THE ENOCHIC TRADITIONS AND JESUS'S EXORCISM IN MARK

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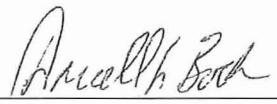

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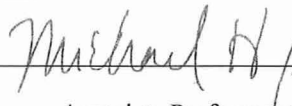

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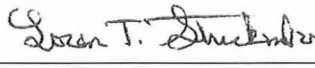

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ABSTRACT

THE ENOCHIC TRADITIONS AND JESUS'S EXORCISM IN MARK

by

Young K. Kim

Readers: Darrell L. Bock, Michael H. Burer, Loren T. Stuckenbruck

Scholars from the Enochic influence scholarship argue that Synoptic demonology is discontinuous from Old Testament demonology because the Enochic evil spirits, whose concept reflects the Mesopotamian demonology Jews learned during the Exile, influenced all other demonological conversations in the Second Temple Jewish works, including the Synoptics. This study surveys primary sources to evaluate this premise and concludes that they are debatable. This study consists of six chapters. The main arguments are in chapters two through five. The second chapter surveys the relationship between the Book of the Watchers and other Second Temple Jewish works. This study concludes that God designates the hybrid giants to work as evil spirits after their death, and the Second Temple Jewish literature shows a diversity of demonology, which makes the overall influence of the former upon all later works unlikely. The third chapter explores the relationship between the Book of the Watchers and the Old Testament based on nine major topics in the fallen angel tradition and concludes that the two traditions are closely related to, rather than distinct, from each other. The fourth chapter investigates the demonological portrayals in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece and concludes that Mesopotamia has no evil spirit compatible with the Enochic evil spirits. A combined image of the hybrid birth and departed human souls may have caused the rise of the Enochic evil spirits, but the combined image is also possible from the Egyptian or Greek thoughts, which makes the exclusive Mesopotamian influence upon the Enochic evil spirits weak. The fifth chapter surveys the Markan unclean spirits in the exorcism and exorcism-related accounts. Mark is selected for the Synoptics because this study has a limited scope, and Mark is the earliest gospel and emphasizes Jesus's exorcism. This study concludes that the Markan unclean spirits are the corrupted angels of later Old Testament books with two features developed in the Second Temple period after the Book of the Watchers: (1) Satan as the head of the unclean spirits (11Q13 2:12–13), and (2) their entering human bodies (4Q560 1 i 3; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.2.5 §45–49).

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ABBREVIATIONS

General Reference Works

Lexicons, Grammars, and Dictionaries

ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. 26 vols. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1964–2010.
BDAG	Danker, Frederick W., Walter Bauer, William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 3rd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000 (Danker-Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich).
CDAkk	*A Concise Dictionary of Akkadian.* Edited by Jeremy Black, Andrew George, and Nicholas Postgate. SANTAG: Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000.
CDGz	*Concise Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic).* Wolf Leslau. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989.
DBEG	Dillmann, August, and Carl Bezold. *Ethiopic Grammar*. Translated by James A. Crichton. Ancient Language Resources, edited by K. C. Hanson. 2nd ed. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005.
DDD	*Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible.* Edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst. Rev. ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
DJBAr	*A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods.* Michael Sokoloff. Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum III and Publications of the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon Project. Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002.
DQAr	*Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic.* Edward M. Cook. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015.
DOTP	*Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*. Edited by T. Desmond Alexander and David W. Baker. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2003.
DSAr	*Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic.* Abraham Tal. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1; The Near and Middle East 5, ed. H. Altenmüller et al., 5th ed. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

DUgL	*Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín Joaquín. Translated by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Handbook of Oriental Studies 112; The Near and Middle East 1, edited by W. H. van Soldt et al. 3rd ed. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
EgHD	*An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*. E. A. Wallis Budge. 2 vols. London: Harrison and Sons, 1920.
GHCL	Gesenius, Wilhelm, and Samuel Prideaux Tregelles. *Gesenius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949.
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arther E. Cowley. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1910.
GTarO	*A Glossary of Targum Onkelos: According to Alexander Sperber's Edition.* Edward M. Cook. Leiden: Brill, 2008.
HALOT	*The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Ludwig Koehler, Walter Baumgartner, and Johann J. Stamm. 5 vols. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000.
LLA	*Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino*. August Dillmann. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1865.
LSJ	Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. With revised supplement. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.
PhPD	*Phoenician-Punic Dictionary*. Charles R. Krahmalkov. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 90; Studia Phoenicia 15. Leuven: Peeters, 2000.
RDGD	*The Routledge Dictionary of Gods, Goddesses, Devils, and Demons*. Manfred Lurker. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987.
SumL	*Sumerian Lexicon: A Dictionary Guide to the Ancient Sumerian Language.* John Alan Halloran. Los Angeles: Logogram, 2006.

Journals

ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AThR	*Anglican Theological Review*

BapT	*Baptistic Theologies*
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
Chm	Churchman
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
JAAR	*Journal of the American Academy of Religion*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
OJT	*Ogbomoso Journal of Theology*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*

Others

ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der romischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung.* Edited by Hildegard Temprini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986.
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament: Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients und des Alten Testaments

BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibSem	The Biblical Seminar
BakNTC	Baker New Testament Commentary
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
CGTC	Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary
CM	Cuneiform Monographs
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
DAAW	Deities and Angels of the Ancient World
EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
EMT	*Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*. Edited by Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009.
ESG	*Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels*. Edited by Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Gabriele Boccaccini. Early Judaism and Its Literature 44. Atlanta: SBL, 2016.
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien
GAP	Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drie Jahrhunderte
GR	*Greece and Rome*
Hermeneia	Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible
ICC	International Critical Commentary
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series

JTECL	Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSAWS	Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic
LSTTS	Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series
NAC	New American Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NISABA	NISABA: Religious Texts Translation Series
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
OES	*The Origin of Evil Spirits*. Archie T. Wright. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2015.
OW	Origenes Werke
PEPS	*Parables of Enoch: A Paradigm Shift*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth and Darrell L. Bock, Jewish and Christian Texts in Contexts and Related Studies Series 11. London: T. & T. Clark, 2013.
PMS	Publications in Mediaeval Studies
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLStBL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
ScrA	Scriptores aethiopici
SCS	*Septuagint Commentary Series*
SHBC	Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary
SPOT	Studies on Personalities of the Old Testament
Str-B	Strack, Hermann Leberecht and Paul Billerbeck. *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch.* 6 vols. Munich: Beck, 1922–1961.
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in veteris testamenti pseudepigrapha

TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions
TCEC	The Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Catholicism
MPBS	University of Pennsylvania, the Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WJCT	*The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions*. Edited by Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblentz Bautch, and John C. Endres. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2014.
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Ancient Works

Biblical Texts

LXX	Septuagint
NA^{28}	*Novum Testamentum Graece*, Nestle-Aland, 28th ed.

Jewish Works

Deuterocanonical Works and Septuagint

Bar	Baruch
Sir	Sirach/Ecclesiasticus
Tob	Tobit
Wis	Wisdom of Solomon

Old Testament Pseudepigrapha

1 En.	The Book of Enoch
Jub.	Jubilees
LAB	Liber antiquitatum biblicarum (Pseudo-Philo)
Let. Aris.	Letter of Aristeas

Sib. Or.	Sibylline Oracles
T. Ash.	Testament of Asher
T. Benj.	Testament of Benjamin
T. Dan	Testament of Dan
T. Gad	Testament of Gad
T. Iss.	Testament of Issachar
T. Jud.	Testament of Judah
T. Levi	Testament of Levi
T. Reu.	Testament of Reuben
T. Sim.	Testament of Simeon
T. Sol.	Testament of Solomon
T. Zeb.	Testament of Zebulun

Dead Sea Scrolls

1QapGen ar	Genesis Apocryphon Aramaic
4Q201	4QEnocha Aramaic
4Q202	4QEnochb Aramaic
4Q204	4QEnochc Aramaic
4Q444	4QIncantation
4Q510	4QSongs of the Sage[a]
4Q560	4QExorcism ar
11Q5	11QPsalms[a]
11Q11	11QApocryphal Psalms
11Q13	11QMechizedek
CD	Cairo Damascus Document

Josephus

Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities*
Ap.	*Against Apion*
J.W.	*Jewish War*
Life	*The Life*

Philo

Gig.	*On the Giants*
Mos.	*On Moses*
QG	*Questions and Answers on Genesis*
Somm.	*On Dreams*
Spec.	*On the Special Laws*

Babylonian Talmud

b. B. Bat.	*Baba Batra*

Greek Authors

Aeschylus

Fragm. dub.	*Doubtfully Ascribed Fragments*

Aristophanes

Av.	*Birds*
Fr. s. nom.	*Unattributed Fragments*
Ran.	*Frogs*

Aristotle

Hist. an.	*History of Animals*
Mir. ausc.	*On Marvelous Things Heard*
Rhet.	*"Art" of Rhetoric*

Demosthenes

Exord.	*Exordia*
3 Philip.	*3 Philippic*

Diodorus of Sicily

Hist.	*Library of History*

Hesiod

Cat.	*Catalogue of Women*
Cat. eo.	*The Catalogue of Women and the Eoiae*
Fr. alt.	*Other Fragments*
Op.	*Works and Days*
Theog.	*Theogony*

Hippocrates of Cos

Morb. sacr.	*The Sacred Disease*
Puell.	*Girls*

Homer

Il.	*Iliad*
Od.	*Odyssey*

Lucian of Samosata

Philops.	*The Lover of Lies*

Philostratus of Athens

Vit. Apoll.	*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*

Plato

Apol.	*Apology of Socrates*
Crat.	*Cratylus*
Phaed.	*Phaedo*

	Resp.	*Republic*
	Theaet.	*Theaetetus*
	Tim.	*Timaeus*
Polybius		
	Hist.	*The Histories*
Plutarch		
	Def. orac.	*The Obsolescence of Oracles*
	Marc.	*Marcellus*
	Superst.	*Superstition*
Sophocles		
	El.	*Electra*
	Fr. not.	*Fragments of Known Plays*
	Oed. col.	*Oedipus at Colonus*
	Trach.	*The Women of Trachis*
Sophron		
	Mim. Fem.	*Women's Mime*
Theocritus		
	Id.	*Idylls*
Theophrastus		
	Char.	*Characters*

Other Primary Sources and Translations

AEMT *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts.* J. F. Borghouts. NISABA: Religious Texts Translation Series 9, edited by M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss et al. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

ANET *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.

COS	*The Context of Scripture.* Edited by William W. Hallo. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002.
DSSSE	*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Edited by Florentino García Martínez and J. C. Tigchelaar. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
EBE	*The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*. Michael A. Knibb and Edward Ullendorff. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1978.
KTU	*Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani und Anderen Orten*. Edited by Manfried Dietrich, Oswald Loretz, and Joaquín Sanmartín. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 360/1. 3rd ed. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2013.
LS	*Lamaštu: An Edition of the Canonical Seriest of Lamaštu Incantations and Rituals and Related Texts from the Second and First Millennia B.C*. Walter Farber. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014.
OTP	*The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1983.
UHF	*Forerunners to Udug-Hul: Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations with 1 Figure and 20 Plates*. Markham J. Geller. Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 12. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985.
UL	*Evil Spirits*. R. Campbell Thompson. Vol. 1, Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia. Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series 14. 2 vols. Transliterated and translated, with introduction. London: Luzac, 1903.

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To Jungmi and Ezra,

who encouraged me and have been patient with much devotion

הִתְיַצְּבוּ וּרְאוּ אֶת־יְשׁוּעַת יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה לָכֶם הַיּוֹם

θεὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Rationale for the Study

The Book of Enoch was well known to and used by the New Testament authors and early church fathers.[1] It is very likely that the former influenced the latter one way or another.[2] Scholars have said that Enochic demonology has a significant influence upon New Testament authors.[3] Recently, scholars of the Enochic influence scholarship have argued for five premises, although the premises do not reflect its consensus of opinions.[4] First, the Old and New Testaments have demonological views distinct from each other.[5] Second, the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers shows a new

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[1] For the use of 1 Enoch by New Testament authors and early church fathers, see George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 83–100.

[2] R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Jerusalem: Makor, 1912), lxxxi–cx.

[3] Charles says that the New Testament demons are the "disembodied spirits" of the hybrid giants in the Book of the Watchers (ibid., cv). Barker and Sullivan agree with Charles (Margaret Barker, *The Lost Prophet* [London: SPCK, 1988], 23; Kevin Sullivan, "The Watchers Traditions in 1 Enoch 6–16: The Fall of Angels and the Rise of Demons," in *WJCT*, 92). Eve argues that Jesus's tradition took up "the Enochic-Qumran traditions" with "an interest in healing and the ultimate demonic powers" (Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, JSNTSup 231 [London: Sheffield Academic, 2002], 270). Wright argues for gradual development of demonology from the Book of the Watchers, to Jubilees, to Dead Sea Scrolls, and to the Synoptics (Archie T. Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels," in *ESG*, 215–43).

[4] For more information about the five premises of the Enochic influence scholarship with which this study disagrees, see the section "Limitations" below on page 4.

[5] Sullivan, "The Watchers Traditions in 1 Enoch 6–16," 97; A. T. Wright, *OES*, 1. The Old Testament does not seem interested in evil spirits and their exorcism; the explicit exorcism accounts are found only in the story of King Saul, where God sends the evil spirit (1 Sam 16:14–23). However, the evil spirits in the Synoptic Gospels are enemies of God's Kingdom, and their exorcism is a significant part of Jesus's ministry (Mark 3:22–27). Specifically, Mark stresses exorcism in three ways. See the discussion below in footnote 10.

demonological concept Jews learned in the Exile and, therefore, is foreign to the Old Testament authors.[6] Third, the fallen angel tradition laid the groundwork for other demonological conversations in Second Temple Judaism.[7] Fourth, the Second Temple literature caused the rise of Synoptic demonology.[8] Fifth, the Synoptic evil spirits are spontaneous, enter the bodies of victims, and afflict them with diseases.[9] These premises are likely in view of the Second Temple Jewish background, but the Enochic influence scholarship has not yet presented any overall examination of related primary sources to compare them with one another to support its premises. Therefore, this study revisits and evaluates each premise of the Enochic influence scholarship in dialogue with primary texts in order to ascertain the premises. The final goal is to ascertain the interrelationship between the Book of Enoch and the Gospel of Mark on the topic of evil spirits and their exorcism.[10]

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[6] Wright, *OES*, 1. Fröhlich says that a person in the Exile shaped the Book of the Watchers (Ida Fröhlich, "Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions," in *WJC*, 11–12). Sullivan says that the Old Testament angels cannot be the New Testament evil spirits that enter the bodies of hosts (Sullivan, "The Watchers Traditions in 1 Enoch 6–16," 99). Wright identifies the Persian demon *utukku*, the souls of the Enochic hybrid giants, and the Synoptic evil spirits (Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch," 219, 243).

[7] Wright, *OES*, 1.

[8] Sullivan, "The Watchers Traditions in 1 Enoch 6–16," 92.

[9] Ibid., 99; Wright, *OES*, 1–2; Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch," 215–16. Sacchi argues that the Enochic evil spirits were an unexpected byproduct of God's destroying the hybrid giants (Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, trans. William J. Short, JSPSup 20 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990], 52, 218).

[10] This study chooses Mark for the Synoptics for three reasons. First, this study has a limited scope of the study. Second, Mark is the first Gospel written—this study accepts the view on both Markan authorship and Markan priority (C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, CGTC [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963], 6–7; Darrell L. Bock, *Mark* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015], 16–22). Third, Mark emphasizes exorcism.

Mark stresses exorcism in three ways. First, he summarizes the public ministry of Jesus and his disciples as preaching and exorcism (1:39; 3:14–15). Second, Mark says that exorcism was the first and last miracle Jesus performed in his public or Galilean ministry (1:21–28; 9:17–29; Richard H. Hiers, "Satan, Demons, and the Kingdom of God," *SJT* 27, no. 1 [February 1974]: 43). Third, Mark says that

Thesis

Scholars from the Enochic influence scholarship argue that Synoptic demonology is discontinuous from Old Testament demonology because the Enochic evil spirits, whose concept reflects the Mesopotamian demonology Jews learned during the Exile, had an influence upon other demonological conversations in the Second Temple Jewish works including the Synoptics. However, the argument is debatable because a survey of the primary sources associated with their premises shows four contradictory features. First, major topics in the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers are found in the Old Testament. Second, the evil spirits in Second Temple Jewish works are too diverse to argue for the overall influence of the Book of the Watchers upon all other later Jewish works. Third, Mesopotamia does not have any evil spirit exclusively compatible with the Enochic evil spirits. Fourth, Mark shows that his evil spirits are the corrupted angels of later Old Testament books with two features developed in the Second Temple period after the Book of the Watchers and near the turn of the Common Era.

Method of Study

The study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter is an introduction. It addresses the need and purpose of this study. The second through fifth chapters are the main argument of this study. The second chapter surveys the demonological views in the Second Temple Jewish literature. It defines the demonological view of the Book of the Watchers and evaluates its influence upon other Jewish writings that came afterward. The

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exorcism was the miracle Jesus performed most frequently—four out of the thirteen healing Markan accounts are exorcisms (1:28–8; 5:1–20; 7:24–30; 9:14–29). It does not include simple references to evil spirits (1:32, 34; 2:25; 3:11, 15, 22; 6:7, 13; 8:33) but remains "the largest single category" (Dunn and Twelftree, "Demon-Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament," *Chm* 94, no. 3 [1980]: 211).

third chapter compares the Book of the Watchers and the Old Testament. It evaluates the premise that Enochic demonology is foreign to the Old Testament authors. The fourth chapter studies the demonological views in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece. It evaluates the premise that Mesopotamian demonology caused the rise of the Enochic evil spirits exclusively. The fifth chapter surveys the Markan portrayal of the unclean spirits in the exorcism and exorcism-related accounts. The results this study discovers in the second through fourth chapters are compared with the Markan views. The comparison evaluates the validity of the premise that the Book of the Watchers and other Second Temple Jewish literature influenced the formation of Markan demonology. The sixth chapter is the conclusion; there, this study's findings in the second through fifth chapters are summarized and assessed with suggestions for further studies.

Limitations

This study terms a certain group of scholars against whom this study speaks as the Enochic influence scholarship. However, the five premises with which this study disagrees do not necessarily indicate consensus. They are a collection of views from particular scholars. They do not represent the views of all those who speak of an Enochic influence; this study clarifies that the premises against which this study argues are of particular scholars and not the consensus of the entire Enochic influence scholarship.

The word "influence" is an ambiguous term in a practical application of ancient literature because the term covers a broad area. The scope is well seen in the explanation of Loren Stuckenbruck, who states, "The reading of a text is enhanced by the knowledge of another text or text-tradition without necessarily having to put forth an argument for overt use on the part of the original communicator or detailed knowledge

thereof on the part of the receiver."[11] To shape the term more precisely, scholars have used terms such as "echoes" or "intertextuality," but it still asks for the supply of functional criteria of influence. For this study, evaluating influence is determining to what degree one's portrayal of evil spirits and their exorcism resembles those of the other.[12]

This study explores mainly the conceptual relationship between the Enochic traditions and the Gospel of Mark, so the actuality of evil spirits, the actuality of Jesus as the exorcist, and the actuality of the beliefs of evil spirits by Jesus or the Markan author are avoided in the argument. The study of influential processes between Mark and other traditions is also excluded.

For clarification, it is necessary to define several terms or phrases used in this study. The phrase "Enochic tradition" or "fallen angel tradition" refers to a pattern of thought that includes the angelic fall, the birth of hybrid giants from the union between the fallen angels and human females, and the evil spirits emerging from the dead hybrid giants in the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 6–16). The phrase "the Enochic author" refers to the author of the Book of the Watchers, and the phrase "the Enochic authors" refers to more than one author of 1 Enoch together.

There are other terms to be defined before this study proceeds because they may give different images to the mind of each reader. The word "possession" means the occupancy of a person, without regard to ownership, by an evil spirit or evil spirits, which

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[11] Loren T. Stuckenbruck and Gabriele Boccaccini, "1 Enoch and the Synoptic Gospels: The Method and Benefits of a Conversation," in *ESG*, 3.

[12] For a study of identifying intertextual echoes, see Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–32; Christopher A. Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letter of Paul to the Colossians*, BibInt 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 27–34.

may be in control of the person inside or outside the person. The term "demoniac" refers to both a person and an evil spirit (or evil spirits) in control of the person together. The term "demon-possessed" or "the possessed" refers strictly to "the victim himself."[13] The term "exorcism" means an attempt to free a person from the bondage of an evil spirit or evil spirits. The term "magic" or "magical use" refers to visible techniques (physical aids or incantations) that the ancient people thought were effectual in their practice of dealing with evil spiritual entities.

This study looks into primary sources of various languages. The knowledge of ancient languages besides biblical languages is necessary. However, having limited proficiency, this study relies on translated texts and minimizes terminological arguments at certain points.

[13] Willem Berends, "The Biblical Criteria for Demon-Possession," *WTJ* 37, no. 3 (Spring 1975): 343.

CHAPTER 2

EVIL SPIRITS IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

The Book of Enoch is said to have introduced to Second Temple Judaism a new demonological concept which laid the groundwork for all other demonological conversations that came afterward, including the New Testament. According to the new concept, the evil spirits are spontaneous beyond God's control, enter the body of a person, and afflict that person with diseases.[1] This chapter evaluates the validity of the premise by revisiting the Book of Enoch and other Second Temple Jewish writings before or around the time of Jesus's ministry. The evaluation begins with the Book of the Watchers to see how valid the paradigm-shift view is and to what degree it reflects the view of the time. The survey on the other works follows and evaluates demonological continuity between the Book of the Watchers and the later writings. This study selects and includes only the writings which show a familiarity with the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers to see if the knowledge of the tradition denotes a sign of influence by the Book of the Watchers. The Book of Jubilees presents itself as a sequel to the Book of the Watchers. Scholars usually say that it revises the new concept according to traditional Judaism. This study explores in what way it does so. The Book of Dream Visions, the Epistle of Enoch, and the Book of Parables are part of the Book of Enoch. They say nothing about the evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers. Their silence hints

[1] Archie T. Wright, *OES*, 1–3; Archie T. Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels," in *ESG*, 215–43.

at the conceptual development of the evil spirits within the same tradition. The meaning of the omission is worth exploring. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Book of Tobit exhibit evil spirits that may go well with the new demonological concept. This study investigates to what degree they relate the departed souls of the hybrid giants to their demonological views. Josephus, Philo, and the author of Pseudo Philo were active in the first century around the time of Jesus's ministry. Their views may provide a demonological trend in that period.

The Book of the Watchers (1 Enoch 1–36)

The Book of the Watchers introduces the fallen angel tradition including the origin of the evil spirits, but the author's explicit expression of a deterministic view (1:1; 9:11) throws doubt on his introduction of the spontaneous evil spirits to Second Temple Judaism. The deterministic view needs to be surveyed in more detail to see how it affects the author's portrayal of the evil spirits. It is also necessary to evaluate the view that the evil spirits came into existence as an accident and are beyond God's control.[2] Some view 15:11 as the evidence of their relationship with illnesses, but the claim is debatable.[3] The

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[2] For an accidental appearance of the Enochic evil spirits, see Paolo Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, trans. William J. Short, JSPSup 20 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1990), 52, 218.

[3] Eve argues that 1 En. 15:11 speaks of the disease-causing evil spirits (Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, JSNTSup 231 [London: Sheffield Academic, 2002], 150, 150–51n19). Textual problems in 1 En. 15:11 cause translators to disagree with one another on the meaning. Charles translates it as "And the spirits of the giants afflict, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble" (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* [Jerusalem: Makor, 1912], 36–37); Knibb as "And the spirits of the giants . . . which do wrong and are corrupt, and attack and fight and break on the earth, and cause sorrow" (Knibb, *EBE*, 2:101–2); Isaac as "The spirits of the giants oppress each other, they will corrupt, fall, be excited, and fall upon the earth, and cause sorrow" (E. Isaac, "1 [Ethiopic Apocalypse of] Enoch," in *OTP*, 1:22); Black as "But the vicious spirits (issuing) from the giants, the Nephilim, they inflict harm, they destroy, they attack, they wrestle and dash to the ground, causing injuries" (Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch*, SVTP 7 [Leiden: Brill, 1985], 34); and Nickelsburg as "And the spirits of the giants lead astray, do violence, make desolate, and attack and wrestle and hurl upon the earth and cause illnesses" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 267). Scholars usually

author is not explicit about their entrance into a person's body, but some scholars argue for the possibility.[4] This study will survey on what ground they do so and how valid their arguments are. This section will explore the issues under three headings: the author's deterministic view, the concept of rebellion, and the origin and role of the evil spirits.

The Author's Deterministic View

The author presents a deterministic view in the opening sentence (1:1), the inclusio structure of the introductory section of the book (chs 1–5), and the plea of four Angels of the Presence (9:1–11).

Determinism in the Introduction

The first five chapters are the introduction to the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 1–36). Here the author lays the theological ground that affects all the stories he unfolds in the rest of the book. The opening words are especially notable: "The words of blessing of Enoch according to which he blessed the chosen and righteous who must be present in the day of distress (which is appointed), for the removal of all the wicked and impious" (1:1).[5] Here the author demonstrates his deterministic view in four aspects: the genre, the use of the phrase "the chosen and righteous ones" for the target audience, the use of the verbal phrase "they must be present" for the target audience, and the inclusio structure.[6]

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speak of the attack of the Enochic evil spirits in a direct contact. This study's translation will be given later.

