברקאל--This very probably means "Mighty Lightning," as ברק means lightning.⁵ In 8:3 "Barâqîjâl [taught] astrology."

¹Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 947; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 901

²Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 200, 192, 1088; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 208, 215.

³Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 268, 278; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 254.

⁴Book of Enoch, p. 16.

⁵Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 140; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 155

(10) אַזאַזֶל--This is a very difficult name. From our discussion about Azazel in Chapter I of this study, we know that a suitable explanation for this word has not yet been offered.¹ It is vaguely possible that אַז could come from either אַז, meaning "strength" or "power," or from אַז, meaning "goat." We can say nothing more specific.

(11) The Aramaic of this name is missing and there are no clues to its meaning. The only thing we know is that in 8:3 Armârôš is said to be a teacher of "the resolving of enchantments."

(12) מַטְרָאֵל--This name seems to mean "Mighty Rain," as מַטְרָא is the Aramaic for "rain."²

(13) עֲנַנְיָאֵל--This name is just as certainly "Mighty Cloud," as עֲנַן means "cloud."³

(14) The Aramaic of this name is very uncertain. It may read אֵלֵאֲרַאֵל, but the manuscript is in such bad condition here we cannot be certain.

(15) אֵלֵאֲרַאֵל--In 8:3 it is stated that Shamsîêl taught "the signs of the sun," and since אֵל means "sun"⁴ there is little question that אֵלֵאֲרַאֵל means "Mighty Sun."

¹See Chap. I of this study, pp. 35-39.

²Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 564; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 517

³Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 777-778, 1107; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 721, 1110.

⁴Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 1039, 1116; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 995, 1132.

(16) טור־אל--This name appears to mean "Mighty Mountain," as טור means "mountains,"¹ Charles translates טור as "rock," instead of "mountain."²

(17) [לג]מ־--This means "Mighty Sea"; מ־ is the Aramaic for "sea."³

(18) This name is missing in the Aramaic. From the spelling of the word in the Greek and Ethiopic versions, it could quite possibly be derived from טור־אל, "Mighty Mountain." See above number sixteen. Charles supports this position.⁴

There are no Aramaic equivalents for the remaining names on the table, and they are of doubtful, if not hopeless, origin. Charles does make one suggestion worth mentioning. He contends that Azâzjâl (last name in Ethiopic 6:7) and Esdrêl (Ethiopic 8:3) are corruptions for Σαριήλ (Sariêl, Greek S in 8:3). He points out that in 8:3 Sariêl is depicted as having taught "the course of the moon." He suggests, therefore, that Sariêl is from סהר־אל, סהר meaning moon.⁵ This is possible; סהר

¹Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 1094; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 1078.

²Book of Enoch, p. 16.

³Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, pp. 1095, 410; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, pp. 1082, 383.

⁴Book of Enoch, p. 16.

⁵Book of Enoch, p. 16.

actually means "something round,"¹ but it could have been used for the moon.

Looking back over the names of these bad angels, we realize that the original forms of some of them are completely obscured, and that several are very doubtful. But there are also many about which we are relatively certain--4, 6, 8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17. And the interesting thing to note is that all of these names about which we are certain are concerned with nature: "Mighty Star," "Mighty Thunder," "Mighty Comet," "Mighty Lightning," "Mighty Rain," "Mighty Cloud," "Mighty Sun," "Mighty Mountain," and "Mighty Sea." We could also add some of the doubtful names to this list: (2) "Mighty Light," (3) "Mighty Creeping Monster," and (20) "Mighty Moon."

It appears that the writer of this section of Enoch applied to the fallen angels names which he borrowed from the realm of nature. We cannot be certain, but evidently he conceived of these particular angels as ones which, in some way, were connected with the natural elements of the universe, that is, rain, thunder, stars, etc.

¹ Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Lexicon, p. 690; Koehler and Baumgartner, Lexicon, p. 650.

APPENDIX B

INDEX OF THE PROPER NAMES OF DEMONS

AND/OR EVIL SPIRITS

- Asmodeus (Ashmedai), 132-135, 139, 180, 284, 291, 304.
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155, 173, 181, 198, 199, 240, 241, 301-302, 333.
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Beelzebul (or some variation), 163-165, 302, 317, 323.
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241, 242, 249, 257, 258, 259, 263, 267-268, 269-270, 323, 334, 335,
336, 337, 338.
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302, 317, 331, 334, 335, 336.
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257, 268-270, 302, 323, 334, 336, 338.
Mechembechus, 203.
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169, 172, 178, 179, 181, 183, 191-192, 193-195, 196, 199-201, 203, 204,
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237, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 249, 257, 268, 294-299, 300, 304, 305-
306, 317-318, 323, 329, 331, 334, 336, 338, 340.
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