[4] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, WUNT 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 82.

[5] The direct quotations of 1 Enoch come from Knibb, *EBE*, 2:57–251, unless stated otherwise.

[6] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 213. The fatalistic mood is one characteristic of the apocalyptic writings (David Flusser, "Apocalypse," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Fred Skolnik and Michael Berenbaum, vol. 2 [Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007], 257). Both the Jewish sects of Essenes and Pharisees had a deterministic concept (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.5.9 §171–3; cf. 4Q266 2 ii 7–10). Therefore, determinism was not foreign to Second Temple Judaism.

First, the genre of the book shows the author's deterministic view. The author opens the book with the phrase ቃለ፡በረከት፡ዘሄኖክ, "the word(s) of the blessing of Enoch."[7] The book is better defined as the *prophetic* words of blessing because the author has his contemporaries as the target audience.[8] The form is resonant of "testamentary blessings" in Genesis 49 and Deuteronomy 33,[9] where pronounced blessings are "powerful and efficacious."[10] The blessing is not a wishful thought but a determined course of actions.

Second, the identifying words ኀሩያነ፡ወጻድቃነ, "the chosen and righteous," for the target audience show the author's deterministic view.[11] The term "chosen" speaks for itself about determinism. The author's identification of the target audience with it further confirms his view. Although the response to the commandments distinguishes the elect from the cursed (5:4), God's mercy is the primary factor for salvation (5:5). While the cursed ones find no mercy from God, the chosen ones enjoy God's mercy (1:8; 5:7, 8; 25:5). The perfect observance of the law is possible only after the salvation, with which the eating from the Tree of Wisdom will be available (1:8–9; 32:3, 6; cf. Gen 2:9).

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[7] The Greek version reads, "λόγος εὐλογίας Ἐνώχ." All the quotations of the Greek version in this study are based on Matthew Black, "Apocalypsis henochi graece," in *Apocalypsis henochi graece. Fragmenta pseudepigraphorum quae supersunt graeca cum historicorum et auctorum judaeorum hellenistarum fragmentis collegit et ordinavit*, edited by M. Black and A. M. Denis, PVTG 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), unless stated otherwise.

[8] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 132–34.

[9] James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS 16 (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 115; Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 12–13; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 135. Christensen used the term "testamentary blessing" the first time in his commentary (Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, WBC 6B [Dallas: Word Books, 2002], 836).

[10] J. McKeown, "Blessings and Curses," in *DOTP*, 85.

[11] It is debatable whether the phrase refers to a group ("the chosen and righteous ones") or two groups ("the chosen ones and the righteous ones"). This study follows the wording of the Greek version ἐκλεκτοὺς δικαίους because "the righteous and pious are equated with the elect" (E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977], 350).

Third, the author's use of the verbal phrase ሀለዉ፡ይኩኑ for the target audience shows determinism. It "conveys the idea of obligation or necessity," and the translation "(they) must be present" makes sense.[12] It indicates that Enoch decreed that the target audience should be present, and he blessed them in advance.

Fourth, the author shows his deterministic view, using the "inclusio" structure of the entire introductive section (chs 1–5). He places the theme of "judgment and comfort" as bookends (1:1–9 and 5:4–10). Then, in the explanatory middle section, he exhorts the target audience to contemplate how nature has been performing their duties (2:1; 5:2–3 cf. Job 40–41; 42:1–6).[13] He says in 5:2, "And (how) his works (are) before him in each succeeding year, and all his works serve him and do not change, but as God has decreed, so everything is done." He declares that everything goes as God has decreed. Here the author's message is clear; nothing has been out of God's control.

The entire introduction drops a hint at the outset that God preordained whatever the author unrolls after the introduction. Therefore, the author insinuates in the introduction that the fall of Watchers and the birth of the evil spirits that readers will read later are all part of God's grand plan.

Determinism in the Plea of the Angels of the Presence

The author displays his deterministic view in the plea of angels. Michael, Gabriel, Suriel, and Uriel observed the problems that the fallen angels, hybrid giants, and

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[12] Knibb, *EBE*, 2:57. The verb ይኩኑ very likely refers to ይከውኑ, "they shall be." For the implication of "some definite shade of the Future" in the verb ሀለወ and an imperfect verb, see *DBEG*, 171.

[13] Nickelsburg finds traditions about the contrast between nature's obedience and humanity's disobedience in other Second Temple Jewish writings, such as Sir 16:24–30, 1QS 3:15–4:26, T. Nap. 3:2–4:1, 1Q34^{bis} 3 2:1–4, and Ps. Sol. 18:10–12 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 152–55).

their human followers brought upon the earth:[14] "(They) saw the mass of blood that was being shed on the earth, and all the iniquity that was being done on the earth" (9:1b). The earth became hell for humanity, so the four angels pleaded God to do something about the suffering of the earth (9:4–11). The emphasis on God's foreknowledge in their words is notable: "And you know everything before it happens, and you know this and what concerns each of them. But you say nothing to us. What ought we to do with them about this?" (9:11). Their words show that God *foreknew* the angelic fall and its consequent problems even before these events took place but neither stopped them nor dealt with them for an unknown reason, unknown even to the Angels of the Presence (9:11b). For the author, God's sovereignty and omniscience are absolute. Therefore, the problem of the fallen angels and hybrid giants does not suggest that the world got out of God's control.[15] All things go as God planned, and no one knows the plan except God himself.

The Concept of Rebellion: Emphasis on the Angelic Weakness

A power struggle for supremacy among deities is a familiar theme in the ancient Near Eastern myths, but the theme is absent in the plot of the fallen Watchers.[16] The author never speaks of the fallen angels that challenge God's authority, not even its possibility. He shows it in their plot and reaction to God's judgmental decree. He portrays their fall in a similar way to the Adamic Fall; he says that they were as weak as humans.

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[14] The list of angelic names is debatable due to a textual problem. See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 20; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 202; Knibb, *EBE*, 1:23; Isaac, "1 Enoch," 16.

[15] Kallas argues that the author of the Book of Enoch adjusted the henotheism in the Old Testament to explain the negative historical situation of the target audience eschatologically, in which God seemed to have no longer been in control of world history (James Kallas, *The Significance of the Synoptic Miracles* [Greenwich, CT: Seabury, 1961], 53).

[16] The Enochic fallen angels are in neither "revolt" nor "aspiring to rise above it [their given status]" (T. Francis Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* [London: S.P.C.K., 1961], 67).

The Fear of Punishment in the Plot of the Watchers

The author shows the nature of the angelic fall in the conversation between Semyaz and other Watchers in their plot. As Semyaz resolved to act out his desire, he wanted to ensure that the other angels would not withdraw themselves at the last minute (6:3b), so he said, "I fear that you may not wish this deed to be done, and (that) I alone will pay for this great sin." The fallen Watchers knew that they were about to commit a "great sin" against God and would suffer punishment for their actions (6:3). Yet they had no plan in reserve. Wresting control from God or escaping his punishment was never part of their plot. Here the author shows the nature of the angelic fall. They could not suppress their desire, longing vaguely that the punishment would not fall upon them.

The Reaction of the Fallen Angels to God's Judgment

The author introduces God's judgmental announcement upon the fallen angels and their hybrid offspring in two accounts (chs 10–11 and 12–16).

In the first account (chs 10–11), God commissioned four angels to carry out punishing works as follows: first, they should inform Noah to prepare for the Deluge; second, they should cause the hybrid giants to fight one another to their death; third, they should confine the fallen angels to a subterranean prison until the great day of judgment, and fourth, they should destroy their human followers by the Deluge. It is notable that the author speaks of his commissions only; he says nothing of their execution.

In the second account (chs 12–16), God delegated Enoch through angels to deliver God's judgmental decision to the fallen angels. The context shows that the second commission came before the execution of the actual punishment, about which the author explains nothing further even later. When Azazel and other fallen angels heard of God's

decree (13:1–3), they begged Enoch to intercede with God on behalf of them and their offspring for the forgiveness of their sins (13:4–5). It is noteworthy that when the fallen angels heard of God's judgmental decree, they neither tried to flee nor prepared for a fight against God to escape their punishment. Instead, "they were all afraid; fear and trembling seized them" (13:3). All they could do was to beg Enoch to intercede with God on their behalf (13:4). They thought of nothing else.[17] The author even says, "They did not raise their eyes to heaven out of shame for the sins for which they had been condemned" (13:5b; cf. Gen 3:8).[18] The angelic fall is a rebellion in the sense that they failed to conform to God's will in their weakness and not in the sense that they tried to free themselves from God's control. The author introduces no opponent of God in the angelic fall.

The Origin and Role of the Enochic Evil Spirits

The evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers refer to the departed souls of the hybrid giants (1 En. 15:8–16:1). This subsection will see if the emergence of the evil spirits was accidental[19] and if their role goes well with the new demonological concept.

The Emergence of the Evil Spirits as God's Designation

God designated the departed souls of the hybrid giants to serve as evil spirits (15:8). The author shows it in the context and verbal tense. First, the context of the story

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[17] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 176–77.

[18] The fallen angels' reaction after having heard of God's judgmental announcement reflects Adam and Eve's hiding from God after they ate the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge (Gen 3:8–10).

[19] Sacchi argues that God did not expect the emergence of the evil spirits (Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History*, 218). Wright says the author of the Book of the Watchers is unclear about the evil spirits serving God's purpose (Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch," 225–26).

shows God's designation of the evil spirits. The author speaks of the emergence of the evil spirits in God's second commission of Enoch (chs 15:1–16:4). When the fallen angels were informed of God's judgmental decree from Enoch, they begged Enoch to intercede with God on behalf of them and their offspring (13:4–5). Enoch lifted a prayer of forgiveness to God for them near Mt. Hermon (13:6–7; cf. 14:4, 7).[20] Having received God's negative reply through dream visions (13:8), Enoch went back to the fallen angels (13:9–10) with a written oracle (chs 14–16). In the oracle, God spoke of the souls of the hybrid giants coming out of their bodies and working as evil spirits (15:8). It is essential to remember that the punishment upon the fallen angels, hybrid giants, and their human followers was not yet carried out. The hybrid giants were still alive, and their souls had not emerged from their bodies yet. Therefore, here God was designating the evil spirits to serve his purpose.

Second, the verb tenses in God's designation are noteworthy. God spoke of the future of the hybrid giants with imperfect tense verbs: "And now the giants who were born . . . *shall be called* (ይሰመዩ) evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth *shall be* (ይከውን) their dwelling" (15:8).[21] Then the author tells with a perfect tense verb that the evil spirits came out (ወፅኡ) as God had said (15:9).[22] The language is resonant of God's words in the creation narrative in Genesis 1:3: וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר. Using the

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[20] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 237.

[21] Knibb uses the auxiliary verb "will" in his translation (Knibb, *EBE*, 2:101). This study changes it to "shall" because it is a better fit for the context of God's commissioning Enoch (Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 34).

[22] The Greek version supports the view that the evil spirits came out as God had said. It reads, Καὶ νῦν οἱ γίγαντες . . . πνεύματα ἰσχυρὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, . . . *ἔσται*. [καὶ] πνεύματα πονηρὰ *ἐξῆλθον* ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῶν. . . . Verse 8 is God's command, and verse 9 is the result.

perfect tense verb "came out" in 1 Enoch 15:9 may be odd because God was still in the middle of commissioning Enoch, and the hybrid giants were still alive. Two solutions are possible. First, God spoke proleptically.[23] Syncellus's Greek translation reflects the view; it uses the pluperfect participle of ἐξέρχομαι that goes with the future tense verb: Πνεύματα πονηρὰ ἔσονται, τὰ πνεύματα ἐξεληλυθότα ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν, "The evil spirits will they be, the spirits that will have come out of their fleshly body."[24] Second, verse 9 is an exposition of verse 8; the Enochic author or a later editor adds his explanation to the story.[25] In either case, God designated for the hybrid giants to work as evil spirits after their death before they were executed in the internecine fight. They were not beyond God's control and would somehow serve God's purpose.[26]

The Role of the Evil Spirits: Uncertain Possession and Affliction

The author introduces the role of the evil spirits in 15:11–16:1. An essential verse in interpreting their role is 15:11. However, it is one of the hardest verses to clarify the original meaning because of so much textual corruption.[27] No translation agrees

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[23] The Ethiopic translation may have reflected the Hebrew manner of expression in which the perfect tense verb may describe a future event such as in the *wāw consecutive* of the perfect (Isa 7:17–18; GKC, 132–35).

[24] For the background information of the Greek texts (the Gizeh and Chester Beatty texts and the Syncellus texts), see Black, "Apocalypsis henochi graece," 7–9.

[25] Nickelsburg says, "Verse 9 and 10b are an exposition of v 8" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 272).

[26] Segal argues that the evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers "act according to their own needs" unlike in Jubilees (Michael Segal, *The Book of Jubilees*, JSJSup 117 [Atlanta: SBL, 2007], 177).

[27] Nickelsburg says, "Verse 11 is a snarl of textual problems" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 273). He translates the last verb ያጸቅቁ as "causing illnesses" but recognizes the problem (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 274). He takes the translation because later writings associate the evil spirits with illnesses (Jub. 10:12–13; Luke 7:21; 8:2; Acts 19:12–16; ibid.). His back-interpretation from later works is weak. Eve argues that the terms ἀδικοῦντα and ἀφανίζοντα in the Greek version mean "injuring" and "destroying," respectively; so the evil spirits are responsible for diseases and illnesses (Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 150,

except that the evil spirits cause trouble to humanity somehow. Therefore, one must provide other evidence before speaking of their responsibility for diseases and other types of physical harm in 15:11. Based on Knibb's Ethiopic text, this study translates 15:11–16:1 as follows:

> 15:11 The spirits of the Watchers shall fall like destroying storm clouds to crush (people) competitively. They shall create grief. They shall neither eat food nor drink water. They shall work unnoticed.[28] 15:12 And these spirits shall not be lifted up from men and women. They shall depart (only) with the arrival of the days of the massacre and destruction.[29] 16:1 And let the souls of the giants, which would originate from the spirits of their bodies, be the ones that destroy, as said in the sentence. Therefore, they shall constantly destroy until the day of the great completion shall be completed upon the great age of watchfulness and negligence.[30]

150–51n19). His view is debatable for two reasons. First, his view is based on the Greek version. Second, the Greek words may have other meanings than those that Eve suggested. Drawnel is more convincing when he argues from the ancient Near Eastern background that their works have something to do with bloodshed or violence (Henryk Drawnel, "The Mesopotamian Background of the Enochic Giants and Evil Spirits," *DSD* 21, no. 1 [2014]: 28). However, both Eve and Drawnel are weak because their arguments are not based on the text itself. The Enochic author introduces the work of his evil spirits in 1 En. 19:1 as misleading people to worship demons. This study will discuss this further later.

[28] "And the spirits of the Watchers (ወመንፈሰ:ረአይት), the storm clouds (ደመናተ) which(እለ) shall harm (ይገፍኡ), destroying (ይማስኑ), shall fall (ወይወድቁ) and content one another (ወይትበአሱ) and crush (ወያደቅቁ) on the earth (ዲበ:ምድር); and grief (ወሐዘን) they will work (ይገብሩ); and nothing (ወኢምንተኒ) that they will consume (ዘይበልዐ) (is) the food (እከለ) and they will not be thirsty (ወኢይጸምዑ); and they will not become evident (ወኢይትዓወቁ)" (1 En. 15:11). Laurence's translation of the beginning phrase, "the spirits of the giants *shall be like* clouds" makes sense (Richard Laurence, *The Book of Enoch the Prophet*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1838], 19). Drawnel agrees with it, based on the Mesopotamian comparison of "the evil *Sibitti* demons to the billowing clouds and winds" (Drawnel, "The Mesopotamian Background," 27; cf. *UL* 16:15–16). About the negative connotation of the harmful clouds in the Old Testament, see 1 Kgs 18:44–45, Eccl 11:3, Joel 2:1–2, and Zeph 1:15. The imperfect verb ይማስኑ, "they will destroy," that follows another imperfect verb ይገፍዑ without ወ, "and," should be interpreted *adjectivally* (*DBEG*, 451). For the verb ደቀቀ with the meaning "to crush" or "to break into pieces" in the Old Testament (Mic 4:13; Dan 2:40), see *LLA*, 1099.

[29] "And *they* will not be lifted up (ኢይትነሥኡ) *these spirits* (እሎንቱ፡ነፍሳት) upon the children (ዲበ፡ውሉደ) of men (ሰብእ) and upon (ወዲበ) the women (አንስት) because (እስመ) they (will only) depart (ወፅኡ) at the time (አመ) of the days (መዋዕለ) of the massacre (ቀትል) and destruction (ወመ-ስና)" (1 En. 15:12). The verb ወሐዘኮ in 15:11b is tricky to decipher. It is very likely that the last letter in the word is the letter ነ and the word separator ፡. It gets support from a variant with ሐዘን. The evil spirits work "upon the children of men and upon the women" (15:12). The phrase means "upon men and women" (cf. Geza Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, 4th ed. [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1973], 162–63).

[30] "And (with) the death (ወሞተ) of the giants(ረዓይትኒ) by which (እንተ፡ኀበ) *they* went out (ወፅኡ) *the souls* (መንፈሳት) from the spirits (እምነፍስት) of their flesh (ሥጋሆሙ), let *it* be (ለይኩን) *the one who will destroy* (ዘይማስን), as said (ዘእንበለ) (by) the sentence (ኵነኔ), thus (ከማሁ) they will constantly destroy (ይማስኑ)

The repeatedly mentioned work of ሙስና, "destruction," likely refers to the role of the evil spirits (cf. Jer 13:14).[31] In that case, their ante- and post-mortem works are related to each other.[32] However, the author does not inform readers in the said text in what way they carry out their destructive works concretely. The author gives a clue in 1 Enoch 19:1, where he speaks of the role of the evil spirits as leading humans astray to "sacrifice to demons as gods" until the great day of judgment.[33]

The identity of the demons is problematic. There are three possible ways to explain the demons that the evil spirits cause people to worship. First, they may be idols the nations created and not actual spiritual entities (cf. Deut 4:28; Ps 106:36–38), but the view is weak because the author does not deal with idolatry in the book (cf. 1 En. 99:7–8).[34] Second, the demons may refer to the patron angels God appointed (cf. Deut 32:8–9),[35] but the view is also weak because it requires another angelic fall in their acceptance of people's sacrifices to them, which the text does not support (cf. LAB 34:2). Third, the demons may be the imprisoned fallen angels, which this study upholds. Incarcerated, they

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until (እስከ) the day (ዕለተ) of the great completion (ተፍጻሜት፡ዐባይ), since the great lifetime (እምዓለም፡ዐቢይ), will be completed (ይትፈጸም), from the watchfulness (እምትጉሃን) and negligence (ወረሲዓን)" (1 En. 16:1).

[31] Isaac translates as "(they would) corrupt [ይማስኑ] until the day of the great conclusion" (Isaac, "1 Enoch," 22). However, the verb ማሰነ is generally associated with a physical damage in the Second Temple literature including the Old Testament, and the use for the ethical sense appears usually in later documents such as the New Testament. See the reference to its use in *LLA*, 177–79. The use of the term in 15:12 supports the meaning of a physical damage. Knibb's translation in a passive form, "they will be destroyed" does not make sense in consideration of the active form of the verb (Knibb, *EBE*, 2:102).

[32] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 273–74; Drawnel, "The Mesopotamian Background," 15.

[33] In 1 En. 19:1, the Ethiopic text reads ናፍስቲሆሙ, "their spirits," for the subject, which may indicate "the spirits of the fallen angels." However, since the fallen angels are already imprisoned in the underground pit, the phrase should refer to the evil spirits (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 287). The possessive pronoun indicates a familial relationship "the (evil) spirits belonging to the fallen angels."

[34] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 287.

[35] Ibid.; Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, 806; Todd Russell Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses in the Book of Jubilees*, EJL 34 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012), 62.

do nothing for humans, but their sinful legacy remains in the minds of humans even after the Deluge, and the evil spirits awaken it for humans to go after the fallen angels ignorantly in search of their forbidden knowledge. Therefore, the evil spirits cause people to pursue the sinful legacy of the fallen angels, their fathers, and it leads the people to the destruction at God's punishing hands (cf. Judg 9:23–24; 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Ezek 14:9).

In 15:11b, the author talks about the existence of the evil spirits in which they require neither food nor water, and they work invisibly. The description contrasts with their former existence as voracious monsters with incredible size. They are also shape-shifters (19:1), but nothing is said about their entrance into human bodies. Since they lost their bodies, they may want "to reclaim a corporal existence."[36] However, the text itself does not support the inference. Therefore, the author is also silent on exorcism.[37]

Summary

The Book of the Watchers introduces the fallen angel tradition, including the origin of evil spirits, but a careful survey reveals that determinism is an underlying theme of the book. It is typical of the apocalyptic literature in the Second Temple period.[38] For the author, God's authority is absolute and unchallengeable. The Watchers fell under God's foreknowledge. Their fall was their failure to overcome desires in a similar way as in the Adamic tradition. God designated the hybrid giants to work as evil spirits after their death. Their serving God's purpose explains why the author is silent on exorcism. They would exist without food and drink and work unnoticed. They would be also shape-

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[36] Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 82.

[37] Eve says that the Book of the Watchers is silent on exorcism because the author reserves the solution to the evils for a final judgment (Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, 153).

[38] Flusser, "Apocalypse," 257.

shifters. However, their entrance into human bodies is unmentioned. They destroy humans by misleading them to worship the incarcerated fallen angels and receive God's punishment as a result. Therefore, the Book of the Watchers does not display the new demonological concept.

The Book of Jubilees

The author retells the accounts in Genesis and the first half of Exodus.[39] He knows of the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers (4:22; 5:1–19; 7:21–25).[40] He incorporates it in his retelling, following its basic storyline,[41] but shares the view of God derived from the Old Testament.[42] He introduces two unique features about the evil spirits. First, he gives accounts of their postdiluvian activities at the time of Noah, which serves as a sequel to the Book of the Watchers (10:1–13).[43] Second, he introduces a new figure as the leader of the evil spirits. The new figure is identified as Satan, Mastema, or Beliar (1:20; 10:8, 11).[44] Scholars speak of a theological difference between the Book of

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[39] James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, GAP (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 6; O. S. Wintermute. "Jubilees," in *OTP*, 2:43.

[40] James C. VanderKam, *Enoch*, SPOT (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1995), 119; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil," in *EMT*, 298; John S. Bergsma, "The Relationship between Jubilees and the Early Enochic Books," in *EMT*, 36–51. The author seems to have known of a Greek version of the Book of the Watchers because he says that the Watchers came down to earth for the first time at the time of Jared (Jub. 4:15). It is found only in the Greek version of the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 6:6).

[41] Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil," 300; Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses*, 54, 61.

[42] Wintermute, "Jubilees," 47. Wintermute also says that the author of Jubilees steers his readers toward "a rather strict determinism" (ibid.).

[43] Todd Russell Hanneken, "The Book of Jubilees among the Apocalypses" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2008), 265.

[44] In the Qumran texts, Satan is usually thought to be a proper name, but Mastema and Beliar are abstract nouns meaning "hostility" (Michael Mach. "Demons," in *EDSS*, 1:191). Stuckenbruck says that

the Watchers and Jubilees.[45] This section will survey to what degree the demonological view of Jubilees differs from that of the Book of the Watchers under three headings: the role of Beliar, the role of the evil spirits, and the privileged position of the nation Israel.

The Role of Beliar

The author stresses human responsibility at the outset of the book; all human transgressions are of human hearts (1:11). That a person is ultimately responsible for his or her action is the underlying theme of all the narratives in which the evil spirits work against humans.[46] The author mentions Beliar in Moses's prayer for the Israelites (1:20): "O God, let your mercy rise high above your people, and create them the spirit of uprightness and do not let the spirit of Beliar *rule over* them to accuse them before you and to ensnare them from every path of righteousness for the purpose of their *perishing* from before your face."[47] The author hints at a few notable facts about the role of Beliar in the prayer. First, God's mercy and a person's uprightness take essential roles in the person's safety from Beliar. Second, Beliar's ruling over people involves his accusing people before God and his ensnaring people.[48] It is very likely that the accusation means

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Beliar means "worthlessness," and they are not necessarily identical (Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 95–96). He also says that yet they are identical and "a proper name" in Jubilees (ibid., 96).

[45] Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses*, 54, 57; Todd Russell Hanneken, "Angels and Demons in the Book of Jubilees and Contemporary Apocalypses," *Henoch* 28, no. 2 (2006): 15–16; John C. Endres, "The Watchers Traditions in the Book of Jubilees," in *WJCT*, 125.

[46] Hanneken, "Angels and Demons," 16–17.

[47] Based on the VanderKam's Ethiopic text (James C. VanderKam, ed., *The Book of Jubilees*, CSCO 510; ScrA 87 [Louvain, Belgium: Aedibus E. Peeters, 1989], 4–5), this study translates Jub. 1:20 as "Let rise, O God, your mercy above your people, and create for them the spirit of uprightness and do not let it rule over them, the Spirit of Beliar, to accuse them before you and to ensnare them from every path of righteous so that they might perish from before your face." The direct quotations of Jubilees after this point come from Wintermute's translation, unless stated otherwise (Wintermute, "Jubilees," 52–142).

[48] Hanneken argues "Beliar" in Jub. 1:20 does not refer to Mastema but "scoundrels" because

brining a charge against a person, and the ensnarement means putting the person into a situation in which Beliar wants to prove his charge against the person as valid (cf. 17:15–18:16; Job 1:6–12). Beliar's rule signifies a test of faith. Third, those who fail the test will be condemned to death (cf. 34:15). Therefore, the destruction ultimately results from the human decision.

The Role of the Evil Spirits

The author introduces the four works of the evil spirits in the postdiluvian story of Noah (10:1–13). First, the evil spirits instigated humans to be violent against one another (10:1);[49] they *have caused* Noah's grandchildren to *go astray* (ያስሕትዎሙ), *be enraged* (ያዕብድዎሙ), and *perish* (ያሕጕልዎሙ).[50] Noah's grandchildren were enraged with and killed one another with fervent hatreds under the influence of the evil spirits (cf. 1 Sam 18:10–11; 19:9–10).[51] However, the evil spirits were not directly responsible for human violence. Causative verbs support the view. The stress on human responsibility is more evident in 7:27, where Noah is said to have observed the works of the evil spirits

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it parallels with ርቱዐ, "uprightness" (Hanneken, *The Subversion of the Apocalypses*, 73), but the contrast is misleading. Moses is praying for God to create the spirit of uprightness to the Israelites lest they may fall victim to the Spirit of Beliar and not lest they may *have* the spirit of Beliar.

[49] The author employs the phrase "unclean demons (አጋንንት፡ርኩሳን)" here, while the author of the Book of the Watchers uses the phrase "evil spirits (ነፍሳት፡እኩያን)" (1 En. 15:8–9). The term ጋኔን is often used for "demons" (1 En. 19:1; Tob 3:8). See *LLA*, 1176–77. Therefore, the "unclean demons" is a proper translation. However, the author identifies the unclean demons with the evil spirits later in Jub. 10:3.

[50] The Greek version says that the departed souls of the fallen angels and not those of the hybrid giants misled Noah's offspring to the mutual killing: Φθόνῳ κινούμενοι οἱ ἐγρήγοροι μετὰ θάνατον ἐπλάνησαν τοὺς υἱοὺς Νῶε (Jub. 10:1b). It does not make sense because the fallen angels should have been locked up by this time. It seems to reflect the later Christian view (Origen, *De Princ*. I, *Praef*. 6; Van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, 342). For Origen's text in Latin, see Origen, *De principiis (ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΧΩΝ)*, ed. Paul Koetschau, GCS 22; *OW* 5 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913), 13.

[51] The mutual killing of Noah's grandchildren in Jub. 10:1 is reminiscent of the internecine fight of the hybrid giants in 1 En. 10:9. Now the departed souls of the hybrid giants cause humans to do the same as if their internecine fight was a training session for their later role.

and warned his children to be watchful against the evil spirits (7:27). Being watchful indicates that their influences are controllable. Noah's closing his warning with an exhortation to practice justice and righteousness confirms the view (cf. 7:34).

Second, the evil spirits ruled over people to destroy them (10:3). Noah asked God for the confinement of all the evil spirits to the place of judgment so his offspring could increase, multiply, and fill the earth as God had promised him (10:3–5; cf. Gen 9:1). Noah said, "Do not let evil spirits rule over them so that (ከመ) they might *not cause* them *to perish* (ኢያማስንዎሙ) from the earth" (10:3c).[52] The use of the causative verb ኢያማስንዎሙ is again suggestive that the evil spirits might put Noah's offspring in a problematic situation, but their destruction was ultimately up to the human decision.[53] The verbs "rule over" and "cause to perish" are reminiscent of verbs used in the plea of Moses (1:20). There the rule of Beliar is closely related to accusation and ensnarement, but human destruction is not his direct work.[54] The incited destruction view also gets support in 15:31, where the author talks about the relationship between their rule and misleading the Gentile nations not to serve God but mentions no destruction as part of their works. Therefore, the evil spirits may manipulate a person's situation to consider resorting to violence, but the ultimate decision is up to the person.

Third, the evil spirits ruled over and misled the wicked (10:7–8). In answer to Noah's plea, God commanded his angels to bind all the evil spirits, but Mastema pleaded

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[52] The translation is of this study.

[53] There are several verbs in active voice that can express the evil spirits' direct work of destruction such as ሐረደ, ሠረወ, ሰበረ, ሰዐረ, ገሠተ, ነፀጎ, ደቀቀ, and ጠሰየ. However, the author uses a causative verb to create a subtle nuance that the evil spirits are irresponsible for human destruction ultimately.

[54] The author uses different verbs for "rule" and "destroy" in both places: ከነነ and ሐጕለ in 1:20; መበለ and መሰነ in 10:3c. However, the context tells that their meanings are identical with each other.

him to leave some for his assigned works.[55] He said that he needed the evil spirits for their destroying and misleading works "because the evil of the sons of men is great" (10:8).[56] It is notable that the evil spirits were necessary because human sins were great. The role of the evil spirits is not to cause people to sin but act upon them as a result of their sins. The rule of the evil spirits is for the wicked people, so Noah's exhortation for his children to devote themselves to justice and righteousness against the threat of the evil spirits makes sense (7:34). In 11:4, the author confirms the view explicitly by saying that they *assisted* (ይረድኡ) Noah's offspring to go astray after they had worshipped idols. The evil spirits in Jubilees do not step into the life of an innocent person.

Fourth, the evil spirits brought diseases on humans (10:8, 12). The word arrangement of "destruction" and "misleadingness" in Mastema's petition (10:8) is notable. The reversed word order is more logical (cf. 1:20).[57] Since the root ማሰነ, "to destroy," is often used to describe the physical damage,[58] their destructive work very likely refers to injuries and diseases. The context supports the view (10:9–12). With God's approval of Mastema's plea, one-tenth of the evil spirits remained on earth to continue to do evil (10:9). God showed favor to Noah by having angels teach Noah "all

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[55] Mastema existed even before the angelic fall and was identified with Satan (10:8, 11; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902], 6n11; Andy M. Reimer, "Rescuing the Fallen Angels: The Case of the Disappearing Angels at Qumran," *DSD* 7, no. 3 [2000]: 342). He is not one of the fallen angels incarcerated and serves God's purpose.

[56] This study translates the last phrase of Jub. 10:8 from VanderKam's Ethiopic texts as "because they are to destroy and lead astray before my doom because great (is) the wickedness of the children of men." The pronoun "they" is confusing. This study views it as referring to the evil spirits. The word ኵነኔየ, "my doom," is noteworthy. It may refer to the end of his work or his demise due to his works.

[57] In Jub. 10:8, Charles understands the verb ለአማስኖ as "to corrupt" instead of "to destroy" (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* [London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902], 23). To destroy and mislead in Jub. 10:8 seem unrelated. It is very likely that they show two distinct works of evil spirits.

[58] For the use of the term ማሰነ, see *LLA*, 177–79.

their medicinal herbs" (10:10a). The herbal knowledge was necessary because Noah's offspring would not walk upright at certain points (10:10b; cf. 10:8) and would invite the works of the evil spirits upon them sooner or later. The author clarifies the sense in 10:12, where the angels teach Noah the cure for their diseases (ደዌሆሙ) coming along with their transgressions (ምስለ፡አስሕቶቶሙ). Noah's herbs were not meant to prevent humans from falling victim to the evil spirits. The term ፈውሲ, "cure," speaks for itself; the herbs were a follow-up measure.

The cure of diseases with medicinal herbs shows that the continual presence of an evil spirit with a person is unnecessary for the person's sickness. The evil spirits seem to dispense diseases to sinners (cf. Exod 15:26). Then the herbal care dismisses the need of a rite of exorcism as well.

Privileged Position of the Israelites

The author emphasizes the Israelite covenantal relationship with God (14:18; 15:4, 18, 30).[59] He applies it to the works of the evil spirits. They may rule over all the Gentile nations and lead them away from God but may not do so over Israel because they are God's sanctified portion (15:31b–32a). God rules over the Israelites alone (cf. Deut 32:8–9).[60] Their privilege began with Abraham (15:9; 19:28). Therefore, Mastema should get approval from God before bringing any harm to Abraham and his descendants (17:16; 18:9 cf. Job 1:6–11).

It is notable that although the evil spirits should not rule over the Israelites, there would come a time when the Israelites fail to follow God's ordinance, lose the

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[59] William K. Gilders, "The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees," in *EMT*, 178.

[60] Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 112; cf. Deut 32:8–9.

Promised Land, and go into Exile for their sins (15:33–34). The two statements in 15:31–32 and 33–34 do not contradict each other. The author merely shows that since the evil spirits should not mislead the Israelites, the people would be responsible for their departure from God.[61] He dismisses the evil spirits as a possible cause of the Exile. Therefore, when it comes to the covenant people of Israel, even the misleading role of the evil spirits disappears entirely. The evil spirits merely bring diseases upon the Israelites for their sins (cf. 10:12).

Summary

Jubilees serves as a demonological sequel to the Book of the Watchers. The author shares, confirms, clarifies, and expands the former view with materials in the Old Testament. He tells his stories on a deterministic view of God. Therefore, the evil spirits serve God's purpose under the command of Mastema. They instigate humans to be violent, but their work is breakable by human will. They do not force humans beyond human control. They meddle with the wicked and bring upon them diseases to destroy them. Their serving God's purpose makes exorcism irrelevant and impossible. Therefore, the author introduces medicinal herbs to cure the diseases they bring to sinners as God's gracious follow-up measure. The evil spirits do not harm the Israelites without God's permission. Therefore, the errors and diseases of the target audience are not the results of any spontaneous work of the evil spirits. Overall, the author of Jubilees accepts and expands the basic concept of the evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers. Therefore, he does not display the new demonological concept.

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[61] Wintermute says, "Obedience to the Law is the central message of Jubilees" (Wintermute, "Jubilees," 40). It makes sense considering the author's dismissing the evil spirits' misleading role.

The Book of Dream Visions (1 Enoch 83–90)

The author introduces the two dream visions that Enoch had supposedly seen before his marriage (83:2). The first vision is about the destruction of the world (83:3–5).[62] It made Enoch pray for the survival of the righteous remnant (83:6–84:6). The second vision came in reply to his prayer (85:1–90:39). It tells the history of the world from Adam to the final judgment. The author knows of the fallen angel tradition (84:3–4; 87:1; 89:1–9) but speaks nothing of the evil spirits. This study will survey why the author does so under three headings: the first vision, Enoch's pleas, and the second vision.

The First Vision

The author says that Enoch's first vision was "a terrible vision" (83:2). It displays how serious God's plan of reversing his creation was.[63] The earth was to go down with great destruction because of ኵሉ፡ጎጠአተ፡ምድር, "all the defects of the earth" (83:5, 7, 9). The defects refer to the angelic fall and its consequent damages to God's creation. The author speaks of the close relationship between the angelic fall and the destruction of the world well in Enoch's petition: "And now the angels of your heaven are doing wrong, and your anger rests upon the flesh of men until the great judgment day" (84:4). The fallen angels corrupted the world irrevocably. Their corrupting humans

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[62] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 8, 349, 354. Nickelsburg says that the first vision "symbolizes the flood," although "the description conveys a picture of cosmic collapse and annihilation" (ibid., 349). See also VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 71. However, the vision very likely refers to the great day of judgment rather than the Deluge because the description goes with the final judgment in 90:24–27, where the terms such as ዕሙቅ, "deep," ዕመቀ, "depth," and ማዕምቀ, "deep place," similar to the term ቀላይ, "abyss," in 83:4, occur five times. Nickelsburg acknowledges that the wording in the first vision shows "the cosmos reverts to primordial chaos" because the sky crashes down and the earth shakes and cleaves to go down to the abyss (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 349).

[63] Ibid.

with the forbidden knowledge was so great that the human condition passed beyond the point of repair.[64] The earth was bound to be annihilated soon (83:7).

The author displays the imminent destruction of the world in 83:11, where he says that Enoch observed the order of heaven and earth to see any unusual phenomenon after the first petition.[65] When he saw all things going, as usual, he lifted praises to God and made the second petition (84:1–6). The author emphasizes the angelic fall, their fatal influence upon humans, and the constant crisis of destruction as a result of their fall. The emphasis makes the further introduction of the evil spirits other than the fallen angels unnecessary and explains the omission of the destructive evil spirits.

Enoch's Plea

When Mahalalel, Enoch's grandfather, heard of Enoch's dream, he advised Enoch to pray to God for the righteous remnant (83:8). Mahalalel counseled him to do so because Enoch was a man of faith (ሙህይምን). Mahalalel's advice reflects the author's view that God hears the faithful. He emphasizes deeds. Enoch's petitions for the survival of the upright also display the view (84:1–6). He prays, "Now, my Lord, wipe out from the earth the flesh which has provoked you to anger, but the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a seedbearing plant for ever. And do not hide your face from the prayer of your servant, O Lord" (84:6). It is notable that Enoch's plea focuses on God's anger *at the sinful flesh*, the result of the human acceptance of the fallen angels into their lives (cf. Gen 3:11–19). The stress is on human responsibility.

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[64] Nickelsburg says in 1 En. 83:4 that the author stresses "angelic sin and human guilt" unlike in 1 En. 9, 6–11, where "humanity is the victim of angelic transgression," so the author moves "the tradition back toward the biblical idea" as in 1 En. 106–107 and 65–67 (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 353).

[65] Ibid., 346.

God answered Enoch's prayer (83:11) and gave him the second vision of world history that would end with the great day of judgment (85:3–90:39). The imminent judgment is postponed. Meanwhile, people will be exposed to the threat of the end of the world at every moment (84:4). It is up to humans to keep the world going. Four important theological points emerge here. First, the author changes the meaning of the Deluge as a temporary measure for cleansing the corrupted world and ensuring the survival of the righteous; the Deluge was not to punish the fallen angels, hybrid giants, or their human followers but to save the upright (cf. 10:2, 16; cf. 1 Pet 3:20). Second, the author stresses the salvation by God's grace even for the upright (84:6). Third, the author emphasizes the power of prayers by the faithful and upright (83:8; 84:6). Therefore, he says that Enoch not only devoted himself to prayers (83:10a) but also wrote down his prayers for postdiluvian generations to use in their pleas for God's mercy (83:10b). Fourth, the author contrasts the deeds of the fallen angels and those of Enoch. The fallen angels destroyed the earth, but Enoch saved it. The weight of the righteous deeds is stressed.

The Second Vision

The author recounts a history of the world "with the abundant use of animal imagery" in the second vision.[66] He stresses the inherent human violence, a temptation within the same species, the absence of the evil spirits' role, and human responsibility.

He begins with the story of the first human family (85:3–10). He says nothing of the Adamic Fall. Instead, he focuses his story on Cain's violence over Abel. By doing so, the author dismisses the outside influence upon human sins (cf. 98:4). The dismissal

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[66] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 73; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 2.

shifts the focus of the story from the temptation and fall to the unjust violence. The author closes the story with Eve's giving birth to numerous Sethite and Cain-like offspring (85:8–9). The Cain-like offspring displays inherent human violence.[67]

Then the author reiterates the story of the angelic fall and the birth of the hybrid giants that leads to the Deluge in 1 Enoch 6–16.[68] The allotted space for the story demonstrates that it is a significant part of the book (86:1–89:9).[69] However, unlike in the Book of the Watchers, there appears an angel who came down on earth, associated with humans, and corrupted them before others (86:1–2). Many angels joined him later to father the hybrid giants (86:3–4). Here the author uses a temptation theme he left out in the Adamic Fall. Temptation takes place within the same species and not by the cross-species.

The hybrid giants brought humans great fear and terror (86:5–6). The author says that the humans reacted as if a herd of startled cattle rushed about into frenzy uncontrollably: "They began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their horns" (86:5). The violence of the hybrid giants awoke the inherent human violence. The picture echoes the works of the evil spirits in Jubilees 10:1, where they caused Noah's grandchildren to be enraged with and kill one another. The evil spirits in Jubilees are

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[67] In 1 En. 85:8–9, the author displays the same line of thought as most authors of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, who viewed evil spirits as human dispositions (T. Reu. 2:1–2; 3:2–7; T. Jud. 16:1).

[68] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 354, 372–73; Stuckenbruck, "The 'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions," *DSD* 7, no. 3 (2000): 369–70; Margaret Barker, "Some Reflections upon the Enoch Myth," *JSOT* 15 (1980): 9.

[69] "One-sixth of the Vision corresponds to Gen 1:1–8:7, while the rest of Genesis is summarized in five verses (85:3–89:8 | 89:9–14)" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 354).

replaced with the hybrid giants here. The spiritual influence of the evil spirits there is replaced with the influence of the hybrid giants here. The author applies the postmortem work of the hybrid giants there to their antemortem work here. It shows the author's denial of the actuality of the evil spirits. Therefore, the evil spirits are irrelevant to human violence. The concept goes well with the author's emphasis on human responsibility. He says that the Israelites shut (ይጸለሉ) their eyes in response to the Law (89:32–33, 41, 74),[70] responded obstinately to prophetic messages (89:17–19), and persecuted God's messengers (89:51–52; 73–74; cf. Matt 23:27).

Summary

The author knows of the fallen angel tradition but leaves out the accounts of the evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees entirely. The omission shows his dismissal of the works of the evil spirits on humans. Six features display the author's view. First, the author says that the angelic fall brought about permanent damage to the world. Second, he emphasizes deeds in contrast between the destroying works of the fallen angels and the saving works of Enoch the Faithful. Third, he drops an outside influence and emphasizes the human responsibility of accepting the fallen angels. He displays the same theme in his omitting the Adamic temptation and highlighting the innate violence at the time of human birth. Fourth, he talks about a bad influence within the same species. Fifth, he replaces the role of the evil spirits in Jubilees 10:1 with that of the hybrid giants as the cause of human violence. Sixth, he stresses human responsibility as the reason for humans' going astray from God. The concept of the evil spirits in the

[70] In 1 En. 89:32–33, 41, 74, the author uses the active voice verb for people's opening (ይከሥቱ) and shutting their eyes (ይጸለሉ) and confirms human responsibility for their behaviors.

Book of Dream Visions is distinct from that in the Book of the Watchers. The author makes his way in the opposite direction to the new demonological concept.

The Book of the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 91–107)

The author knows of the fallen angel tradition for two reasons. He introduces Lamech suspecting Noah to be born from the illegitimate union between a fallen angel and his wife (106:5–6) and mentions Enoch's move to the heavenly realm (106:7; cf. 12:1–3). However, he mentions unclean spirits and demons only as part of insane idolatry (99:8). He seems to dismiss the actuality of the evil spirits.[71] The view gets support from Enoch's presentation of the "sin originated by man" (98:1–15)[72] and Enoch's exhortation of his descendants with the stress on righteous deeds (91:4–5).[73] This section will survey to what degree the author downplays the works of the evil spirits in a person's decision-making under two headings: the role of the evil spirits and human responsibility.

The Dismissal of the Role of Evil Spirits

The author dismisses the influence of evil spirits upon human decision. He shows the view well in 98:4, where Enoch says that human shortcomings have not been sent (ኢተፈነወት) to the world, but humans themselves (ሰብእ፡እምርእሶሙ) fashioned it (ፈጠርዋ). The author seems to counter a previous erroneous precept about the actuality of

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[71] Boccaccini says that Ben Sira contrasts with the Book of the Watchers because the former's concept is "radically demythologized" of the role of the evil spirits (Gabriele Boccaccini, *Middle Judaism* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 105). Stuckenbruck sees a possible connection between the Book of the Epistle of Enoch and Ben Sira (Sir 21:27; Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 374).

[72] Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil," 294.

[73] Black, *The Book of Enoch*, 22; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 8; VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 89.

evil spirits. The view gets support from 99:7, where Enoch says, “And they worship stone, and some carve images of gold and of silver and of wood and of clay, and some, with no knowledge, worship unclean spirits and demons and every (kind of) error, but no help will be obtained from them.” It is noteworthy that the author puts the unclean spirits, demons, and human-made idols in the same category.[74] He denies the actuality of evil spirits and their works upon humans altogether.

Human Responsibility

The author shows in 99:8 that humans are responsible for their error. He says that humans became godless because of the insanity of *their* hearts (እበደ፡ልቦሙ) and shut *their* eyes (ይጼለላ፡አዕይንቲሆሙ) toward God through the fear of *their* hearts (በፍርሀተ፡ልቦሙ) and the vision of *their* dreams (በርእየ፡አሕላሞሙ). He uses the possessive pronominal suffix “their” repeatedly to stress human responsibility. The noun እበደ, “insanity,” is resonant of Noah’s grandchildren, who were uncontrollably mad at and killed one another under the influence of the evil spirits (Jub. 10:1). However, the author says here that their hearts caused their insanity and not the evil spirits (cf. Ps 95:8).[75] It is very likely that he counters the view in Jubilees and even in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (Jub. 15:31–32; T. Levi 5:6–7). The evil spirits have nothing to do with a human rejection of God, the true deity. The author confirms it by saying that people *shut their eyes* toward God for two reasons.[76] The first reason is their groundless fear of unclean spirits, demons,

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[74] Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 86.

[75] For ancient minds, the heart was “the organ of knowledge and volition” (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 493).

[76] “Blindness is more often a description of Israel’s apostasy” (ibid.). Scholars often translate the verb ይጼለላ as “they will be blinded” or “they will be blindfolded” (Charles, Knibb, Isaac, Black,

and idols (cf. Isa 44:6–20; Jer 10:1–5). The second reason is their unwarranted trust in dream visions (cf. Jer 23:25; 27:9; 29:8–9). It is notable that the author denies dream visions. The Book of the Epistle of Enoch alone contains "no visionary material" in the Book of Enoch.[77] Here the author seems to counter his contemporary belief that Gentile deities bring humans revelatory dreams.[78] Therefore, the author's view on the actuality of the evil spirits and the value of dream visions is markedly different from the view of the author of the Book of the Watchers.

Summary

The author is familiar with the fallen angel tradition but shares the human responsibility for error with the author of the Book of Dream Visions. His approach is aggressive because he explicitly counters the contemporary precepts of the actuality of evil spirits and the value of dream visions. He reproaches people for being insane to accept such precepts because of their weak hearts. The Epistle of Enoch not only goes with the Book of Dream Visions in the departure from the Book of the Watchers but also makes its way further in the opposite direction to the new demonological concept.

Nickelsburg). The verb is corrupted. Its two variants are ይጹለሉ· and ይጹልላ (Knibb, *EBE*, 1:375). A possible original form is ይጹልላ or ይጹልሉ·. Both take imperfect *active* intensive verb forms of ጸለለ, "to cover," only with a gender difference. If it is the masculine verb, the meaning becomes "the sinners will surely shut their eyes." If it is the feminine verb, the meaning becomes "their eyes will surely shut." Scholars prefer the latter, but the object is missing, so they translate the active verb as if the passive verb. The translation gives an impression that an outside influence causes the shutting of their eyes. This study prefers the former because the subject "they" of all other verbs in verses 7–10 refers to the "sinners" in verse 6.

[77] Stuckenbruck, *1 Enoch 91–108*, 374. The author might have been "aware of the kinds of criticisms found in Ben Sira" and tried to "avoid any appeal to visionary knowledge (ibid.; cf. Sir 34:1–8).

[78] For a popular Greek belief in a benign demon inspiring a person through a dream, see Plutarch, *Mor*. 589D. For the divine oracle through a dream in Egypt and Mesopotamia, see "Egyptian Oracles and Prophecies," trans. John A. Wilson (*ANET*, 441–49); "Akkadian Oracles and Prophecies," trans. Robert H. Pfeiffer (*ANET*, 449–52); and S. A. L. Butler, *Mesopotamian Conceptions of Dreams and Dream Rituals*, AOAT 258 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998).

The Book of Parables (1 Enoch 37–71)

The Book of Parables is the most recent addition to the five major booklets in the Book of Enoch. Scholars usually date it to the time of Jesus's ministry.[79] It contains three parables (chs 38–44; 45–57; 58–69). The author introduces his writing as a sequel to the Book of the Watchers by saying that it was Enoch's second vision (37:1; cf. 1:2).[80] He knows of both the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees. His mention of Azazel, Satan, the four Angels of the Presence, and the subterranean prison shows it (54:5–6). Scholars argue for a possible reference to evil spirits and demons in 69:12, but it is debatable. This section will investigate how the author understands and uses the said books in his writing and how he views the works of the evil spirits under five subjects: the purpose of writing, a deterministic view, Jewish leaders as the fallen angels, the fallen angels as satans and evil spirits, and the unclear works of the evil spirits.

The Purpose of Writing

The author introduces his booklet as the vision of wisdom Enoch saw, wrote, and spoke for both Enoch's contemporary people and those living in the last days (37:2–4). The statement shows that the author has something to address to his target audience through the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees. The key term "parable" (37:5; 38:1; 45:1; 57:3; 58:1; 69:29) becomes a metaphorical lesson that helps the target audience learn

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[79] James H. Charlesworth, "The Date and Provenience of the Parables of Enoch," in *PEPS*, 40; Darrell L. Bock, "Dating the Parables of Enoch," in *PEPS*, 76–77. Scholars usually regard the hot spring bath of the kings and high-officials in 1 En. 67:6–8 as refering to that of Herod at the healing waters of Calirrhoe (ibid., 69, 86).

[80] VanderKam argues that the author of Jubilees might have connected his writing with the Book of the Watchers (James C. VanderKam, "The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition," in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini et al. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007], 84).

about God's predestined plan for them.[81] The former accounts hence serve as starting points of some lessons as if in a *midrash haggadah*. The author has two goals in mind; he wants to offer encouragement for the upright elect while announcing judgment against the sinners at the time of the target audience (38:1–2).

A Deterministic View

Determinism is an underlying theme of all the accounts in the book: "He knew before the world was created what the world would be, even for all the generations which are to come" (39:11). The author stresses God's preordained plan at the outset of the first parable (38:1–39:2).[82] The "notion of reversal" is the main theme.[83] The present situation, in which the righteous are experiencing a hard life, while the sinners are having a heyday, will soon be reversed with the coming of the preexistent Son of Man, the Righteous One (38:1–6; 46:1–8).[84]

Jewish Leaders as the Fallen Angels

The author identifies the sinners with his contemporary kings, potentates, and their followers (38:5; 46:4–8; 54:2, 5, 6).[85] He illustrates their determined doom with the

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[81] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Parables of Enoch according to George Nickelsburg and Michael Knibb: A Summary and Discussion of Some Remaining Questions," in *Enoch and the Messiah Son of Man*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 67.

[82] This study views 1 En. 38:1–39:2 as the introduction of the first vision because the actual first vision begins in 39:3. The author's using a perfect tense verb in 1 En. 39:2a while using imperfect tense verbs in other places may be problematic (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012], 107). Charles puts 39:1–2 in brackets. For him, the verses are not part of the original text (Charles, the Book of Enoch, 74). It makes the imperfect tense message flow smoothly from 38:1 to 39:2a.

[83] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 134; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 99.

[84] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 99.

[85] Margaret Barker, *The Lost Prophet* (London: SPCK, 1988), 67. Olson says the oppressive

fallen angel tradition. However, he manipulates the former accounts to make his point. Therefore, he says in the summary of the fallen angel tradition[86] that the problem of the world began with the intercourse between "the chosen and holy children" and "the sons of men" (39:1).[87] He applies the angelic union with the human females to the association of the Israelite leaders with Gentiles metaphorically.[88] He clarifies their identification in the second parable, where he likens their punishment to that of the fallen angels: "They will not ascend into heaven, nor will they come upon earth" (45:2; cf. 10:12–14). The purge into a valley deep and burning with fire on the great day of judgment also displays the author's analogy of the Jewish leaders to the fallen angels (54:1–6; cf. 11:13–14).

The Fallen Angels as Satans and Evil Spirits

The author speaks of the fallen angels as Satan's servants that mislead people (54:6). He identifies Satan and Azazel with the phrase "the hosts of Azazel" (54:5). The incident refers to the fallen angels' transmitting the forbidden knowledge to humans in

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rulers are "in some sense the Watchers reincarnated" (Daniel Olson, *Enoch* [North Richland, TX: Bibal, 2004], 12).

[86] For the comparison between 1 En. 6–16 and 39:1, see VanderKam, "The Book of Parables within the Enoch Tradition," 86–87.

[87] Nickelsburg says that the title "chosen and holy ones" for the fallen angels is unusual (cf. 48:1; 50:1), and the title "sons of men" for the human females is equally unusual (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 107–8).

[88] Baynes argues, "The most notable development of the Watchers traditions in the Parables is . . . links the fallen angels with the kings and mighty on the earth" (Leslie Baynes, "Watchers Traditions in 1 Enoch's Book of Parables," in *WJCT*, 151, 155). The author of the Book of Parables makes harsh remarks about the rulers, the rich, and the landlords (En. 38:5; 48:8; 55:4; 62:1–4; 63:1, 7–12). The title "chosen and holy children" refers to the Israelites. Scholars usually think that the harsh words against the ruling classes of the people reflect the situation under the cruel rule of the Herodian Dynasty in the early first century CE (Josephus, *Ant.* 16–18; Charlesworth, "Did Jesus Know the Traditions in the Parables of Enoch?," in *PEPS*, 181–83; Bock, "Dating the Parables of Enoch," 73). The Jewish farmers suffered a lot with the exorbitant taxations and confiscations of farms and became poor tenants, which became the cause of the outbreak of the First Great Revolt in AD 66 (Charlesworth, "The Date and Provenience of the Parables of Enoch," 51).

the Book of the Watchers (cf. 55:4; 65:6). However, the portrayal is reminiscent of the evil spirits working under Satan in Jubilees (Jub. 10:8, 11). Then the author turns out to combine two accounts into one and replace the evil spirits misleading humans in Jubilees with the fallen angels here.

Although the author identifies Azazel and Satan, the term "satan" is neither the title nor the name of a spiritual entity because he uses the plural "satans" in other places (40:7; 65:6–7). The term very likely refers to a detrimental adversary rather than a title or name (cf. 1 Sam 29:4; 1 Kgs 5:18).[89] The plural term "satans" in 40:7 is worth surveying further. There Phanuel forbade "satans" from coming to God's presence lest they *accuse* those dwelling on the earth. The "satans" refer to the fallen angels. The author confirms it in 65:6, where Enoch said to Noah that human iniquity would destroy the world, and one of the human sins is their learning "all the secrets of the angels, and all the wrongdoing of the satans." Here "fallen angels" and "satans" are identical. The author of the Book of the Watchers never portrayed the fallen angels as accusers. Then the author of the Book of Parables here may add a new concept such as the fallen angels blaming the women for the cause of their falls (cf. T. Reu. 5:1–6).

Unclear Works of the Enochic Evil Spirits

The author introduces two groups of names of the fallen angels: the names of twenty-one fallen angels from Semyaz to Azazel (69:2–3; cf. 6:7–8) and the names of six misleading angels (69:4–12).[90] Kasdeyae in the second group is worth mentioning. The

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[89] The Ethiopic ሰይጣን has the same use as the Hebrew שָׂטָן (*LLA*, 394).

[90] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 299–300. The author says out of nowhere that Gader'el misled Eve (1 En. 69:6). His mentioning Eve is puzzling (ibid., 301). Kaplan says that the author talks about the fallen

author says that Kasdeyae revealed to people ኵሎ፡ዝብጠታተ፡እኩየ፡ዘነፍሳት፡ወዘኢጋንንት (69:12). The Ethiopic phrase is usually translated as "all the evil blows of the spirits and of the demons."[91] However, Kasdeyae's teaching humans how to expel evil spirits is unlikely because it means that a fallen angel imparts to humans a means of attacking his side (cf. Mark 3:23–26).[92] Besides, the phrase ዘነፍሳት፡ወዘኢጋንንት has an adjectival connotation.[93] The proper translation is "all the evil, that is, spiritual and demonic blows." The author speaks of Kasdeyae's teaching humans how to manipulate other people in a wicked way so they might suffer spiritually and mentally. The phrase is irrelevant to people's dealing with the actual evil spirits or demons. Therefore, a means of manipulating evil spirits and demons, as in black magic, is also unlikely.[94]

The author hints at a practice similar to an exorcism or manipulation of evil spirits in 69:14. There a fallen angel named Kesbeel tries to learn from Michael the secret name with authority so he might manipulate the fallen angels with it when uttered with an oath. It shows Kesbeel's wish to be in control of the fallen angels, but it still has nothing to do with possession or exorcism of the departed souls of the hybrid giants.

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angels opposing the will of God from the very beginning (Chaim Kaplan, "Angels in the Book of Enoch," *AThR* 12, no. 5 [July 1930]: 423–24). However, it is very likely that the term "Eve" is meant "the daughters of men" that the author mentioned previously in the works of two fallen angels (cf. 1 En. 69:4–5). That the author speaks of Gader'el teaching humans weaponry in the following sentence supports it (cf. 1 En. 7–8). It is unlikely that the term "Eve" refers to the first female. If not, the author is dismissing the angelic fall during the time of Enoch.

[91] The translation in the text is of Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 297. Other translations are similar to his translation. See Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 138; Knibb, *EBE*, 2:160–61 and Isaac, "1 Enoch," 48.

[92] Sorensen argues that this verse is about the possession and exorcism of spirits and demons (Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity*, WUNT 2/157 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002], 60, 63).

[93] When the particle ዘ is used with the meaning "of," it has an adjectival force in English (*CDGz*, 182). Therefore, ዘነፍስ means "spiritual" (ibid., 130), and ዘጋኔን "demoniac, lunatic" (*DBEG*, 470).

[94] Nickelsburg says that the author here talks about the manipulation of spirits and demons (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, 303).

Summary

The author teaches the theme of reversal on the ground of determinism, so God is in control of all things. He uses the fallen angel tradition known to his audience to address his contemporary situation metaphorically. He likens the works of the Israelite ruling classes and their end to the fallen angels in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees. The misleading hosts of Azazel are reminiscent of Jubilees 10:8 and 11, where the evil spirits work under Satan. The verses show that the author dismisses the role of the evil spirits. He uses the plural "satans" to show that the term "satan" does not necessarily refer to the prince of the evil spirits. Some suggest that the author should talk about possession and exorcism of evil spirits in 69:12, but the argument is weak because it is very unlikely that a fallen angel teaches humans how to attack or manipulate his side, plus the grammatical problem in translation. The Book of Parables shares the view on the evil spirits with the Book of Dream Visions and the Book of the Epistle of Enoch and does not show the new demonological concept.

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs

The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is a collection of teachings attributed to the twelve sons of Jacob. Most of all extant manuscripts are from Christian scribes, so the Jewish origin is debatable.[95] The fragment 3QTJuda is essential for the maintenance of its Jewish origin because it is likely to contain parts from Testament of Judah 25:1–2.[96]

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[95] Graham H. Twelftree, "Exorcism and the Defeat of Beliar in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *VC* 65 (2011): 171. For the introduction of various views on the origin of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, see David de Silva, "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as Witnesses to Pre-Christian Judaism: A Re-Assessment," *JSP* 22, no. 4 (2013): 21–24.

[96] For the text of the fragment 3Q7, see *DSSSE*, 228, 229.

It shows that the writing began before the Christian era.[97] Charles says that the original book was written in Hebrew in the second half of the second century BCE and went through additions under Jewish and Christian editors.[98] Therefore, different views within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are anticipated. This study will treat each Testament as written by a different author and gather similar views under the same heading. Some authors know of the Book of Enoch (T. Lev. 14:1; T. Dan 5:6; T. Nap. 3:5) and Jubilees (T. Jud. 25:3; T. Lev. 18:12; cf. Jub. 10:8) but speak of neither the birth of the hybrid giants nor the emergence of the evil spirits from their bodies, which hints at their disagreement with the previous views on the evil spirits. This study will investigate the use of the term "evil spirit" to determine the continuity and discontinuity. The term's conceptual development within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs will also be explored. The study will set about the survey under five headings: Beliar as the evil spirit, the Gentiles under the control of evil spirits, the evil spirits as human dispositions, the evil spirits as spontaneous seducers, and the way of overcoming the evil spirits.

Beliar as the Evil Spirit

According to the Testament of Asher, Beliar works alone without helpers. He is the devil (1:8–9), the evil spirit (6:5), and Satan (6:4).[99] His role is passive. When a

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[97] Concerning the briefly but well explained introduction of the texts, original language, and date, see Howard Clark Kee, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," in *OTP*, 1:775–78. Kee views the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as written around the Maccabean period because Syria is mentioned as the last world power with the lack of reference to the Maccabees (ibid., 778).

[98] R. H. Charles, *The Greek Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), xlii–lvii. Charles dates "the groundwork of the Testaments" to sometime between 137 and 107 BCE and the Greek version to the time before 50 CE at the latest (ibid., xliii; cf. 1 Thess 2:16).

[99] Tom de Bruin, *The Great Controversy*, NTOA/SUNT 106 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 114–15. Other authors of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs introduce Beliar as ὁ

person fails to live by God's law, Beliar steps into and meddles in the person's life (6:4). He fills the person's mind with vicious counsel to prevent the person from completing his good intention (1:9).[100] Once taken captive, a person is hard to free himself or herself from the grip of Beliar (1:8). The work of Beliar continues even after death. Those who serve Beliar by living with the desires and works originated with him would continue to be under his harassing hands even after death (6:5; cf. 3:2).

The Gentiles under the Control of Evil Spirits

The author of the Testament of Levi introduces two categories of spirits: one belongs to heaven, and the other to the earth (3:1–10). God and the archangels reside in the third and highest heaven (3:4–5). In the second heaven are the angelic beings that take vengeance on Beliar and the spirits of deceit (3:3). In the lowest heaven are the spiritual beings in charge of natural phenomena; they are always ready to execute God's judgment on humanity (3:2). These are the heavenly spirits.

Beliar and the spirits of deceit reside on earth. Three things are noteworthy. First, Beliar commands the spirits of deceit. The phrase "spirits of deceit" denotes the role of misleading people. Second, Beliar and the spirits of deceit do not physically harm humans. God punishes people through the angels in charge of natural phenomena. Beliar

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ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης (T. Sim. 2:7; T. Jud. 19:4), διάβολος (T. Nap. 8:4, 6), Σατανᾶς (T. Dan 3:6; 5:6; 6:1; T. Gad 4:7), ὁ ἐχθρός (T. Dan 6:2, 3, 4), or Βελιάρ (T. Reu. 34:7; T. Sim. 5:3).

[100] M. de Jonge and Charles introduce variant texts in T. Ash. 1:9. The Greek version of M. de Jonge reads, Ὅταν γὰρ ἐνάρξηται ὡς ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν, τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως *αὐτοῦ εἰς κακὸν ποιεῖν ἀνελαύνει·* ἐπειδὴ ὁ θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβουλίου *ἰοῦ* πονηροῦ πνεύματος πεπλήρωται (M. de Jonge, *Testamenta xii patriarcharum*, PVTG 1 [Leiden: Brill, 1964], 63). The overall meaning is the same, but Charles's Greek version reads, Ὅταν γὰρ ἄρξεται τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν, τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως *εἰς πονηρὸν ἐλαύνει·* ἐπειδὴ ὁ θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβουλίου πονηροῦ πνεύματος πεπλήρωται (Charles, *The Greek Version of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 173). The last phrase *τοῦ διαβουλίου ἰοῦ* πονηροῦ πνεύματος in M. de Jonge's text is confusing; the term "evil spirit" might be in apposition to *ἰοῦ* or become a possessive term modifying it. Then the phrase may mean "(filled with) a poison, that is, an evil spirit" or "(filled with) a poison of an evil spirit." The latter version clarifies the meaning by getting rid of the confusing word *ἰοῦ*.

and his evil spirits deceive people, so the people get punished at God's hands. Third, the author explicates Beliar and his evil spirits in a polemic between Israel and the Gentile nations; πᾶν πνεῦμα πονηρόν attacks the nation Israel (5:6). It refers to the hostility of the nations to the nation Israel under the influence of the evil spirits (cf. 18:9). However, an angel ensures that Israel should not be utterly smitten specifically for the upright (5:6–7). It goes well with the message in Jubilees 5:31–32 and 19:28, where the author says that the evil spirits rule over all nations but not the covenant nation Israel. The evil spirits accomplish God's purpose as in Jubilees. Israel has peace if they live by the Law (19:1). Otherwise, she suffers a Gentile invasion.

In the last days will God raise up a priest-king (18:2–3; cf. T. Dan 5:10–11), bind Beliar, enlighten the Gentiles with knowledge (18:9), and give all his followers (τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ) power to tread upon the evil spirits (18:12; cf. T. Sim. 6:5–6). Three facts again are worth mentioning here. First, Beliar is in control of the evil spirits. Second, although Beliar is bound, humans still must take care of the evil spirits with knowledge. Third, humans overcome the evil spirits with knowledge and do not expel them because they reside in humans as their dispositions.

The Evil Spirits as Human Dispositions

All the authors other than the author of the Testament of Asher think that the evil spirits under Beliar function as human dispositions. They are part of God's creation of Adam in the beginning (T. Reu. 2:3). The author of the Testament of Reuben speaks of seven spirits of deceit: fornication, insatiable greed, strife, flattery, arrogance, lying, and injustice (3:2–6). The author of the Testament of Judah speaks of four evil spirits: lust, fiery, debauchery, and shameless greed (T. Jud. 16:1). Each person should rule over his

own dispositional evil spirits (3:8–9).[101] The author of the Testament of Simeon talks about a polemic between the human soul and evil spirits (T. Sim. 4:9). If a person yields himself or herself to dispositional evil spirits (3:1–1), the Prince of Deceit steps in to rule over the person (2:7; 5:3; cf. T. Jud. 19:4; T. Iss. 7:7; T. Dan 1:7; 3:6; 4:7; 6:1; T. Nap. 8:4, 6; T. Benj. 7:1). The role of Beliar is passive. He uses the evil spirits merely as his snares (cf. Ps 124:7), so a person is ultimately responsible for his or her falling victim to Beliar.

The Evil Spirits as Spontaneous Seducers

The authors of the Testament of Dan and the Testament of Benjamin describe the evil spirits in more an active way. The author of the Testament of Dan says that the spirit of anger enticed Dan to kill Joseph (T. Dan 1:6–7). It is the righthand servant of Beliar (3:1, 6) and cooperates with the spirit of falsehood to trouble a person's soul incessantly. It makes the person have a problem with deciding to live a life by the Law confidently. As a result, God departs from the person, and Beliar moves in to rule over the person (4:7). The author of the Testament of Benjamin speaks of the evil spirits as active ones in a different angle from the author of the Testament of Dan. The spirits of Beliar procure people for every kind of wicked oppression (εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ἐξαιτήσωνται ὑμᾶς), but their works do not prevail over (οὐ μὴ κατακυριεύσῃ ὑμῶν πᾶσα πονηρία θλίψεως) those who live by the fear of the Lord and the love of neighbors (T. Benj. 3:3; cf. Mark 12:28–31). The author of the Testament of Benjamin turns out to say

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[101] Tom de Bruin argues that "a very distinct recurring concept in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs is the role of the spirits of deceit, commanded by Beliar, the principal opponent," but the evil spirits are "not themselves accountable for the evil deeds nor can those deeds be attributed to them" (de Bruin, *The Great Controversy*, 107).

that the evil spirits control their victims to oppress others, who have not yet fallen victim to them so that they may gain more victims to them. The result may be the same, but there is a subtle difference in the approach of the evil spirits to a person between the two authors and the other authors in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. But people are still responsible ultimately for either walking with God or falling victim to Beliar.

The Way of Overcoming the Evil Spirits

Observing God's law is the central theme throughout the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T. Jud. 26:1). Beliar cannot plague a person who lives in fear of God and love of his neighbor (T. Benj. 3:4) because God walks with the person (T. Dan 5:1; T. Benj. 6:1–7). God guides and protects the person through his angels (T. Dan 6:1–2; T. Benj. 6:1). If a person stops doing so, God steps back from the person, and Beliar steps into the person's life (T. Sim. 5:3; T. Dan 4:7; T. Nap. 8:6). A person may be away from God, but the moment the person returns and takes refuge in God, Beliar will depart from the person (T. Sim. 3:5). The struggle continues until the end time when Savior comes to defeat Beliar (T. Dan 5:10–11; T. Zeb. 9:8).[102] With the defeat of Beliar, the saints will be free of his temptation. Until then, a person must guard his or her heart against Beliar's influence by constantly studying the Law.

Summary

The authors of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs show a different view on evil spirits from the author of the Book of the Watchers. They say nothing about the birth of the hybrid giants and the emergence of the evil spirits from their bodies. Their evil

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[102] M. de Jonge, "The Future of Israel in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *JSJ* 17, no. 2 (December 1986), 206.

spirits, except in the Testament of Asher, are closely related to human dispositions God created during his creation of Adam initially. The author of the Testament of Asher says that Beliar, the evil spirit, the devil, and Satan are identical. Beliar poisons human minds with wicked counsels. Most authors talk about the evil spirits in a polemic between the human soul and dispositional evil spirits. However, the author of the Testament of Levi presents the evil spirits in a polemic between Israel and the Gentile nations. The role of Beliar and the evil spirits are usually passive, but the authors of the Testament of Dan and the Testament of Benjamin portray them in more an active way. Beliar and the evil spirits work as seducers. Falling victim to them is ultimately the result of human choice. Since the evil spirits are components of a human in God's creation of Adam, exorcism is unnecessary and impossible. Walking with God in devotion to the study and observance of God's law is the only way to defend or resolve the life under the influence of the evil spirits. To conclude, the concept of the evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs does not go well with the new demonological concept.

The Dead Sea Scrolls

Several documents from a wide range of historical times in the Dead Sea Scrolls discuss evil spirits.[103] Therefore, different views are anticipated within them. This section will survey the portrayals of evil spirits in those scrolls with attention to

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[103] Stuckenbruck says that the Dead Sea Scrolls may "reflect traditions which circulated more broadly" in Jewish world at the turn of the century (Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 78–79). Concerning the evil spirits in Qumran writings, Mach says, "Nowhere is this demonology presented in a coherent fashion; it comprises different traditions that might be conceived as sometimes opposing views of the subject" (Mach, "Demons," in *EDSS*, 1:189). This study surveys Qumranic documents such as Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen) (the third century BCE–the first century CE), Incantation (4Q444) (the second–first century BCE), Songs of the Sage[a] (4Q510) (the first century BCE), Melchizedek (11Q13) (the first century BCE), Psalms Scroll[a] (11Q5) (the late first century BCE), Apocryphal Psalms[a] (11Q11) (the early first century CE), and Magical Booklet (4Q560) (date unknown).

what each author discusses about their spontaneous action, entrance into human bodies, causing illnesses, and exorcism. It will lay the groundwork for each author's relationship with the Book of the Watchers.

Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar)[104]

The author mentions the fallen angels and their hybrid giants (2:1–2; 6:19). He knows of the Book of Enoch (19:25) but says nothing of the emergence of the evil spirits from the dead giants. He introduces the work of an evil spirit in the story of Abraham's visit to Egypt (20:1–34; cf. Gen 12:10–13:2). When Pharaoh Zoan took away his wife Sarah (20:14), Abraham asked God to prevent Zoan from defiling her. God sent a spirit of affliction against Zoan (20:15–16).[105] It brought disease upon not only him but also all his family members, which made him not even go near to Sarah for two years (20:17). Two facts are apparent here. The spirit served God's purpose in judgment and brought a disease to people, and it made exorcism unnecessary. Therefore, a series of cultic actions, such as repentance, prayer, and laying of hands, resulted in the cure of the disease (20:22–29). It is very unlikely that the spirit entered the bodies of Egyptians to cause the disease because it attacked more than one person simultaneously. The author talks about a disease-dispensing angel (cf. Exod 9:1–6). To conclude, the author presents a malignant spirit in line with the evil spirits in the Deuteronomistic history; an angelic being takes the role of an evil spirit under the command of God (cf. 1 Sam 16:14).

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[104] The texts and translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are from *DSSSE* throughout this study, unless stated otherwise.

[105] The meaning of מכדש in the term רוח מכדש is unknown (1QapGen ar 20:16). This study views it as meant for מכתש, "affliction," considering the directly following infinitive phrase למכתשה, "to afflict." Therefore, this study translates the term as "a spirit of affliction."

Incantation (4Q444)

The author speaks of a few malevolent spirits such as רוחי רשע, "spirits of wickedness," רוחות ממזרים, "spirits of bastards," and רוח הטמאה, "a spirit of uncleanness" (4Q444 1 4; 2 i 4).[106] The scroll's fragmentary character makes it hard to obtain a precise role of each group of spirits. The "spirits of wickedness" seems related to dispositional evil spirits because it is contrasted with a spirit of knowledge and understanding (4Q444 1 3). It parallels the dispositional evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T. Reu. 3:1–6; T. Sim. 3:4–5; T. Jud. 16:1). The spirit of bastards is reminiscent of the departed souls of the hybrid giants in the Book of the Watchers specifically because of the term *mamzerim* (1 En. 10:9). The "spirit of uncleanness" is resonant of the evil spirit causing people to worship idols in Zechariah 13:3; both use the same term רוח הטמאה. It may refer to Satan as in Testament of Asher 1:8–9; 6:4–5 (cf. 11Q5). To conclude, the author shows a collection of evil spirits from the Book of the Watchers, Zechariah, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Songs of the Sage[a] (4Q510)

The author of Songs of the Sage[a] introduces various malevolent spirits (4Q510 1 5–6). Most of their names appear in the Old Testament: "all spirits of destructive angels (כול רוחי מלאכי חבל)," "the spirits of bastards (רוחות ממזרים)," "field demons (שדאים)," "a night demon (לִלִת)," "howling demons (אחים)," "desert demons (ציים)," and "eyes strikers (הפוגעים פתע)" (cf. 2 Sam 24:16; Deut 32:17; Isa 34:14; Isa 13:21).[107] The first group of

[106] The translations are of this study.

[107] The translations are of this study. The "spirits of bastards" and "eyes strikers" are not in the Old Testament. The meaning of שדאים is debatable. This study derives the meaning from שדה or שדי,

spirits in the list refers to the angels of punishment. The second group of spirits seems to refer to the departed souls of the hybrid giants in 1 Enoch 10:9.[108] The next four groups of spirits seem to reflect people's fears in everyday life. The last group of spirits seems to refer to the dispositional evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; they cause people to err in decision making and stay in their erred course stubbornly (cf. Exod 3:19–20; 7:3; 8:15).

The singer declares God's glory (תפארתו) to expel the said evil spirits (4Q510 1 4). It is very unlikely that the author thinks of the words of praise themselves as having some magical power to drive them out. The concept may have come from a teaching of Psalm 91 in Apocryphal Psalms[a], where the author says that from many harms, God protects (11Q11 6:5–7) those who give praises to God, "[My refuge] and [my] fortress, [my God] is the safety in which [I trust]" (11Q11 6:4).[109] Relying on God and seeking his help is the solution (cf. Ps 91:1).

To conclude, the author displays a collection of evil spirits from the Old Testament, the Book of the Watchers, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and other unknown sources such as people's superstition. The departed souls of the hybrid giants are merely a type of evil spirits.

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which means "a field, meadow, plain" (GHCL, 784–85). The exact term for "eyes strikers" is הפוגעים פתע פתאום לתעות רוח בינה ולהשם לבבם, "those who strike eyes suddenly for a spirit of understanding to err and for their hearts to be fat." The meaning of the word השם is problematic because it is a *hapax legomenon*. It may have been meant for חשם, "to be fat" (GHCL, 313). Therefore, this study translates the phrase ולהשם לבבם as "and for their hearts to be fat," which means "causing people to be slow of understanding" or "causing them to be stubborn."

[108] Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 83.

[109] Evans argues that Psalm 91 was one of the most popular psalms used for incantation against demonic threat and evil at Qumran (Craig A. Evans, "Jesus and Psalm 91 in Light of the Exorcism Scrolls," in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Kyung S. Baek, Peter W. Flint, and Jean Duhaime, EJL 30 [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011], 541–55; Craig A. Evans, "Jesus and Evil Spirits in the Light of Psalm 91," *BapT* 1, no. 2 [2009]: 45).

Melchizedek (11Q13)

The author of Melchizedek mentions Psalm 82:2, where God rebukes a group of corrupted angels by saying, "How long will you make unjust legal decisions and show favoritism to the wicked." The author interprets the verse as referring to Melchizedek's defeating Beliar and his spirits for the sons of light (11Q13 2:12–13). Three features are noteworthy.

First, the author terms Beliar's spirits as רוחי גורלו, "spirits of his lot." Beliar here is reminiscent of Mastema in Jubilees 10:7–8. However, he is distinct from Beliar in Jubilees because he is autonomous and not under God's control.

Second, Beliar and his spirits have been "turn[ing aside] from the commandments of God to [commit evil]," and "Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of Go[d's] judgments" upon them to free the sons of light from their evils (11Q13 2:13–14). Beliar and his spirits are the enemies of the sons of light and will be removed at the end of ages. They do not possess the sons of light to harass them; they cause the wicked to flourish against the sons of light. The situation will be reversed with the coming of Melchizedek for the year of God's grace (11Q13 2:8–9).[110] Melchizedek's work here is resonant of the work of the Son of Man in the Book of Parables (1 En. 38:1–6; 46:1–8).

Third, Melchizedek's work fulfills the prophecy of Isaiah 52:7.[111] The defeat of Beliar and his spirits is good news to which the sons of light are looking forward. Beliar and his spirits here are reminiscent of the evil spirits in Testament of Dan 1:6–7, where they instigated Dan to kill Joseph. The sons of light did nothing wrong to deserve

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[110] Annette Steudel, "Melchizedek," in *EDSS* 1:536.

[111] "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet [of] the messen[ger who] announces peace, the mess[enger of good who announces salvat]ion, [sa]ying to Zion: your God [reigns]" (11Q13 2:15–16).

God's punishment, but Beliar and the evil spirits oppress them by using the wicked whom they control. The defeat of Beliar by the eschatological savior to free the sons of light also goes well with the defeat of Beliar by the Messiah from the tribe of Judah and of Levi in Testament of Dan 5:10–11 and Testament of Zebulun 9:8, although his evil spirits are not dispositional evil spirits but independent spiritual entities.

In conclusion, the evil spirits in Melchizedek are spontaneous enemies of the sons of light, have Beliar as their ruler, instigate the wicked to oppress the sons of light, and do not cause illnesses to humans. Their entering human bodies is unclear. Therefore, the Melchizedek scroll does not display the new demonological concept except the fact that Beliar and his evil spirits are autonomous.

Psalms Scroll[a] (11Q5)

The author seeks God's protection from the rule of שתן ורוח טמאה (11Q5 19:15). The coupling of singular terms "Satan and the spirit of uncleanness" is notable.[112] It displays their close tie together. The spirit of uncleanness seems to refer to a human disposition without which the author hopes to live, as in Testament of Reuben 3:2–6 and Testament of Jude 16:1. The context supports it. The petition of God's protection from the spirit of uncleanness comes right after the petition of God's forgiving and cleansing his sin and giving a spirit of faith and knowledge so he might not stumble again in the righteous paths (11Q5 9:13–15). The author contrasts a spirit of uncleanness and a spirit of faith and knowledge. Therefore, the spirit of uncleanness refers to an evil disposition

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[112] Stuckenbruck says that the *unusual* coupling of Satan and the spirit of uncleanness reflects a development "out of Enoch tradition" in Jubilees (Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels,* 89–90). He says that the spirit may indicate "an external power that threatens the human being" (ibid., 90).

leading him away from God. It is also possible that the author identifies the spirit of uncleanness with Satan, as in Testament of Asher 1:8–9; 3:2; 6:4–5.[113] The term טמאה is often used for "state of ceremonial uncleanness" in the Old Testament (Lev 5:3; 7:20; 14:19).[114] Its scope is so wide as to include many sins (Ezra 6:20; Zech 13:2). Then the author might say that Satan the Spirit of Uncleanness causes him to brood all kinds of godless thoughts to be away from the Law (cf. T. Ash. 1:9). After the plea of freedom from Satan and the spirit of uncleanness, the author prays, מכאוב ויצר רע אל ירשו בעצמי, "May neither pain nor forming of bad be permitted in my bones!" (11Q5 19:15–16). The evil spirit is apparently related to diseases but enters no human body because the author worries about a pain or disease entering his bones. To conclude, the author presents Satan and a spirit of uncleanness that may be related to a dispositional evil spirit or Satan himself in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A difference is that the evil spirits here cause illnesses unlike in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Apocryphal Psalms[a] (11Q11)

The author shows how to expel malignant spirits with incantations of threat in two places (11Q11 4:4–7, 5:6–11). In the first place, exorcists are instructed to address an evil spirit with a singular pronoun "you" (11Q11 4:4). It is one of Shedim (11Q11 1:10; 2:4). In previous columns, the author recognizes their close relationship with diseases by using the noun רפואה, "cure" (11Q11 2:7). The spirit seems related to the evil spirits in

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[113] The definite article is often omitted in biblical poetry specifically when nouns are "globally unique referents" (Peter Bekins, "The Omission of the Definite Article in Biblical Poetry" [paper presented in the combined Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew/National Association of Professors of Hebrew section on "The Rhetoric of Biblical Poetry and Prose" at the annual *SBL* meeting, San Antonio, TX, November 19–22, 2016]). As evidence of his view, Bekins presents Deut 33:5; Pss 8:9; 113:3; 115:15; Judg 11:18.

[114] *HALOT*, 3439.

Jubilees because the author threatens it by saying that God would send a mighty angel to throw it into the great abyss (11Q11 4:4–7; cf. Jub. 10:7–9). The author turns out to instruct exorcists to threaten one of the disease-causing Shedim by saying that unless it stops causing trouble for the inflicted, God will deprive it of a privilege to remain on the earth before the great judgment day (cf. Mark 1:13; Matt 8:28). It is noteworthy that the author mentions Solomon (11Q11 2:2). He seems to know of the tradition that attributes a special exorcistic knowledge to Solomon (cf. *Ant*. 8.2.5 §45; cf. Tob 6:8).[115]

In the second place, the author shows exorcists how to take care of an evil spirit that brings sickness by night (11Q11 5:5). An exorcist shall begin by asking the name of the malignant spirit first: מי אתה (11Q11 5:6a; cf. Mark 5:9). The inquiry is not an attempt to get into a conversation with the malignant spirit. It is a rhetorical way of launching a derogatory rebuke such as "How dare you?" So the exorcist shall continue to speak to the evil spirit without waiting for its reply as if he has known of its identity (11Q11 5:6b–8a). It shows that for the author, the malignant spirits are one type. They are the departed souls of the hybrid giants (cf. 11Q11 4:4–7) because exorcists shall address them, ם[ושי]הקד וזרע אדם מ[הילוד], "[oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly] ones" (11Q11 5:6b). However, the detailed description of the evil spirits with horns (קרניך) displays a conceptual development from the evil spirits in Jubilees (11Q11 5:7). Horned deities often appear in ancient Near Eastern religions.[116]

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[115] Philip S. Alexander, "Magic and Magical Texts," in *EDSS* 1:503. Alexander mentions "11Q11 i.3" instead of 11Q11 2:2 (ibid.).

[116] Several deities in the ancient Near East bore horns. The Canaanite Baal and Astarte and the Egyptian Hathor and Isis are all horned deities (*RDGD*, 22, 27, 75, 90). The derogative words against the evil spirit, "Your horns are horns of illu[si]on" (11Q11 5:7), may reflect the image of some deities such as Enlil in Sumer, who wears "a headdress decorated with horns" (ibid., 58).

To conclude, the malignant spirits in Apocryphal Psalms[a] are the Shedim as the departed souls of the hybrid giants with horns that attack people by night. The term שֵׁדִים is a loanword from Akkadian, which was "primarily used to indicate a protective spirit."[117] The evil spirits in Mesopotamia are usually active by night.[118] Therefore, it is very likely that the evil spirits in Apocryphal Psalms[a] are a harmonized form of the evil spirits from the Old Testament, Jubilees, and the Mesopotamian faith.

Aramaic Magical Booklet (4Q560)

Aramaic Magical Booklet is a fragmentary description of incantation. It is notable that the author talks about the male and female spirits that enter the bodies of people (עלל בבשרא; 4Q560 1 i 3). They are associated with sin and sickness because the author speaks of "iniquity and guilt" and "fever and chills, and heat of the heart" (4Q560 1 i 4).[119] Their attack occurs during the night when people sleep (4Q560 1 i 5) as the evil spirits in Apocryphal Psalms[a] (11Q11 5:5). They attack their human counterparts: the male spirits attack male humans, and the female spirits female humans (4Q560 1 i 5). For the cure, an exorcist shall say, "And I, O spirit, O flawed one, [. . .] I adjure you a relief (ואנה רוח מומה[. . .]אומיתך רוחא)" (4Q560 1 ii 5–6).[120] The term "spirit" or "flawed one" is

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[117] *HALOT*, 1417.

[118] See the section "Malign Spirits in Ancient Mesopotamia" in chapter four.

[119] Douglas L. Penny and Michael O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560)," *JBL* 113, no. 4 (1994): 650.

[120] The translation is of this study. Penny and Wise view the term מומה as a participle of ימא to translate it as "I adjure" (ibid., 647), but then the feminine ending ה and the following verb אומיתך, "I adjure you," are problematic. The term very likely explains the previous feminine noun רוח. The noun מום may mean "defect, flaw, blemish" (*DSAr*, 456; *GTarO*, 147; *DJBAr*, 647). The feminine indicator ה shows that רוח and מום are appositional. The word רוחא might be רוח with a definite article, but "the relief" makes more sense after "I adjure you" (*DSAr*, 821).

neither a name nor a title of the malignant spirit.[121] It is a general way of blaming the evil spirit for the cause of illness. A successful cure does not require the exorcist's revealing the name of an evil spirit. To conclude, the evil spirits in Aramaic Magical Booklet go well with the new concept; they enter the body of a person, cause diseases, and call for exorcism. Their attacking people at night shows that they are of Mesopotamian origin. However, their relationship with the Enochic evil spirits is unclear. It is very likely that the evil spirits in Aramaic Magical Booklet are a new type of evil spirits.

Summary

Dead Sea Scrolls introduce various malevolent spirits, but the authors do not necessarily agree with one another. It is not an exaggeration to say that they are a library of different views. Incantation and Songs of the Sage[a] demonstrate it well.

Most evil spirits bring illnesses to humans. Sins usually invite their works to human lives. Even the dispositional evil spirits in Psalms Scroll[a] cause diseases. However, Melchizedek differs from them. It speaks of Beliar and his evil spirits that cause the wicked to oppress the sons of light, and their works have nothing to do with sins and diseases.

The means of solution to the problems that the evil spirits bring humans is various according to their kinds. Repentance and prayers are employed against the problems that result from the spirits of punishment or human dispositional evil spirits. Exorcisms, incantations, or hymns are used against the problems that spontaneous evil spirits bring. However, the Melchizedek scroll (11Q13) offers no solution for the time

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[121] In this verse, Penny and Wise argue against Carr that in Qumran texts, demons have names (Penny and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 650; Wesley Carr, *Angels and Principalities* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981], 42–43), but the phrase "O flawed one" is not the name of an evil spirit.

being; the sons of light must endure until Melchizedek, the heavenly savior for the last days, would come and defeat Beliar and his evil spirits.

Apocryphal Psalms[a] mentions a harmonized form of the evil spirits from the Old Testament, Jubilees, and Mesopotamia. The evil spirits have features fit for the new demonological concept but their entering the human bodies is unclear. Aramaic Magical Booklet shows the malignant spirits whose portrayals are fit for the new demonological concept. However, their relationship with the Enochic evil spirits is unclear.

To conclude, Dead Sea Scrolls exhibit various demonological views and include the departed souls of the hybrid giants as a type of evil spirits or a harmonized component of some evil spirits, so it is unlikely that the Enochic evil spirits had "a major influence" upon the formation of the evil spirits in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[122]

The Book of Tobit

The author introduces the saga of Tobit, a faithful Israelite (1:1). He lived by the Law in a foreign land, suffered undeservedly, and experienced God's restoration in the end. The story is reminiscent of Job's suffering and restoration. For the author, God does not abandon "his faithful servants even though they are put to the test at times."[123] He mentions three causes of misery in life: human wills (1:15–20; 3:3), accidents (2:10), and demons (3:8). It is notable that he does not attribute all misfortunes to demons. Asmodeus and Raphael play significant roles in a polemic between the evil demon and the good angel (3:8, 17; 12:15; cf. 1 En. 20:1–7). The former brings troubles on humans,

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[122] Wright argues that the Watcher tradition of 1 Enoch and Jubilees were "a major influence in the demonology of Qumran and the overall worldview of the Qumran sect" (Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch," 233).

[123] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 31.

and the latter helps the faithful to overcome the troubles with secret knowledge. This study will look into their works to see how they relate to the fallen angel tradition.

Raphael, the Revealer of Secret Knowledge

The author introduces Raphael as follows: he was the Watcher and intercessor between God and his people (12:12; cf. 1 En. 6:2), accomplished God's purpose as the tester and healer (12:14; cf. Deut 13:3; Prov 3:12), helped Tobit and his future daughter-in-law Sarah on God's commission (12:18), showed himself as a young man by providing a vision to people (5:4, 7; 12:19), and taught Tobias how to repel a violent demon and to cure blindness caused by a bird's dropping with parts of a particular fish (6:5–9). The last work is reminiscent of the account in Jubilees 15:10–14, where a good angel shares secret knowledge with Noah on God's commission.[124] It is notable that Raphael's piscine magic has permanent efficacy (6:8; cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 7.185; *Ant*. 8.45).

An Evil Demon Named Asmodeus

The author introduces a πονηρὸν δαιμόνιον named Asmodeus (3:8, 17).[125] He killed seven bridegrooms in Sarah's nuptial chamber (3:8; 6:14–15; 7:11).[126] The name

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[124] Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, 124.

[125] Referring to Strack-Billerbeck, McCasland relates Asmodeus to the Persian Aeshma Daeva and Ashmedai in the Talmud, in which it appears to rule over all demons (S. Vernon McCasland, *By the Finger of God* [New York: MacMillan, 1951], 75; Str-B 2:510). See also the Aramaic and Hebrew text of Tobit that reads, "Asmodeus, king of the demons" (A. Neubauer, ed., *The Book of Tobit* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1878], xxx, xlix, 6, 22). McCasland's view is weak for two reasons. First, he interprets it back from the later source. Second, Asmodeus fled to Egypt (8:3); he seems to be an Egyptian deity.

[126] Zimmermann and Fitzmyer say that Sarah was demon-possessed and attacked her bridegrooms, based on the later rabbinic interpretation (Frank Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit*, JAL [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958], 62; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 150; cf. Tob 3:8). However, the author portrays Sarah as faithful to God and filial to her father (3:10). It is unlikely that she is a demoniac (cf. 1:3). Besides, the author confirms that Sarah is not the one afflicted; Asmodeus attacked anyone who desired to approach her (6:8b, 15).

"Asmodeus" likely came from the Hebrew root שׁמד, "to destroy."[127] The term shows his nature and role. His having a name and an interest in a girl is reminiscent of the Enochic fallen angels. However, it is very unlikely that he is one of the fallen angels because they were all locked up in the subterranean pit before the Deluge (1 En. 10:4–6; 12–13). The Testament of Solomon, written in the Christian era, identifies Asmodeus with one of the evil spirits from the dead giants (T. Sol. 5:1–3).[128] However, the view is very unlikely because the author distinguishes demons from evil spirits (6:8) and identifies Asmodeus with an evil demon (3:8, 17).[129] The author seems to have created a harmonized type of a fallen angel named Asmodeus from both the fallen angels and evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers (cf. 1 En. 6:1–8; 15:11; 16:1).

Summary

Tobit presents Asmodeus as an enemy of the faithful Israelites. It is very likely that the figure of Asmodeus resulted from harmonizing the fallen angels and evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers for two reasons. First, he has a name and an interest in a girl as the fallen angels. Second, he kills men as said in the role of the Enochic evil spirits, although they destroy humans by misleading to the death by God's punishing hands. The author limits his role to killing by saying that an accident, and not a demon, brings humans sickness. Raphael's piscine magic is resonant of Noah's medicinal herbs in Jubilees, although Noah's herbs there are not to repel an evil spirit. Raphael's fish

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[127] Zimmermann, *The Book of Tobit*, 63.

[128] D. C. Duling. "Testament of Solomon," in *OTP*, 1:943–44; Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, 151.

[129] Wright identifies "evil spirit" and "demon" in Tob 6:8, but the use of the conjunction "or" indicates a distinction rather than an identification, considering its use in the phrase ἀνθρώπου ἢ γυναικός in the same verse. For the texts of Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, see Robert J. Littman, *Tobit*, SCS (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 18, 174.

parts are preventive and not prescriptive against a demonic attack. Asmodeus has features reminiscent of elements in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees, but it is unlikely that he is the departed soul of a hybrid giant. He is an evil demon or patron angel of Egypt (8:3), so Tobit talks about an angelic fall even after the Flood, which makes it distinct from the Book of the Watchers.

The Works of Philo

Three of Philo's writings hint at his familiarity with the fallen angel tradition: *On the Giants*, *On Dreams,* and *Questions and Answers on Genesis*. However, his view differs from that of the author of the Book of the Watchers.[130] The difference may have resulted from his Hellenistic educational background (*Spec*. 2.40 §229–30), but his religious background likely played a role in forming his view more than his Hellenistic education because he upheld only the Pentateuch as authoritative (*Mos*. 2.51 §290).[131] This section surveys Philo's demonological view under three headings: his familiarity with the fallen angel tradition, interpretation of the tradition, and view of the evil spirits.

Familiarity with the Fallen Angel Tradition

Philo's familiarity with the fallen angel tradition is detected at least in two places. First, Philo talks about a tradition that identifies the "sons of God" in Genesis 6:2–4 with the "angels of God" who imitated the forms of human males to copulate with

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[130] Concerning Philo's writings, Wright says, "We now have in the first century C.E. two very different interpretation of the Genesis passage" (Archie T. Wright, "Some Observations of Philo's *De gigantibus* and Evil Spirits in Second Temple Judaism," *JSJ* 36, no. 4 [2005]: 485).

[131] Philo viewed Deuteronomy as τὸ τέλος τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων (*Mos.* 2.51 §290). He seems to have acknowledged only the Pentateuch as authoritative (Kenneth Schenck, *A Brief Guide to Philo* [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2005], 10). Then his view reflects his Sadducean heritage (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.10.6 §297). His birth into a wealthy and aristocratic family in Alexandria, Egypt, about one and a half decades seems to support the view (cf. ibid., 9–11).

human females (*Gig*. 2 §6; *QG* 1.92). Second, his view of God's attitude after the Flood also shows his familiarity with the fallen angel tradition. He stresses the immutable nature of God to counter the view that God regretted his decision of sending the Deluge (*QG* 1.93). Philo seems to counter the view derived from 1 Enoch 55:1 (cf. Num 23:19).

Interpretation of the Fallen Angel Tradition

Although Philo knows of the fallen angel tradition, he disagrees with the Enochic view in three ways. First, he does not accept the birth of the mythical giants. He says that Moses could not refer to the mythical giants in Genesis 6:4 (*Gig*. 13 §58, 60).[132] Second, he says that Moses did not tell an actual event there. Moses presented the angelic copulation with women and the birth of the giants for the lesson of the God-born, heaven-born, and earth-born (*Gig*. 13 §60–61). The God-born is the priests and prophets who withdraw from the secular care, the heaven-born is the lovers of learning, and the earth-born is the pursuer of carnal pleasures. Third, he says that the evil spirits are fallen angels. Angels depart God's service in heaven, enter human bodies during conception, become human souls, succumb to fleshly lusts, and become evil spirits (*QG* 1.92).[133]

The View of the Evil Spirits

Philo identifies angels, demons, and souls (*Gig*. 4 §16). They are identical but called with different names and hovering in the air (*Gig*. 4 §16). He prefers the use of the term "angels" because they reside originally in heaven and serve God (*Somm*. 22 §141). He divides angels into two categories. One is the angels that do not deign to go down to

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[132] Philo says that Moses used the term γίγαντες improperly in Gen 6:4 (*QG* 1.92).

[133] Philo interprets angels' becoming the human souls as the angelic fall with human females and the birth of hybrid giants in Gen 6:1−4.

earth but continue devoting themselves to the service of God (*Gig*. 3 §12). The other is the angels that descend into the earth, take on the flesh, and live a human life in the false hope of glory, wealth, power, and honor (*Gig*. 3 §12, 15), not to mention of the fleshly pleasure with women (*Gig*. 4 §18). When the angels that reside in human bodies as their souls succumb to fleshly lusts and refuse to be enlightened with the right knowledge to return to God, they are called evil spirits (*Gig*. 4 §17; cf. 3 §14). Therefore, the evil spirits are fallen angels seeking carnal pleasure as human souls in human bodies. Philo's evil spirits are similar to those in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs; both talk about evil spirits as part of human existence. However, the former evil spirits differ from the latter ones because, unlike the latter evil spirits, they are human souls themselves and not part of the human dispositions God created during God's creation of Adam.

Summary

Philo's interpretation of the sons of God as his angels and God's no regret for sending the Deluge shows his familiarity with the fallen angel tradition, but he dismisses the actuality of the mythical giants. His evil spirits are the angels that enter human bodies in human conception, become human souls, and succumb to fleshly lusts without seeking a way to return to the far greater glory in heaven. It is very likely that Philo's evil spirits grew out of those in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Therefore, they are neither fit for the departed souls of the hybrid giants nor the new demonological concept.

The Works of Josephus

Josephus was a scholar, priest, aristocrat, politician, and soldier. He was born in a priestly and royal line. He had an education from both Jewish and Greek sides (*Life* 1–12). After the Jewish War, he went to Rome and lived there as a Roman citizen under

the special care of the emperors Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian (*Life* 361–67, 422–23, 429; *Ap*. 1.50–52). He wrote four writings, based on his personal experiences and freely accessed sources with privilege.[134] There, he talks about demons and evil spirits in three accounts: the suffering of King Saul (*Ant.* 6.8.2 §166–168; *Ant*. 6.11.2 §211–214), Solomon's skill of exorcism (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45), and a root named Baaras with exorcizing power (*J.W.* 7.6.3 §178–185). This section will survey Josephus's portrayal of evil spirits in the accounts after introducing his view on the fallen angel tradition.

Familiarity with the Fallen Angel Tradition

Enoch is an extraordinary figure to Josephus. Josephus speaks of three notable figures with no tomb in the Old Testament: Enoch, Elijah, and Moses. He clarifies Moses's death (*Ant*. 4.48 §326) and rationalizes the departure of Elijah by speaking of his disappearing beyond anyone's knowledge of his end (*Ant*. 9.2.2 §28). However, he deifies Enoch by mentioning his move to the divine realm (ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον) (*Ant*. 1.3.4 §85).[135] The portrayal is meaningful in comparison with the simple account in the Hebrew Bible: וְאֵינֶנּוּ כִּי־לָקַח אֹתוֹ אֱלֹהִים (Gen 5:24). Josephus's deification of Enoch goes well with Enoch's stay "with the Watchers and the holy ones" in 1 Enoch 12:2. His familiarity with the Enochic tradition also appears in the allusion of the hybrid giants as "the children unruly and disdainful of all good (ὑβριστὰς . . . παῖδας καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλοῦ)" (*Ant*. 1.3.1 §73). However, for him, the hybrid giants are not mythical monsters but scoundrels and warriors with abnormally big stature who boast of their

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[134] The said summary of Josephus's life is from Per Bilde, *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome*, JSPSup 2 (Sheffiel: JSOT, 1988), 61–62, 57–60, 61–63.

[135] James D. Tabor, "'Returning to the Divinity': Josephus's Portrayal of the Disappearance of Enoch, Elijah, and Moses," *JBL* 108, no. 2 (1989): 237.

physical strength (cf. *Sib. Or*. 1.104–8). Noah tried to change their hearts and behaviors for the better, but in vain (*Ant*. 1.3.1 §74). The Flood destroyed them all (*Ant*. 1.3.2 §76), but the giants appeared again later. The Philistines were the offspring of the giants (*Ant*. 1.9 §174; 3.14.2 §305; 5.2.2 §125; 7.12.2 §301–304). For Josephus, the hybrid giants are not mythical monsters but arrogant warriors of a large build. Therefore, it is very unlikely that he talks about the race of Enochic mythical giants that survived the Flood (cf. Num 13:33). Then a demonological concept distinct from that of the Book of the Watchers is anticipated from Josephus.

Evil Spirits and Demons

Josephus introduces malevolent spirits in three accounts. He distinguishes evil spirits and demons. Evil spirits are human dispositions, and demons are malignant spirits. Therefore, Josephus's demons correspond to the evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers or Jubilees.

King Saul's Suffering

Josephus reiterates King Saul's suffering from an evil spirit from God in the Old Testament but changes details (*Ant.* 6.8.2 §166–168, 6.11.2 §211–214). First, he says that Saul suffered from two types of malevolent spiritual entities: τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων (*Ant*. 6.11.2 §211). Second, he leaves out God's sending them in the Bible (cf. 1 Sam 16:15). They are autonomous. He also talks about two symptoms tied to each type. Saul suffered from πάθη τινά and δαιμόνια πνιγμούς (*Ant.* 6.8.2 §166). First, the evil spirit caused Saul to have emotional problems. It is resonant of the dispositional evil spirits under Beliar's control in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (T. Sim. 2:7; 5:3; T. Jud. 19:4). Second, the demons caused Saul to suffer from suffocation. When a

demon distressed Saul's soul (πνεῦμα), he prepared a spear near him, called for David, asked him to play his harp, and threw the spear at him (*Ant.* 6.11.3 §214). It is resonant of the unclean demons in Jubilees 10:1 that caused Noah's grandchildren to be mad at and kill one another.

There are two things to clarify. First, the demon did not manipulate Saul beyond his control because Josephus says that God helped David have a successful life, and it aroused Saul's hatred to David (*Ant*. 6.11.4 §220). Second, the demons are not the departed souls of the hybrid giants but those of the wicked humans (*Ant.* 13.16.3 §416; *J.W.* 7.6.3 §185).[136] Josephus seems to say that King Saul failed to overcome the spirit of hatred, one of the dispositional evil spirits at Beliar's command (cf. T. Jud. 16:1; T. Dan 1:6–7), and the evil demons stepped into his life to torment him. Then Josephus adopted and combined the demonological concepts in Jubilees and most of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Solomon's Skill of Exorcism

Josephus talks about Solomon's skill of exorcism that God granted (παρέσχε) him to learn (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45). He does not inform readers how and where Solomon got it. However, he recognizes that the skill came from outside the Torah and validates it by saying that God granted it. He also talks about an exorcistic magic that King Solomon left for later generations. By way of illustration, he talks about his personal experience with Eleazar, who demonstrated an exorcism in the presence of Vespasian and his companions (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45–49). The exorcism involved a ring and a plant root. Incantations are also

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[136] Dale Basil Martin, "When Did Angels Become Demons?," *JBL* 129, no. 4 (2010): 672. In the context, Josephus is talking about the eight hundred men Alexander killed (cf. *Ant.* 13.16.2 §410).

used, but they were for the healing of diseases (νόσηματα) caused by demons and not for casting out demons (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45; cf. Jub. 10:12). A demon enters a human body. It is invisible, formless, but very much physical; so Eleazar drew it out through the possessed person's nostril; and as it came out of the possessed, it hit and overturned a water bowl. Proper tools and techniques are essential for a successful exorcism (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §47; *J.W.* 7 §180–185), but an exorcist's life pleasing to God is a prerequisite (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §47, §49; cf. Mark 1:9–11). The efficacy of Solomon's exorcism is so high that an expelled demon would never return (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45; cf. Tob 6:8). It is notable that the exorcist is entirely in control of the demon to command it to perform a specific task for him (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §48).

A Root Named Baaras

Josephus speaks of a rumor about a root named Baaras with exorcizing power (*J.W.* 7.6.3 §178–185). The plant is too poisonous for a person to touch with bare hands. Thus, to get the root, a person comes up with leashing a dog to it with care and lets the dog rush to follow the person and pull it up. Once uprooted, it is safe to touch but at the sacrifice of the dog. Josephus tells his readers four crucial aspects of the root and demons. A demon is the departed soul of a person, enters the body of another person, kills the person using diseases, but flees instantly with the simple presence of the root with no other subsidiary measures such as incantations (*J.W.* 7.6.3 §185).

Summary

Josephus knows of the fallen angel tradition, but he rationalizes mythical parts, so his view on the evil spirits departs from the Enochic view on them in the Book of the Watchers. He speaks of more than one type of malevolent spirit: an evil spirit and demons. The "evil spirit" refers to a dispositional evil spirit as in the Testaments of the

Twelve Patriarchs. The "demons" refer to the departed souls of wicked humans that instigate people to be violent in a similar way to the evil spirits in Jubilees. The demons in Eleazar's exorcism and in the root Baaras show a concept compatible with the new demonological concept. They enter human bodies, afflict humans with illnesses, and call for an exorcism. They are invisible, formless, but very much physical. Josephus gives Solomon credit for sound exorcistical techniques that involve a ring and a plant root. The effectuality is so high that the expelled demons do not return.

The Pseudo-Philo (LAB)

The LAB is a Hebrew document written in Palestine in the first century CE.[137] The author knows of the fallen angel tradition, but his view on the evil spirits is different. This section will survey the author's view under two headings: his familiarity with the fallen angel tradition and portrayal of evil spirits. The portrayal of the evil spirits is again divided into the evil spirits in the call of Samuel and David's song of incantation.

Familiarity with the Fallen Angel Tradition

The author introduces a Midianite magician who deceived Israelites to serve the Midianite gods (34:1–5). It seems to explain how the Midianites turned out to have oppressed Israel in Judges 6:1.[138] The magician worshipped certain angels for a long time, and with their help, he tricked the Israelites into thinking that the sun appeared at

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[137] VanderKam, *Enoch: A Man for All Generations*, 153. Harrington says that LBA was written before 70 CE, and Hebrew was the original language because "some of the probable errors noted are possible only in Hebrew" (D. J. Harrington. "Pseudo-Philo," in *OTP*, 2:298–99). He also argues for Palestine as the place of writing because of literary parallels with 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch and theological interests in the Temple, the rules of sacrifice, and so forth (ibid., 300). The complete version of LAB is preserved in Latin. This study uses the Latin text from Guido Kisch, *Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, PMS 10 (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame, 1949).

[138] Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 154.

night. Two things in the story are resonant of the fallen angel tradition. First, the author says that angels revealed the art of magic to humans to be condemned for it (34:3; cf. 1 En. 7:1; 8:1). Second, he says that the magician sacrificed to the angels as if to gods (34:2; cf. 1 En. 19:1). However, unlike in the Book of the Watchers, the fallen angels are active after the Flood. Here the author hints at the post-Deluge angelic fall or the dismissal of the angelic incarceration into a subterranean pit, as in Tobit. The conceptual difference is also seen in retelling the story of the Flood. As the author reiterates the union between the sons of God and the daughters of humans in Genesis 6:1–4, he leaves out verse 4, where the birth of Nephilim appears. By doing so, he eliminates the possibility of evil spirits emerging from the hybrid giants.

The Portrayal of the Evil Spirits

The author says that God made the tribe of evil spirits from a resounding echo in the chaos in God's creation of the world (60:2–3; cf. T. Sol. 4:8). They were created to deceive humans or to bring them diseases by night or at midday (53:4; 60:1; cf. 11Q11; 4Q560). The author introduces their works in the retelling of God's calling Samuel for a prophetic activity (53:1–13; cf. 1 Sam 3:1–18) and David's song of incantation for King Saul (60:2–3). The author identifies several phrases for his evil spirits, such as spiritus iniquus, spiritus pessimus, spiritus inmundus, and spiritus malus (53:1, 3–4; 60:3).

The Call of Samuel

Samuel heard a voice in sleep and thought that Eli had called him (53:3). When Eli saw Samuel present before him, Eli thought that an evil spirit had misled him with a mimicked voice (53:3–4). As a spiritual leader, Eli even defined the voice of an evil spirit. He said that when an evil spirit misleads a person, it calls the person's name

twice by night or at midday (53:4).[139] But he realized later that he was wrong about the work of evil spirits (53:5). Eli's first reaction to Samuel reporting to him is notable. It hints at the author's view on the role of the evil spirits. Eli said, "Woe to me (Heu me)." His words likely indicate that God was testing his faith, and he might lose the position as the spiritual leader of Israel (cf. 34:5; 60:1; Judg 9:23; Ezek 14:9). Experiencing the work of an evil spirit is a sign of crisis. It is also notable that Eli suspected the work of an evil spirit in the temple (53:3 cf. Mark 1:23). The evil spirits may deceive anyone anywhere.

David's Song of Incantation

The author introduces a song of incantation that David used to sing for King Saul, who suffered from an evil spirit (60:2–3). He says that the evil spirit attacked Saul at night (cf. 53:3–4; 4Q560 1 i 5; 11Q11 5:5). The author also says that David's song made the evil spirit retreat (ut recederet). David's song was not to expel it (60:1). The author's mentioning the song's efficacy supports the view further: "And as long as David sang, the evil spirit would be refraining from Saul" (60:3). For the author, there is no room for exorcism because the evil spirit came to Saul in God's providence. God did not send it personally, but it came to Saul as a result of his removal of the spirit of the Lord. The evil spirit is semi-autonomous and rules over those who do not have God's protective spirit (cf. T. Ash. 6:4; T. Benj. 6:1–7; T. Dan 5:1). It is notable that the author emphasizes the efficacy of the song, unlike in 1 Samuel, where David's music did not necessarily always (cf. 1 Sam 18:10–11; 19:9–10).

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[139] God called Samuel's name on two occasions, but Eli says that an evil spirit calls a person's name twice. Scholars wondered if the word "twice" indicates two times or two occasions (Daniel J. Harrington, "The Biblical Text of Pseudo-Philo's 'Liber antiquitatum biblicarum'," *CBQ* 33, no. 1 [January 1971]: 14; Jackson, "Echoes and Demons in the Pseudo-Philonic Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum," *JSJ* 27, no. 1 [1996]: 2). However, Eli's words are not necessarily true in the story. With the error of Eli, the author may have merely shown his disqualification as the nation's spiritual leader.

work

The song consists of two main parts. The first part demonstrates David's keen knowledge of the origin of the evil spirits (60:2). It lays the groundwork for the rebuke and threat in the second part (60:3). The second part is divided into three parts again. First, David reproached the evil spirit for its arrogant behavior; he said that it behaved as if it occupied a position higher than humans probably because of the role of testing and punishing them.[140] Second, David reproached the evil spirit by reminding it of Tartarus as its final abode.[141] Third, David threatened the evil spirit that the Messiah coming in his line would repay it according to its evil deeds.[142]

Summary

The author knows of the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees, but his evil spirits are different from the two authors. His evil spirits are not the departed souls of the hybrid giants, although they deceive and destroy humans. They are part of God's initial creation of the world, which likely shows the author's familiarity with the evil spirits in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. God's creating them shows that God has a plan for them. They are semi-autonomous and attack people outside God's protection, so God is not responsible for their evil works directly. They do not enter human bodies. That an evil spirit calls a person's name or chokes King Saul

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[140] Et nunc molesta esse noli, tamquam secunda fatura. "And now do not be a molester as if you would be the second being."

[141] Si quominus, memorare Tartari in quo ambulas, "If not, remember Tartarus where you (will) walk."

[142] Arguet autem te metra nova unde natus sum, de qua nascetur post tempus de lateribus meis, qui vos domabit, "However, he will charge you with an unprecedented measure (that I have not seen) since I was born, concerning whom he will be born after (some) time from my side, who will subdue you." See also Samuel's declaration of David as "holy Christ of the Lord" in 59:2. It may have been added later.

supports the view. To conclude, the evil spirits in the Pseudo-Philo are created during God's creation of the world, irrelevant to the Enochic evil spirits, and ultimately under God's control. Therefore, the author does not speak of the new demonological concept.

Conclusion

This chapter revisited the Book of the Watchers and other Jewish works to evaluate the claim that the Book of Enoch introduced to Second Temple Judaism a new demonological concept that affected all the demonological conversations afterward. The new demonological concept said that the evil spirits were autonomous, entered human bodies, and afflicted humans with diseases. The following are what this study has found.

The author of the Book of the Watchers introduced the angelic fall including the origin of the evil spirits from the bodies of mythical hybrid giants, and the author of Jubilees wrote his accounts as a sequel to the Book of the Watchers. The latter author shared, confirmed, clarified, and expanded the former author's view (Jub. 1:4; 10:1–12). Determinism was an underlying theme of both authors as they unfolded their stories one by one (1 En. 1:1; 9:11; Jub. 1:4). Determinism was typical of the apocalyptic writings in the Second Temple Period. Both authors were silent on their evil spirits' making entrance into the bodies of humans and their exorcism. Since the evil spirits served God's purpose, there was no room for exorcism.

The former author said that God designated the emergence of the evil spirits from the dead giants (1 En. 15:8–9). The latter author confirmed it by saying a tenth of the original evil spirits worked under Mastema for God's assigned tasks of punishment (Jub. 10:7–9). The former author spoke of the simple role of the evil spirits as destroying people (1 En. 15:11–16:1). The latter author clarified it by saying that they made Noah's

grandchildren enraged at and killed one another (Jub. 10:1; cf. 1 Sam 18:10–11). The former author added their misleading people to worship demons to their destruction at God's punishing hands (1 En. 19:1). The latter author confirmed and extended it by adding two pieces of information. First, the evil spirits brought people diseases for their sins (Jub. 10:12; cf. Job1:6–2:7), but God was gracious to Noah by giving him medicinal herbs for the cure of the diseases. The herbalism was a follow-up measure. It was not preventive nor exorcistic magic. Second, Abraham and his descendants were God's covenant people, so the evil spirits did not harm them without God's permission (Jub. 15:9, 32; 19:28). It showed that the diseases and violence the target audience had experienced were irrelevant to the works of the evil spirits unless God had allowed them to be so for a specific purpose.

The Book of the Watchers influenced Jubilees in terms of demonology, but both books did not speak of the new demonological concept. The feature was more evident in the later Enochic books, such as the Book of Dream Visions (1 En. 83–90), the Book of the Epistle of Enoch (1 En. 91–107), and the Book of Parables (1 En. 37–71). They skipped the story of the evil spirits to dismiss the works of the evil spirits upon humans and stressed the human responsibility for human violence (1 En. 53:2; 85:3–10; 86:5–6; 89:17–19; 98:4). The author of the Book of the Epistle of Enoch approached the view more aggressively by countering the contemporary precepts of the actuality of the evil spirits and the value of dream visions (1 En. 98:4; 99:8). The author of the Book of Parables explained the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees allegorically to deny the actuality of the evil spirits (1 En. 39:1; 40:7; 45:2; 54:5–6). It was notable that as time went by toward the Common Era, the said authors of 1 Enoch moved in the opposite direction farther and farther away from the new demonological concept.

The authors of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs showed their views in a similar line of thought to the author of Jubilees in that the evil spirits were tempters and not the ultimate cause of human errors against the Law (T. Sim. 2:7; T. Jud. 19:4; T. Dan 4:7; T. Ash. 6:4; T. Benj. 7:1). Their views were unique in that the evil spirits were part of God's creation of Adam in the beginning (T. Reu. 2:3) and resided in the bodies of humans as their evil dispositions independent of the souls (T. Reu. 3:1–6; T. Sim. 4:9; T. Jud. 16:1). Since they were human components, there was no room for exorcism. The only way to defend oneself from or resolve problems with the influence of the evil spirits was the walk with God in devotion to the study and observance of the Law (T. Jud. 26:1; T. Dan 5:1; T. Sim. 5:3).

Philo's concept of the evil spirits grew out of the demonological concept of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. His evil spirits were the angels that entered human bodies during conception, resided in human bodies as their souls, were addicted to a carnal life, and refused to return to God (*Gig*. 3 §12–15; 4 §17; cf. 13 §60–61). The author of the Pesudo-Philo combined ideas from the Old Testament, the Book of the Watchers, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. The evil spirits were part of God's creation as in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (LAB 60:2–3), accomplished God's purpose to mislead humans and bring them physical suffering as in the Old Testament (LAB 34:5; 53:3–4; 60:1–2), and would work until the great day of judgment as in the Book of the Watchers and Jubilees (LAB 60:3). They were semi-autonomous and worked against those from whom God removed his protection, so God controlled them ultimately. Therefore, there was no room for exorcism (LAB 60:3).

The Book of Enoch, Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Philo's writings, and the Pseudo-Philo did not speak of the evil spirits beyond God's control,

their entrance into human bodies for harm, and the need of their exorcism. The new concept appeared in the Book of Tobit, some of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Josephus's writings, although they showed diversity among themselves.

Asmodeus in Tobit was a spontaneous enemy of the faithful and committed murder (Tob 3:8). However, he was not an Enochic evil spirit but seemed to be a patron angel of Egypt. Apocryphal Psalms[a] and Aramaic Magical Booklet spoke of the evil spirits bringing sinners illnesses (11Q11 2:7, 5:5; 4Q560 1 i 4) and calling for exorcism (11Q11 5:6; 4Q560 1 ii 5–6). The former showed a harmonized form of evil spirits from the evil spirits in the Old Testament, Jubilees, and ancient Near Eastern religions. They were the Shedim as the departed souls of the hybrid giants with horns attacking people at night. Their entering the bodies of humans was unclear. The latter showed the evil spirits with distinctive sexes. They were of Mesopotamian origin, entered the bodies of humans (4Q560 1 i 3), attacked them at night, and called for exorcism. Their relationship with the departed souls of the hybrid giants was unclear. The evil spirits in Apocryphal Psalms[a] and Aramaic Magical Booklet are fit for the new concept but not a perfect fit. One was unclear about the evil spirits entering the body of a person, and the other was unclear about the relationship of the evil spirits with the Enochic evil spirits.

Most of the Dead Sea Scrolls this study surveyed did not mention the new demonological concept. Specifically, the Melchizedek scroll is worth mentioning. It introduced Beliar and his evil spirits that instigated the wicked to oppress the sons of light. The righteous life did not ensure protection from the harms of Beliar and his evil spirits. The sons of light should endure until Melchizedek, the heavenly savor figure for the last days, would come. Beliar and his evil spirits here were autonomous, but they neither entered the bodies of people nor caused illnesses to people.

Josephus talked about the departed souls of wicked humans that became the evil demons, entered human bodies, and killed humans with diseases (*J.W.* 7.6.3 §185). They were invisible, formless, but very much physical (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45–49). It went well with the new demonological concept. Josephus also mentioned a non-biblical way of Solomon's exorcism involving a ring and a particular plant root. Incantations were used, but only for the healing of diseases (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45–49). Since Josephus demythologized the departed souls of the hybrid giants, his evil demons were the best fit for the new demonological concept.

In conclusion, the Second Temple Jewish literature displayed a diversity of demonological views. The portrayal compatible with the new demonological concept appeared in later writings, such as Apocryphal Psalms[a], Aramaic Magical Booklet, and Josephus's works, near the turn of the Common Era, although they were not a perfect fit for it. Therefore, it is unconvincing to argue that the Book of the Watchers introduced the new demonological concept to Second Temple Judaism that affected the formation of all other writings with demonological conversations that came afterward. The weakness of the Enochic influence scholarship makes it worthwhile for this study to evaluate other claims, such as the Enochic departure from the Old Testament authors, the Babylonian influence upon the Book of the Watchers, and the Enochic influence upon the Synoptics.

CHAPTER 3

ENOCHIC PARALLELS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

In the previous chapter, this study evaluated the validity of the claim that the Book of the Watchers introduced a new demonological concept, in which the evil spirits were spontaneous, entered human bodies, caused illnesses, and called for an exorcism. The result was negative. The new demonological concept appeared in the later writings near the Common Era. This chapter evaluates the validity of the argument that Enochic demonology is foreign to the Old Testament authors. The fallen angel tradition is often said to extend Genesis 6:1–4.[1] This study raises a question about whether Genesis 6:1–4 is the only account in the Old Testament that may have contributed to the formation of the sophisticated and refined fallen angel tradition.[2] Therefore, the fallen angel tradition is compared with the Old Testament to see to what degree the two traditions differ from each other. For the evaluation, this study selects nine major themes in the fallen angel tradition and looks for any trace of them in the Old Testament. The nine themes are as follows: (1) outside influence on human miseries, (2) Mt. Hermon as a special place for the fallen angels, (3) forbidden intermarriage, (4) the fallen angels as Wakers and

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[1] Siam Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11*, AOAT 322 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), 27; Wright, *OES*, 3, 9. For the comparison of the storylines between Gen 6:1–9:17 and 1 En. 6:1–11:2, see Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, WMANT 61 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), 278.

[2] Barker says, "All the components of the angel mythology can be found in the Old Testament" (Margaret Barker, *The Older Testament* [London: SPCK, 1987], 19). Barker argues for the Enochic priority over the Old Testament and the latter's countering the former's idea (ibid., 13, 23–25).

Watchers, (5) the fallen angels as an army of God, (6) the names of the fallen angels, (7) the mysterious "Azazel," (8) the angelic corruption and judgment, and (9) the role of the evil spirits. This study thinks that the more themes the Old Testament has, the closer relationship between the two traditions.

Outside Influence upon Human Miseries

The Enochic author speaks of the fallen angels and their catastrophic effects on humankind (1 En. 6–16). The story is reminiscent of the Adamic Fall account, in which the Serpent misleads the first humans to their miseries in life.[3] The relationship between the two traditions is worth investigating for two reasons. First, the Adamic Fall is a significant part of the Enochic theology. The Enochic author knows of it (32:3–6) and speaks of the restoration of the Adamic blessings in the last days (25:3–6; cf. Isa 51:1–3; 65:17–25). Second, scholars say that the two accounts are closely related to each other.[4]

Parallels between the Adamic Fall and the Fallen Angel Tradition

This study finds three types of parallels between the Adamic Fall and the fallen angel tradition: parallels between the first humans and the fallen angels, Cain and the hybrid giants, and the Adamic human corruption and the Enochic one.

The first humans parallel the fallen angels in four aspects. First, a desire for boundary transgression was the beginning of their fall. The first humans had a desire for

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[3] David Winston Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 116.

[4] Ibid., 132. Although Davies argues for the Enochic priority, his comparison of both accounts is worth noting (Philip Davies, "The Origin of Evil in Ancient Judaism," *ABR* 50 [2002]: 116). Hendel talks about the breached bounds and the curse as the structural pattern in the accounts of the Adamic fall, the Cain's violence, the Tower of Babel, the Flood, and Noah's cursing of Ham (Ronald S. Hendel, "Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4," *JBL* 106, no. 1 [1987]: 25).

divine life (Gen 3:5), and the fallen angels a desire for human life (1 En. 6:2). Second, their corruption led to the birth of violent offspring. The first humans had Cain who killed his brother (Gen 4:8), and the fallen angels had the hybrid giants who devoured humans (1 En. 7:2–5). Third, their corruption resulted in God's punishment of three parties. God punished the Serpent, first humans, and Cain in the Adamic Fall (Gen 3:11–24; 4:10–12); God punished the fallen angels, human followers, and hybrid giants in the fallen angel tradition (1 En. 10:1–15). Fourth, their decisive punishment was postponed. Adam and Eve did not die instantly but continued to live an earthly life with added toils, birth pangs, and the loss of eternal life (Gen 3:16–19), and the fallen angels were thrown into a subterranean pit to suffer until the great day of judgment (1 En. 10:4–6).

Cain parallels the hybrid giants in five aspects. First, both were violent, as already mentioned. Second, their violence led to the inhuman outcry to heaven. Abel's blood cried out to heaven from the ground (Gen 4:10); the Enochic earth cried out to heaven (1 En. 7:6; 9:2). Third, they survived the punishment to become wanderers on the earth. The earth would not yield its crops for Cain to become a homeless vagrant on the earth (Gen 4:12); the hybrid giants killed one another to become evil spirits roaming around on the earth (1 En. 15:8–16:1). Fourth, people hated them as if their enemies. Cain feared whoever found him would kill him (Gen 4:14); the evil spirits would be enemies of humans and work unnoticed (1 En. 15:11–12). Fifth, God secured their lives. He provided Cain with a protective mark from blood vengeance (Gen 4:13–15); the hybrid giants became evil spirits not to be killed (1 En. 15:8).

The human corruption in the Adamic Fall and the fallen angel tradition has additional three shared aspects. First, a different species initiated their corruption: the serpent (Gen 3:1) and the fallen angels (1 En. 6.2). Second, the female became the first

victim to the outside influence: Eve (Gen 3:1b) and human females (1 En. 7:1). Third, their corruption had something to do with secret knowledge: the eye opening (Gen 3:5) and the knowledge of the fallen angels (1 En. 7:1b).

Summary

The Adamic Fall and its restoration are an important theological concept to the author of the Book of the Watchers. It suggests a close relationship between the Adamic Fall and the fallen angel tradition. There are parallels between the two traditions. The first humans and the fallen angels, Cain and the hybrid giants, and the human corruption in the two traditions have all parallel points from each other. The parallels such as a desire for boundary transgression, females as the first victim, the birth of violent offspring, inhuman outcry, and so on are hard to be accidental. The two traditions are related conceptually and structurally. The Enochic author very likely used the Adamic Fall and Cain's murder to create his version of human miseries in a different context.

Mt. Hermon as the Sacred Place for the Fallen Angels

Mt. Hermon (חֶרְמוֹן; ሐርሞን) is a special place for the fallen angels. The fallen angels plot their rebellion on its summit (1 En. 6:6). Enoch speaks to God on their behalf by the waters of Dan to its southwest (1 En. 13:7).[5] The word חרם, the Hebrew root of the name, which may refer to "a sacred place," supports the extraordinariness of the place.[6] It is resonant of Bethel, where Jacob saw a dream vision of a ladder that reached to heaven

[5] The cave of Pan was in the same area as Dan (George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001], 243).

[6] GHCL, 305; *CDGz*, 17. The name "Mount Baal-Hermon" in Judg 3:3 and 1 Chr 5:23 shows that the place is closely related to the worship of Canaanite deities. Nickelsburg argues, "The choice of place is not accidental" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 238). For a detailed information, see ibid., 238–47.

with angels going up and down it (Gen 28:10–12).[7] This section will investigate whether there appears any common aspect between Enochic Hermon and biblical Bethel.

Renaming the Place as "Hermon"

The author of the Book of the Watchers says that the original name of the mount was not Hermon (1 En. 6:6). He says that the mountain was identified with the name because the fallen angels "swore and bound themselves one another with curses (there)." He does not tell the original name as if the target audience has known of it. It is very likely that he renders the Deuteronomic name change in Deuteronomy 3:9, "The Sidonians call Hermon Sirion, while the Amorites Senir." If so, he employs and extends the Deuteronomic account for his story as he does the account of Genesis 6:1–4. It is very probable because the same author mentions "the Rephaites, the giants" two verses later (Deut 3:11; cf. 2:11).[8] The Enochic author who discusses the sexual relations between בְּנֵי־הָאֱלֹהִים and בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם that results in the birth of גִּבֹּרִים (Gen 6:4) should not have missed Deuteronomy 3:9–11, which mentions the place-name change of Mt. Hermon and the Rephaites. The Deuteronomistic author also tells Mt. Baal Hermon, which hints at the worship of the Canaanite deities there (Judg 3:3; 1 Chr 5:23).[9] The place-name change, "the Rephaites, the giants," and the sacred place for the Canaanite deities (Deut 3:9–11;

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[7] George W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Levi, and Peter: Recipients of Revelation in Upper Galilee," *JBL* 100, no. 4 (December 1981): 584; David Winston Suter, "Why Galilee? Galilean Regionalism in the Interpretation of 1 Enoch," *Henoch* 25 (2003): 202.

[8] The definitions of the terms "Deuteronomic" and "Deuteronomistic" find no consensus yet. This study abandons the distinction between the terms (Raymond F. Person, *The Deuteronomic School*, SBLStBL [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2002], 6–7).

[9] Nickelsburg says, "The place-name (Mount) Baal Hermon (Judg 3:3; 1 Chron 5:23) reflects a sobriquet of the Canaanite deity who was worshipped at Mount Hermon" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 240).

Judg 3:3; 1 Chr 5:23) very likely prompted the Enochic author to employ Mt. Hermon as the place for the fallen angels.

A Polemic between Bethel and Mt. Hermon

Jacob's dream vision account in Genesis 28:11–19 is noteworthy because it shows four significant parallels with the fallen angel tradition.[10] Both traditions speak of a dream vision (Gen 28:11–12; 1 En. 13:7–8), angels ascending and descending (Gen 28:12; 1 En. 6:6; 14:5), the gate of heaven (Gen 28:17; 1 En. 13:8),[11] and a new name giving based on the activity of angels (Gen 28:19; 1 En. 6:6). The parallels show possible employment of Jacob's dream vision account by the Enochic author. However, unlike Mt. Hermon in the Enochic tradition, Bethel in Genesis 28 is presented positively as the place where Jacob saw good angels and heard God's encouraging voice (Gen 28:13–19). The Old Testament turns out to present Bethel and Mt. Hermon in a polemic way (cf. Judg 3:3; 1 Chr 5:23). It is notable that Mt. Hermon had been a sacred place for different ethnic groups during the Second Temple period.[12] It is very likely that the negative presentation of Mt. Hermon by the Old Testament (cf. Judg 20:18, 27; 1 Sam 10:3) and the Gentile use of the place as the sacred place for Gentile deities at the Second Temple period caused the Enochic author to utilize Mt. Hermon as the place for the fallen angels in contrast with Bethel in his story.[13]

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[10] Daniel Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch*, SVTP 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 40–41.

[11] The Hebrew text of 1 En. 13:8 in 4Q204 4:4 says that Enoch lifted his eyes to the gates of the heavenly temple: [. . . יכל]ה לתרעי (ibid., 40n79).

[12] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 240, 247.

[13] Olson, *A New Reading of the Animal Apocalypse*, 39–42.

Summary

The Deuteronomic literature speaks of the place-name change to Mt. Hermon with the mention of the giant Rephaites and the association of the place with the worship of the Canaanite deities. The area was also the sacred place for many deities at the time of the Enochic author. It is very likely that they prompted the Enochic author to employ Mt. Hermon as the place for the fallen angels. In the actual composition of his story, he seems to have employed not only the Deuteronomistic history but also Jacob's dream vision in a polemical way. The view gets support from four parallels between Jacob's dream vision and the fallen angel tradition: dream visions, angels ascending and descending, the gate of heaven, and the place name change based on the activity of angels.

Forbidden Intermarriage

The birth of the hybrid giants from the union between the fallen angels and human females is a significant theme in the Book of the Watchers (1 En. 15:2b–7). The Enochic author shows the destructive nature of intermarriage narratively.[14] Prohibited intermarriage is also a big part of the Old Testament teachings.[15] This section will survey mentions and allusions to the prohibition of intermarriage in the Torah, the Deuteronomistic history, and the post-Exilic Jewish community for comparison.

The Prohibition of Intermarriage in the Torah

The fallen angel tradition introduces the hybrid giants as መንዝራን or μαζηρέους (1 En. 10:9). The same term ממזרים is used for the children of prohibited intermarriage in

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[14] Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest," 119.

[15] Deut 7:3–4; Josh 15:63; Judg 1:21; 1 Kgs 11:1–13; Isa 2:6–9, 12–22; Ezra 9:1–10:44.

Deuteronomy 23:2.[16] It drops a hint that the two traditions are closely related to each other. The warning of intermarriage in Deuteronomy 7:3–4 confirms the relationship by providing five parallel aspects with the fallen angel tradition.

First, the portrayal of the Canaanites parallels that of the fallen angels. Moses says that the Canaanites are more powerful than the Israelites (Deut 7:1b). Similarly, the Enochic author introduces the fallen angels as more powerful than humans by telling their divine origin and possession of secret knowledge (1 En. 7:1; 8:1–3).[17]

Second, the forbidden occult activities strengthen the relationship between the Canaanites and the fallen angels. Moses warns the Israelites not to learn the Canaanite customs such as human sacrifice, divination, omen reading, soothsaying, sorcery, spell-casting, spiritual medium, and oracle seeking from the dead (Deut 18:10–11).[18] Their occult activities go well with the secret knowledge of the fallen angels such as charms, spells, cutting roots and trees, astrology, and portents (1 En. 7:1–2; 8:1–3).

Third, the intermarriage that leads to apostacy parallels that of the fallen angel tradition. Moses prohibits intermarriage because it will mislead the Israelites to serve the Canaanite gods (Deut 7:4a). Likewise, the Enochic author says that the union of human females with the fallen angels led humans to learn their secret knowledge and become their followers against God's will (1 En. 7:1; 8:1–3).

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[16] *HALOT*, 595.

[17] Collins says that the fallen angels are types or allegories of oppressive foreign rulers, who claimed to be the offspring of the gods and married Jewish women at the time of Hellenistic influence (Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism*, JSJSup 50 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996], 9).

[18] The exact meaning of each practice by the Canaanites is debatable. For their interpretation, see S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC, 3rd ed. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), 222–26; Duane L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1:1–21:9*, WBC 6A (Dallas: Word Books, 2002), 408–9.

Fourth, Moses uses the term בִּנְךָ as he prohibits intermarriage with the warning of their apostasy (Deut 7:4a), and the apostasy of the Israelite children goes well with the works of the hybrid giants. The Enochic author introduces the hybrid giants as lawbreakers as he explains their devouring people, birds, wild beasts, reptiles, and fish one after another (1 En. 7:4–5).[19] He says that they sinned against the creatures (1 En. 7:5). It is notable that he uses the verb ሐጠአ, "to sin," a legal term (cf. Lev 4:2).[20] By using the term, he brands the hybrid giants as the ones who violated the Law and stresses their lawlessness. He wants the readers to evaluate them based on the Torah observance.

Fifth, the outcome of Deuteronomic intermarriage parallels that of Enochic intermarriage. Moses says that intermarriage will kindle God's wrath to their destruction (Deut 7:4b), and the Enochic author says that it resulted in the human destruction by the Flood in God's wrath (1 En. 10:2).

The Prohibition of Intermarriage in the Deuteronomistic History

The Deuteronomistic history emphasizes the failure of the people to observe the intermarriage law. Joshua and Judges speak of the problem of the Jebusites whom the Israelites let live among them (Josh 15:63; Judg 1:21; cf. Deut 7:1).[21] They say that it has led them to serve the Jebusite gods as the Law foretold (Judg 3:6–7). The issue of

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[19] The second half of 1 En. 7:5 is generally understood as the giants having devoured *one another* (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* [Jerusalem: Makor, 1912], 18; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1976], 151; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 182). The Greek version seems to agree with the view: ἀλλήλων τὰς σάρκας κατεσθίειν. However, the verse may have meant that the hybrid giants devoured other creatures one after another. It is more likely when this study considers their killing one another as part of God's punishment later (10:9, 12; 12:5–6). Had they been devouring one another in 1 En. 7:5, God's punishing them with the internecine fight in 1 En. 10 and 12 would have been meaningless.

[20] For the use of the verb ሐጠአ in the Old Testament, see *LLA*, 757–58.

[21] Trent C. Butler, *Joshua*, WBC 7 (Dallas: Word Books, 1984), 189.

intermarriage went on through the pre-Exilic period. The major breach of the anti-intermarriage law was its deliberate breach for political gains by David and Solomon (2 Sam 3:2–5; 1 Kgs 11:1–13).[22] The Deuteronomistic author says that Solomon's breach of the intermarriage led to his demise (1 Kgs 11:1–13). The destructive nature of intermarriage is an essential theme in the pre-Exilic period. Since the people failed to observe the anti-intermarriage law, idolatry ran through Israelite life and caused them to go to Exile eventually (Isa 2:6–9, 12–22; Ezek 20:30–36). The Deuteronomistic history proves the words of Deuteronomy 7:3–4 as authoritative, and the Enochic author also proves it from a different perspective in his fallen angel tradition. The Deuteronomistic history and the fallen angel tradition are both serious about the anti-intermarriage law and work toward the same goal in their stories.

The Prohibition of Intermarriage in the Post-Exilic Jewish Community

The ban on intermarriage occupied the post-Exilic Jewish community in a big way. The Book of Ezra shows it well (Ezra 9:1–10:44). The widespread intermarriage of the post-Exilic Jewish community frustrated Ezra (9:1–3). He believed that intermarriage resulted in the Exile and would also cause the hope of restoring God's nation to go up in smoke (9:7–15). Ezra faced the problem of intermarriage with the Canaanites as the Torah and the Deuteronomistic history taught. For him, the Canaanites were in a state of menstrual flow (נִדָּה), abomination (תּוֹעֵבָה), and uncleanness (טֻמְאָה); so intermarriage would defile the covenant people (9:11–12).[23] However, the post-Exilic community was

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[22] Robert D. Bergen, *1, 2 Samuel*, NAC 7 (Nashville: Broadman& Holman, 1996), 305; Simon J. Devries, *1 Kings*, WBC 12, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2003), 143.

[23] The words Ezra used for the Canaanites are all related to sexual intercourse (cf. Lev 15:25;

already in a state of defilement (cf. Lev 15:19–33). Ezra thought, based on Deuteronomy 7:3–4 and the Deuteronomistic history (9:6–15; cf. Ezek 36:17), that it would kindle God's wrath.[24] He felt the need for cleansing the post-Exilic community of the defilement by letting go of the foreign wives. However, it was too high a task for him to do alone. Therefore, he wailed and writhed in agony for the community before God's house (10:1a). Many people witnessed him in his heartbreaking prayers, were moved, and came to his support (10:1b–4). Therefore, Ezra took definite action with their consent even to a heartless degree to command the intermarried Jews to divorce their spouses (10:5–12).

Biblical Ezra and Enochic Enoch also parallel each other.[25] Both learned about intermarriage lawbreakers indirectly (Ezra 9:1–2; 1 En. 12:1–6), interceded for them in prayer (Ezra 9:5–15; 1 En. 13:3–7), and declared intermarriage as a sin that the covenant people should not overlook (Ezra 10:7–14; 1 En. 13:10–16:4).[26] The portrayal of both Ezra and Enoch as a scribe and priest in both accounts is also a significant parallel (Ezra 7:12; cf. 1 En. 12:4; 13:4, 8).[27] The said parallels show a close relationship between Ezra and the fallen angel tradition. The Enochic author very likely employed the story of Ezra for the creation of the fallen angel tradition.

18:22). It is meaningful because Ezra is talking about the intermarriage prohibition.

[24] Loring W. Batten, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913), 332.

[25] For Suter, the fallen angels represent those who violated the purity of the priesthood in the mixed marriage (Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest," 119–24; cf. Neh 10:30–31; 13:3, 23–29; CD 5:8–10; Josephus, *Ant*. 11.7.2 §302–3; 11.8.2 §306–12). Boccaccini and Sacchi say that the expelled priests might be "the forebears of Enochism" (Gabriele Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001], 89–103; Sacchi, "The Theology of Early Enochism and Apocalyptic: The Problem of the Relation between Form and Content of the Apocalypses; the Worldview of Apocalypses," in *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini [Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2002], 85; cf. Neh 7:64–65).

[26] Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 101–2.

[27] The Book of the Watchers does not speak of Enoch as the priest explicitly, but his visit to the heavenly temple insinuates it (cf. Ezek 1–3; ibid., 101).

Summary

The Enochic author stresses the ruinous nature of intermarriage indirectly but strongly. The Old Testament emphasizes the same point in the Law, the Deuteronomic history, and Ezra. The intermarriage ban of both traditions is rooted in Deuteronomy 7:3–4. The Deuteronomistic history shows that the pre-Exilic people of God failed to observe the anti-intermarriage law, became corrupted to serve the Canaanite idols, and went to Exile in God's punishment. Similarly, the Enochic author says that the intermarriage with the fallen angels resulted in human practices of forbidden occult activities to their destruction by the Deluge at God's punishing hands. Ezra's strict measure against the intermarriage in the post-Exilic Jewish community also shows parallels with the Enochic prohibition of intermarriage. Biblical Ezra and Enochic Enoch were both a scribe and priest, dealt with intermarriage lawbreakers, prayed for them, and judged intermarriage as ruinous and, therefore, something not to be ignored. The said parallels between the biblical and Enochic bans on intermarriage show a close tie between the two traditions.

The Fallen Angels as Wakers and Watchers

The Enochic author introduces the fallen angels as "Watchers (ትጉሃን)" (1 En. 10:9), while the Aramaic author as "Wakers (עירין)" (4Q202 4:6).[28] The two terms have subtly different meanings.[29] They seem to show two types of angelic roles. The role of angels as Watchers is evident in God's rebuking the fallen angels: "You ought to petition on behalf of men, not men on behalf of you" (1 En. 15:2). The role is also detected in the

[28] The plural noun עירין is from an Aramaic participle form of עור. Its emphatic state is עיריא.

[29] The Aramaic author does not use the term מלאך, "an angel." He seems to have used the term עיר, "the one who awakes," throughout his writing because where the Ethiopic version reads ለሩፋኤል፡መልአክ, "to Rufael, the angel," the Aramaic version reads ל לעירא וקדישׁא[לרפא...] (4Q206 2 ii 5; 1 En. 22:6).

introductory words of the angelic fall; the fallen angels *saw* human females (1 En. 6:1–2). The angelic role of the Waking One refers to an angel's helping a person understand heavenly secrets. Therefore, Enochic Enoch comes to know everything about hidden things because עירין show them to him (4Q212 3:21–22; cf. 4Q206 2 ii 5; 4Q206 4 19). The angelic role appears in 1 Enoch 17–36. This section will survey the Old Testament and see if it carries the angelic roles of **ʾyṣn** and עירין, and, if so, to what degree they are related to the fallen angel tradition under two headings: the angelic role as Wakers and the angelic role as Watchers.

The Angelic Role as Wakers

Zechariah gives an account that seems to lead to the conceptual development of the angelic role of the Waking One. The post-Exilic prophet Zechariah received eight night-visions (Zech 1:1–6:8). In the introductory part of the fifth vision, he says that the angel, who left him for a while, returned and woke him: וַיָּעֵרֵנִי (Zech 4:1). The verb is from the same root עור as used for angels in 1 Enoch 10:9 and 22:6 of the Aramaic version. Having woken Zechariah, the angel asked him, מָה אַתָּה רֹאֶה, to give him an interpretation of his vision (Zech 4:2). Therefore, the waking was not to arise the prophet from normal sleep but from his "ordinary and normal state" to enter a visionary state again.[30] The prophet is a seer, and the angel is עיר, "he who wakes." The angel helped the prophet see and understand a vision. Therefore, the role of an angel as עיר in Zechariah 4:1–2 becomes an account in which the later generations might develop the concept of angels as Wakers.

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[30] Hinckley G. Mitchell, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai and Zechariah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), 161.

The Angelic Role as Watchers

Song of Songs provides an account to cause the concept of angels as Watchers (Song 5:1–7). The עיר may also mean "a guard" or "a city." The two meanings are closely related to each other. Therefore, the author talks about "the watchers who go about the city (הַשֹּׁמְרִים הַסֹּבְבִים בָּעִיר)" (Song 3:3).[31] City watchmen stay up all night guarding the city until dawn breaks (Ps 130:6; Isa 62:6).[32]

It is noteworthy that the author introduces the violence of sentinels against a woman (Song 5:2–7).[33] The woman was asleep undressed but could not fall into a deep sleep because of her desire for her lover (5:2–3). She had a fantasizing dream, in which her lover stood at the door knocking and pleading to let him in her house by night, while she was sleeping undressed (5:2). At first, she did not know what to do, whether she would open the door for him or not (5:3). Eventually, she decided to open the door for him (5:4). She got out of her bed, went to the door, and opened the door for her lover in a hypnopompic state (5:5). When she found her lover was not at the door, she threw "a spread-out cloth (רְדִידִי)" hurriedly over her naked body, and went out to wander through streets looking for him still in a hypnopompic state (5:6).[34] Then she met a group of city

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[31] The author's intended meaning in Song 3:3 is debatable. "Four approaches are possible: the literal, the cultic, the dream, and the symbolic" (Duane A. Garrett, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs*, NAC 14 [Nashville: Broadman& Holman, 1993], 396). However, this study views the literal meaning as displaying the ancient practice.

[32] The Enochic authors mention the sentinel-like role of angels near the throne of God (1 En. 14:23; 39:12; 71:7).

[33] Scholars usually interpret Song 5:2–8 metaphorically about the wedding night (Garrett, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs*, 203–15). However, this study understands it literally.

[34] Garrett does not dismiss the possibility of a dream entirely but strongly against it because of the word ער (ibid., 206). However, ער, "to wake," indicates entering a visionary state (Zech 4:1). To ancient minds, a dream was not subconscious imagination during sleep but a divine communication in a visionary state (J. H. Hunt, "Dreams" in *DOTP*, 197–98). Therefore, it makes sense for the author of Song of Songs to say, "I was asleep, but my heart [mind] was awake" (Song 5:2).

watchers (שֹׁמְרִים) (5:7a). It was not the first time that she was sleepless, wandered through streets, and met city sentinels (cf. 3:1–4). However, they beat and wounded her and took away her spread-out cloth instead of taking her back to her home safe this time (5:7b). The city watchmen's taking away her cover seems to have a sexual connotation.

The corrupted watchmen parallel the fallen angels in four aspects (1 En. 6:1–2). First, they watched over people as the fallen angels did over humans. Second, they had seen the woman previously as the fallen angels saw the birth of fair and beautiful females before their fall. Third, they left their position to commit crimes opposite to their duties as the fallen angels left heaven and came down to earth. Fourth, they committed a crime against the woman as the fallen angels took the human females as their wives. Song of Songs mentions no angel, but the parallels between the city watchmen and the fallen angels show that the corrupted watchmen in Song of Songs very likely became a story source for the fallen angel tradition.

Summary

The Ethiopic and Aramaic versions of the Book of the Watchers introduce the fallen angels as Watchers and Wakers. They reflect two types of angelic roles. The Old Testament has accounts reminiscent of the roles. Zechariah shows the angelic role as the Waker in an angel's helping the prophet see and understand visions. Song of Songs talks about no angel but provides the concept of Watchers. It is noteworthy that the corrupted watchmen parallel the fallen angels strikingly. They were the guardians of the safety of the community, but seeing a woman wandering through streets vulnerable at nights, they committed a crime against her. Song of Songs very likely contributed to the formation of the angelic fall in the Book of the Watchers.

The Fallen Angels as an Army of God

The fallen angels are two hundred in total (1 En. 6:6). They are hierarchical. Semyaz is their leader (ሠመልኣከሙ) with chiefs of tens under him (6:7–8).[35] The Enochic author rephrases them as the transgressing stars or power of heaven (1 En. 18:14).[36] The term ኀይለ, "power," indicates that the fallen angels are a heavenly army. It is compatible with the Hebrew term חַיִל, which refers to an Aramaic army in 2 Kings 6:14.[37] Then, they have an army-like system of rank. This section will survey if the Old Testament carries the same concept and provides any meaningful information about its relationship with the fallen angel tradition.

A Group of Angels as a Heavenly Army

The Old Testament authors often introduce a group of angels as an army of God. The titles of God such as אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת (Jer 5:14) and יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (1 Sam 1:3) display it well.[38] The term צְבָאוֹת refers to armies (Deut 20:9). The noun צָבָא for "war" (Josh 22:12) and verb root צבא for "to go to war" (Num 31:7) show its close relationship with military activity. Joshua talks about a chief of an angelic army. Joshua met an angel near Jericho, and the angel introduced himself to Joshua as שַׂר־צְבָא־יְהוָה (Josh 5:14). Here the singular noun צבא is a collective noun and refers to an army. The angel leading an angelic army goes well with the figure of Semyaz commanding his two hundred angels (1 En. 6:7–8).

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[35] The meaning of "chiefs of tens" may be debatable because of the textual corruption in the Ethiopic text. However, the Greek version and the fragment of a Dead Sea Scroll (4Q201 3:13) support it strongly: ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ δέκα and רבני עס[ר]תא (Knibb, *EBE*, 2:76; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 175–76).

[36] This study views both "stars" and "power of heaven" are identified because the Enochic author explains the meaning of the "stars" only (1 En. 18:15).

[37] *CDGz*, 269.

[38] The Hebrew noun צְבָאוֹת in the phrase יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת is translated into the Ethiopic noun ኀይለ in 2 Sam 6:18 (*LLA*, 609).

An Army System

The chiefs of tens in the Book of the Watchers is resonant of the Israelite rank system of "officials over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens" (Exod 18:25). However, the position of Semyaz as the leader of two hundred angels reflects a military company in ancient Egypt. The ancient Egypt's army corps consisted of 4,000 infantrymen divided into twenty companies of between 200 and 250 men each.[39] The Enochic author seems to have linked the fallen angels to a military company of ancient Egypt.

The view is likely for two reasons. First, the Exodus was the central theme of the Old Testament and Second Temple Judaism.[40] Second, the Enochic author and his target audience knew of a military system of Egypt. There are three pieces of evidence again that they knew of it. First, the Israelites were in Egypt for about 400 years before the Exodus. It shows that they had been in Egypt long enough to know of her ancient military system. It is very likely that the knowledge was transmitted to later generations. Second, the Old Testament authors tell that the Israelites in Palestine knew of it. A leader of fifties in the Israelite rank system in Exodus 18:25 seems to reflect a subdivision of an Egyptian military company: "Within each of company the soldiers were further broken down into units of 50 men."[41] David's temple guard consisted of 4,000 men (1 Chr 23:4). The number is resonant of an ancient Egyptian corps. Solomon may also have known of Egypt's military systems because his wisdom was said to have excelled all the wisdom of Egypt (1 Kgs 4:30). Third, Jewish communities in Egypt in the Second Temple period

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[39] Mark Healy, *The Warrior Pharaoh: Rameses II and the Battle of Qadesh* (Oxford: Osprey, 1993), 37.

[40] Sarna argues based on the statistic that the Exodus theme is central in Judaism; the Hebrew Bible refers it about 120 times outside Exodus (Nahum M. Sarna, "Exodus, Book of," in *ABD*, 2:698).

[41] Healy, *The Warrior Pharaoh*, 37.

also hint at the Jewish knowledge of ancient Egypt's military system. The author of Letter of Aristeas speaks of Ptolemy I Soter who took about a hundred thousand of Jews captive to Egypt and settled thirty thousand of these in garrisons in the country districts (Let. Aris. 12–13).

Summary

The Enochic author introduces the fallen angels as an angelic army under the leadership of Semyaz. The target audience was familiar with the concept of a group of angels as God's army because the Old Testament authors said that God was the God of צְבָאוֹת, Joshua met a chieftain of an angelic army, and Elisha saw an angelic cavalry protecting him against an Aramaic cavalry. With the two hundred fallen angels, the Enochic author likely had in mind a military company in ancient Egypt and related the fallen angels to Egyptian deities God punished in Exodus because the Exodus was the central theme in Second Temple Judaism, and the author and his target audience knew of ancient Egypt's military systems. It is very likely that the author employed the Exodus as his story source including an ancient Egypt's military system.

The Names of the Fallen Angels

The names of the fallen angels in 1 Enoch 6:7–8 are noteworthy because they are absent in the Old Testament.[42] This study will investigate if they are foreign to the Old Testament under three headings: the meanings of the names, the categories of the names, and the naming practice. The meanings of their names are to reveal the Enochic naming patterns. Then they will be compared with those of the Old Testament authors to

[42] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels*, WUNT 335 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 82.

see if they are foreign to them and imported from outside at the time of writing the fallen angel tradition.

The Meanings of the Names

The different versions of the Book of the Watchers reveal that the names and order of the fallen angels are "rather corrupt and confused," but the Aramaic fragments from Qumran Cave 4 have helped scholars to recover them (4Q201 3:6–12; 4Q202 2:16–17; 4Q204 2:24–29).[43] There are nineteen names in all in 1 Enoch 6:7.[44] The table below shows their names and meanings.

Order	**Aramaic Names**	**Meanings**	**Transliterated Ethiopic Names**
1st	שׂמיחזה	His sight is solid.[45]	Sameyāzā
2nd	ארעתקף	The earth is power.	'Urākibarāmē'ēle or La'ārākēb
3rd	רמטאל	Darkness of God[46]	Rāmē'ēle
4th	כוכבאל	Star of God	Kokabe'ēle or 'Akibē'ēle
5th	רעמאל	Thunder of God	Rāmu'ēle

[43] Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 152. For the Aramaic texts, see *DSSSE*, 400–7, 412–13. It is almost a scholarly consensus that the Book of the Watchers was originally written in Aramaic (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 9). The names of two fallen angels support it: ארעתקף and רמטאל. The ארע component in the former means "earth." The רמט component in the latter has no compatible Hebrew root but is similar to an Aramaic noun רמוט, "sleep," or רמוטה, "darkness." For the meanings, see *DSAr*, 836–37. Therefore, this study gets all the meanings of the fallen angels' names from Aramaic.

[44] Both the Ethiopic and Aramaic texts display Semyaz and other eighteen "chiefs of tens" while Semyaz and twenty "chiefs of tens" are anticipated from the context. The discrepancy seems to have caused the corruption and confusion of different versions. Knibb's Ethiopic text lists the eighteen names. A variant text divides the second name 'Urākibarāmē'ē(le) into two names to make nineteen names and to make Sameyāzā become a chief of tens. See Knibb, *EBE*, 1:16. The Aramaic fragments list nineteen names. Therefore, both texts have only nineteen names at the most. However, the author of the Book of Parables introduces Semyaz and twenty chiefs of tens (1 En. 69:2). About a half of their names are from the Aramaic list of names. The Book of Parables unlikely carries the original list specifically because the book is the most recent Enochic writing. It is notable that the Book of Parables includes Azazel (1 En. 8:1) as one chief of tens. It shows a later try to square the list of the chiefs of tens with twenty.

[45] The meaning of שׂמיחזה is from the Aramaic חזו, "sight" (*DSAr*, 259) or חזיה, "seeing" (*DQAr*, 81). The Aramaic שׂמי may mean not only "name" but also "fatness" or "solid" (*DSAr*, 907).

[46] The name רמטאל very likely comes from אל, "deity," and רמוטה, "darkness." See *DSAr*, 837.

6th	דניאל	Dan of God[47]	Dāne’ēle
7th	זיקיאל	Call of God[48]	’Ēzēqē’ēle
8th	ברקאל	Lightning of God[49]	Barāqiyale or Sarāq^{w}iyāle
9th	עשׂאל	Manufacture of God[50]	’Asā’ēle
10th	חרמוני	Hermon (of God)	’Aremerese
11th	מטראל	Rain of God	Baṭera’ale
12th	ענאל	Cloud of God	’Anāne’ē(le)
13th	סתוראל	Destruction of God	Zaqē’el or Zaqēb’ē(le)
14th	שׂמשׂיאל	Labor of God[51]	Samesāpe’ēle
15th	שׂהריאל	Months of God	Sareta’ēle
16th	תמיאל	Anxiety of God[52]	Ṭāmi’ēle[53]
17th	טוריאל	Mountains of God	Ṭure’ēle
18th	ימיאל	Days of God	Yomeyā’ēle
19th	יהדיאל	Adornment of God[54]	’Arāzeyāle

The Categories of the Names

The meanings of the angelic names show five types. The first type likely explains events associated with the angelic fall: שׂמיחזה, “his sight is solid,” and ארעתקף, “the earth is power.” The first name likely refers to the angelic fixation of eyes on an earthly life (1 En. 6:3), and the second name to angelic desire and descent for the earthly

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[47] The name דניאל has the same structure as חרמוני, “Hermon [of God].”

[48] The זיקי component in זיקיאל has no compatible Aramaic root. The closest one is זיעקה, “cry, call,” with the addition of ע between י and ק. Therefore, this study takes it for the meaning. The letters ע and ה are often associated with “e” sound, as in מֹשֶׁה and הֶעֱמִיד. It explains the two “e” sounds in ’Ēzēqē’ēle.

[49] Barāqiyale taught people how to read stars (1 En. 8:3), so his name might have something to do with shooting stars. However, ancient people may have identified a shooting star and lightning.

[50] The Aramaic word עשׂי means “making.” Its noun is עשׂה (*DSAr*, 667). 4Q201 3:9 reads it as עסאל, while 4Q204 2:26 as עשׂאל. This study prefers עסאל as the original reading. However, the meaning is unknown, so this study uses the meaning of עשׂאל here. For the preference of עסאל, see footnote 62.

[51] The meaning of the name שׂמשׂיאל is from the Aramaic noun שׂמשׂ, “work,” or שׂמשׂה, “labor.”

[52] The meaning of the name תמיאל is from the Aramaic noun תמה, “anxiety.”

[53] The Ethiopic text list Ṭāmi’ēle in the fourth or fifth.

[54] The meaning of the name יהדיאל is uncertain. This study reads it as יהריאל replacing ד with ר because the Ethiopic text reads it as አራዝያል or ’Arāzeyāle. The Aramaic יהר means “beauty” (*DSAr*, 337).

life (1 En. 6:2; 9:8). The second type is meteorological and likely refers to those responsible for irregular weather conditions (cf. 1 En. 5:2–3; 60:11–23): רמטאל, "darkness of God," רעמאל, "thunder of God," ברקאל, "lightning of God," מטראל, "rain of God," and ענאל, "cloud of God." The third type is astronomical and likely refers to those responsible for irregular seasons (cf. 1 En. 18:15; 75:3): כוכבאל, "star of God," שהריאל, "months of God," and ימיאל, "days of God." The fourth type is geographical and likely refers to those who provided the place for the rebellious plot (cf. 1 En. 6:6): דניאל, "Dan of God," חרמוני, "Hermon (of God)," and טוריאל, "mountains of God." The fifth type likely refers to those who affected human behaviors (1 En. 7:1b; 8:1–4): זיקיאל, "call of God," עשאל, "manufacture of God," סתוראל, "destruction of God," שמשיאל, "labor of God," תמיאל, "anxiety of God," and יהריאל, "adornment of God."

The Naming Practice

The names show two types of naming practices: event- and duty-related. The first two names are event-related, and the rest are duty-related. The latter names are again divided into two subcategories: local and functional names. The local names refer to angels associated with earthly places. The functional names refer to angels associated with the season, weather, or behavior.

Naming Types	**Sub-categories**	**Sub-sub-categories**	**Order in the E.T.**	**Aramaic Names**	**Meanings**
Event-related			1	שמיחזה	"His sight is solid."
			2	ארעתקף	"The earth is power."
Duty-related	Local	Earthly places	6	דניאל	"Dan of God"
			10	חרמוני	"Hermon of God"
			17	טוריאל	"Mountains of God"
	Functional	Weather-related	3	רמטאל	"Darkness of God"
			3	רעמאל	"Thunder of God"
			8	ברקאל	"Lightning of God"
			11	מטראל	"Rain of God"

			12	עננאל	“Cloud of God”
		Season-related	4	כוכבאל	“Star of God”
			15	שׁהריאל	“Months of God”
			18	ימיאל	“Days of God”
		Behavior-related	7	זיקיאל	“Call of God”
			9	עשׂאל	“Manufacture of God”
			13	סתוראל	“Destruction of God”
			14	שׁמשׁיאל	“Labor of God”
			16	תמיאל	“Anxiety of God”
			19	יהריאל	“Adornment of God”

The naming methods in the fallen angel tradition are not foreign to the authors of the Old Testament for three reasons. First, personal names in the Old Testament are often associated with events as the first two angelic names are. Jacob got his name because he came out of his mother’s womb with his hand gripping his twin brother’s עָקֵב, “heel” (Gen 25:26). He obtained a new name Israel after he had שָׂרָה, “wrestled,” with God (Gen 32:28). The name Moses is also event-related and given when Pharaoh’s daughter מָשָׁה, “drew,” him out of the Nile (Exod 2:10).[55]

Second, the Old Testament authors did not identify angels with names associated with natural phenomena or nature but knew of the naming practice for two reasons. One reason is that Ugaritians and Egyptians named deities with the formula “god of the sun,” “god of rain,” and so on.[56] The other reason is that the naming formula reflects the titles of God such as אֵל עֶלְיוֹן, “God of the Most High,” אֵל רֳאִי, “God of

[55] The Egyptian word *mes* means “a child” (*HALOT*, 642; *EgHD*, 321). When the princess saw the baby Moses, she seems to have exclaimed, “It is a child!” in Egyptian. The ancient Jews seem to have understood it as מׁשׁוה, “the one who is drawn out.” Then the Pentateuchal author gave a theological meaning changing it to מֹשֶׁה, “the one who draws out,” which indicates a savior.

[56] Egypt had Ra as the god of the sun, Khonsu as the god of the moon, Geb as the god of the earth, Nut as the god of sky, Set as the god of the desert, Nephthys as the river goddess, and Shu as the god of wind. Ugarit had *il ṣpn* as the god of mountain (Sang Youl Cho, *Lesser Deities in the Ugaritic Texts and the Hebrew Bible*, DAAW 2 [Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2007], 12, 12n14), *dr dt šmm* as a group of deities in heaven (ibid., 14), and *pḫr k[b]kbm* as a group of deities in charge of celestial bodies (ibid., 16).

Perception," אֵל שַׁדַּי, "God of Almighty," and אֵל עוֹלָם, "God of Duration."[57] The author of Pentateuch seems to have suppressed the practice of naming angels with the formula for a theological reason. God is in control of everything and uses his angels as his servants. Angels are not themselves identified with the elements of nature or natural phenomena (cf. 1 En. 18:1). The suppressed naming practice is reflected in the Enochic names. The Enochic author uses the formula "rain of God" rather than "god of rain." He is in the same line of thought as the Old Testament authors. However, his approach seems different in 1 Enoch 18:14 from in the other places. There the author identifies angels with stars: "This is the prison for the stars of heaven and the host of heaven" (1 En. 18:14b).[58] It is notable that a similar concept appears in Psalm 104:4. The psalmist surfaces the suppressed practice by saying, עֹשֶׂה מַלְאָכָיו רוּחוֹת מְשָׁרְתָיו אֵשׁ לֹהֵט, "God makes his angels as winds and his servants as a flaming fire." God transforms his angels into winds and flaming fire, which reflects accounts in Ugaritic myths.[59] Here angels are identified with elements of nature. Then the inconsistency in 1 Enoch 18:14b also has a precedent in the Old Testament.

Third, the names in association with behaviors go well with the Old Testament names such as מְחוּיָאֵל, "affliction of God,"[60] and קְמוּאֵל, "gathering of God"

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[57] For the titles of God, see Gen 14:18; 16:13; 17:1; 21:33.

[58] Nickelsburg says, "That the stars are in some sense personified is a long-standing tradition in the ancient Near East and the Hellenistic world" (Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 288).

[59] In an Ugaritic myth, Yam sent his messengers to El, and they appear as flaming fires before the divine assembly (*KTU* 1.2 i 32; John C. L. Gibson and G. R. Driver, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 2nd ed. [London: T. & T. Clark International, 2004], 42; Cho, *Lesser Deities in the Ugaritic Texts*, 174–79). It is noteworthy that Yam's messengers are called *ml'ak* (*KTU* 1.2 i 26).

[60] The name מְחוּיָאֵל takes the same formula as that of the fallen angel סתוראל. The Aramaic word מחה means "plague" (*DQAr*, 136), and the word מחו means "beating, striking" (*DSAr*, 400).

(Gen 4:18; 22:21). Titles of God, such as אֵל רָאִי, "God of Perception," and יְהוָה צִדְקֵנוּ, "YHWH of Our Righteousness," also reflect the behavior-related name-giving practice (Gen 16:13; Jer 23:6).

In conclusion, the Enochic naming methods are all in the Old Testament, although the actual names of the fallen angels are absent there.[61]

Summary

The Enochic author introduces nineteen angelic names in 1 Enoch 6:7. The meanings of their Aramaic names show five types. They are produced from two major types of naming methods: the event- and duty-related. The naming methods are all found in the Old Testament. The actual names of the Enochic angels are absent there probably because the theme of angelic activities was never the focus of the Old Testament authors unlike in the fallen angel tradition. The Enochic author did not necessarily confer with outside sources to create his angelic names. The view gets support from the Enochic author's angelological concept in the same line as that of the Old Testament authors; angels are not identified with natural phenomena or elements of nature. Even when the concept is inconsistent (1 En. 18:14b), the Old Testament has a parallel (Ps 104:4). In conclusion, the list of angelic names in 1 Enoch 6:7 does not reflect the Enochic author's conferring with outside sources. They merely display the author's creative invention for his story within Old Testament practices.

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[61] The Enochic and Old Testament naming formula such as "rain of God" does not appear in the Pantheistic faith of ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia. The names of their deities related to nature or natural phenomena do not contain the name of their supreme deity as their owner. Therefore, their deities in charge of nature or a natural phenomenon have particular names, or nature or a natural phenomenon is itself their names. For example, the Sumerian sky god is An/Anu, "sky," or An-shar, "the whole sky," but the moon god is Sin, "aromatic wood." It is notable that the god of wisdom and earth is En-ki, "the lord of earth." For the meanings of the said names, see *SumL*, 6, 10, 35, 78.

Mysterious "Azazel"

Azazel takes a significant role in the fallen angel tradition (1 En. 8:1; 9:6; 10:4–8). He teaches humans weaponry, adornment, and make-up (8:1), which leads to the destruction of the whole earth by the Flood (10:8). Therefore, he is branded as the evil teacher of all iniquity on earth (9:6). He is bound and thrown into the dark subterranean prison in a desert, called Dudael (10:4–5; cf. 88:1), until the great day of judgment (10:6). It is noteworthy that Leviticus 16 mentions Azazel four times in the instruction for the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:8, 10, 26).[62] There the high priest prepares two goats for the Israelites on the Day of Atonement (Lev 16:8). One is sacrificed to God (16:9). Then the other is sent away alive to Azazel into the wilderness (16:10, 21). This section will survey Levitical Azazel to see if he is related to Enochic Azazel under three subjects: Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel, the problem of the atonement motif, and Hittite scapegoat rituals for the transference of sins.

Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel

Levitical Azazel parallels Enochic Azazel in three ways. First, Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel are both "some type of being" (Lev 16:8; 1 En. 8:1).[63] Second, all the Israelite sins sent to Levitical Azazel (Lev 16:10) parallel the attribution

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[62] The Pentateuchal name עֲזָאזֵל reflects the Ethiopic name ʾAzāzeʾēle (1 En. 8:1). The Ethiopic text distinguishes Azazel from a chief of tens with a similar name ʾAsāʾēle in 1 En. 6:7. The distinction of the two names in the Aramaic version is debatable because of the fragmentary character of the extant texts. 4Q201 3:9 names the chief of tens as עסאל, while 4Q204 2:26 as עשׂאל. This study views Asael (አሳኤል; עסאל) as a chief of tens (1 En. 6:7), and Azazel (አዛዝኤል; עשׂאל) as the fallen angel who taught weaponry and beatification (1 En. 8:1). It is notable that Azazel in Lev 16 is עזאזל, and the verb አዘዘ may mean "instruct" (*CDGz*, 145; *LLA*, 792–93). It seems to have caused the original עשׂאל to become አዛዝኤ.

[63] Hartley argues persuasively that Azazel should be "a being" with two reasons (John E. Hartley, *Leviticus*, WBC 4 [Dallas: Word Books, 1992], 237). First, the phrase "for Azazel" parallels the phrase "for YHWH" (Lev 16:8). Second, if Azazel is a place name, the mention of the place name ארץ גזרה, to which the goat went, is out of place (Lev 16:22).

of all iniquity on the earth to Enochic Azazel (1 En. 9:6).[64] Third, Levitical Azazel's dwelling place in the wilderness (Lev 16:10) parallels Enochic Azazel's confinement in the desert called Dudael (1 En. 10:4).[65] Azazel as the spiritual entity responsible for all human sins with his abode in the wilderness is a shared concept between the two figures. The annual *yom kippur* ritual based on Leviticus 16 very likely caused an extended story of Enochic Azazel.[66]

The Problem of the Atonement Motif

The lack of the atonement motif in the Book of the Watchers does not dismiss the close ties between the two figures.[67] A shared theological motif is unnecessary for an account to be the source for another account. A different motif can be developed from a source material. This study learned in the previous chapter that the Book of the Watchers spoke of the role of the evil spirits as misleading and destroying people, but the Epistle of Enoch said that they were worthless idols (1 En. 99:7) and exerted no influence upon humans (1 En. 98:4). Influence requires no shared motif. Besides, the ritual of sending

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[64] The goat for Azazel bears the sins of the people (Davies, "The Origin of Evil in Ancient Judaism," 47). This study will discuss it below.

[65] The scapegoat for Azazel was sent הַמִּדְבָּרָה, "toward the wilderness." Wright argues that Azazel should be a place name because Lev 16:8 LXX reads τῷ ἀποπομπαίῳ instead of Azazel (Wright, *OES*, 114, 116), but the Greek term is a translation of the Hebrew name. See the root עזל, "to take away" in GHCL, 617. It does not necessarily support its being a desert. Wright argues that the phrase לַעֲזָאזֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה should mean "Azazel, the desert" in Lev 16:10 (Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits*, 115). However, the final ה in the phrase לַעֲזָאזֵל הַמִּדְבָּרָה should be dropped to get his meaning. The ה ending is significant because it "indicates direction and stands in place of a prefixed ל" (Bruce K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 32). Besides, the usual Hebrew expression for "toward Azazel, the desert" is המדברה עזאזל or עזאזלה המדברה (cf. Lev 16:22; 1 Kgs 14:17; 19:15; GKC, 249).

[66] Paul D. Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96, no. 2 (June 1977): 222, 224. David P. Wright argues that the Azazel ritual is a pre-Priestly form of the rite and appears in Leviticus in a repressed manner "due to popular belief which would not allow total expunging of the personality" (David P. Wright, "Azazel [Heb ʿăzāʾzēl (עֲזָאזֵל)]," in *ABD*, 1:537).

[67] Wright denies a tie between Lev 16 and 1 En. 10:4 based on the motif (Wright, *OES*, 111).

the second goat alive to Azazel in Leviticus 16:21–22 is not about atonement. Although the people's sins are laid on the head of the goat using confession, the goat is not killed for their sins. It is not an expiatory goat. It simply carries the people's sins to Azazel: "The goat shall *bear* on itself all their iniquities (נָשָׂא הַשָּׂעִיר עָלָיו אֶת־כָּל־עֲוֹנֹתָם) to an unfertile land" (Lev 16:22). Carrying the iniquities of the people does not necessarily indicate atonement. Hittite scapegoat rituals display the view well.

Hittite Scapegoat Rituals for the Transference of Sins

Hittite scapegoat rituals to counteract plague in a battlefield demonstrates the meaning of transferring sins to the source. The survey on Hittite rituals is meaningful in that the ancient minds believed that sin and plague were closely related.[68]

According to the Puliša's ritual,[69] when a Hittite war camp contracted a plague during the war, Hittites would take two prisoners of war from the enemy's land. One is a male prisoner; the other is a female prisoner. The male prisoner is for the male deity of the enemy's land responsible for the plague, and the female prisoner is for the female deity of the enemy's land responsible for the plague. Since they are not sure of the identity of the deity causing the plague, they send both male and female prisoners. After some rituals, they would send them back to their land with an adorned bull for the male deity and an adorned ewe for the female deity running in front. The ritual includes a piece of prayerful words as follows: "[Let] this prisoner be[ar] the plague and transport (it) ba[ck into the land of the enemy]." "Let [th]is bull carry [this plague] back into the land

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[68] See the introduction of "Plague Prayers of Muršili II," trans. Gary Beckman (*COS* 1.60:156–60).

[69] "Puliša's Ritual against Plague," trans. Billie Jean Collins (*COS* 1.62:161).

of the enemy." The prisoners of war and animals serve as the vessels that carry and return the plague to its source. In the Ašḫella's ritual, rams would be carriers of a plague.[70] Before Hittites send the rams to the enemy territory, leaders would first lay their hands on the rams with some ritualistic words that include, "Whoever finds them, may that land receive this evil plague." The Hittite ritual was to load the plague on the rams and return it to the patron deity of the enemy land responsible for the plague.

Therefore, Aaron's ritual of laying hands on a goat and dispatching it to Azazel in the wilderness is to load all the people's sins on the goat and return them to Azazel, the author of their sins, for a new beginning of the year. Aaron's sending the second goat to Azazel is not to atone the people's sins; the sacrifice of the first goat before the dispatch rite of the second goat to Azazel is. Therefore, Leviticus 16:15 says concerning the first goat, וְשָׁחַט אֶת־שְׂעִיר הַחַטָּאת אֲשֶׁר לָעָם, "Then he shall slaughter the goat of the sin offering which is for the people." The second goat for Azazel is to return people's sins to their source for a fresh start of the new year.

Summary

Azazel is peculiar among the fallen angels. His name appears four times in Leviticus 16. Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel share concepts with each other: both are beings responsible for all human sins with their abode in the desert. The argument against a relationship between the two names based on the lack of the atonement motif in Enochic Azazel is weak for two reasons. First, employing a source does not require the same motif. Second, Aaron's dispatching the second goat to Levitical Azazel is not itself

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[70] David P. Wright, *The Disposal of Impurity*, SBLDS 101 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 50–51.

to atone the sins of the Israelites but to attribute and return all the people's sins to the source for a fresh start of a new year. Hittite scapegoat rituals prove the concept well. Therefore, Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel are closely related to each other. It is very likely that the former caused the latter.

Angelic Corruption and Judgment

The angelic corruption and judgment are an essential message in the Book of the Watchers. The theme is reminiscent of three passages in the Old Testament. First, the Pentateuchal author speaks of the death of Egypt's firstborn as God's punishing the Egyptian deities (Exod 12:12; Num 33:4). Second, Isaiah talks about God's throwing corrupted angels and earthly rulers under their influence into a subterranean pit (Isa 24:21–22; cf. 14:12–15). Third, a psalmist speaks of a judicial session held in God's heavenly court to deal with a group of corrupted angelic beings (Ps 82:1–8). This section will survey the said Old Testament accounts to see if to what degree they are related to the fallen angel tradition.

The Punishment of the Egyptian Patron Angels

The Pentateuchal author speaks of God apportioning the earth to the nations according to the number of his sons (Deut 32:8, 43 LXX).[71] The sons of God there are usually interpreted as the patron angels for the nations because the following verse talks about God the patron of Israel in contrast with them (Deut 32:9).[72] The same author tells

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[71] For the superiority of "the sons of God," see Peter C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 378n18; Michael S. Heiser, "Deuteronomy 32:8 and the Sons of God," *BSac* 158 (January–March 2001): 52–74.

[72] Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 356; Christensen, *Deuteronomy 21:10–34:12*, 796, 806.

God's punishing the Egyptian deities in the death of Egypt's firstborn (Exod 12:12; Num 33:4).[73] Then it is very likely that the Exodus plague narratives portray the corruption of the Egyptian patron angels that God appointed and his punishing them for their wrongs. Three parallels between the Exodus and the fallen angel tradition are meaningful.

First, the Egyptian deities parallel the fallen angels in four ways. First, they were the patron angels of the Egyptians (Deut 32:8; cf. 1 En. 6:1–2).[74] Second, they imparted Egyptians secret knowledge. The appearance of the Egyptian sorcerers and magicians with their secret arts displays it (Exod 7:11, 22; 8:1; cf. 1 En. 7:1). Third, they turned the Egyptians away from God. It is well seen in Pharaoh's blasphemy against God, "Who is YHWH that I should obey his voice to release Israel?" (Exod 5:2; cf. 1 En. 7:1; 8:1–4). Pharaoh was no worshipper of God. Fourth, they were punished for their rebellion as already said (Exod 12:12; Num 33:4; cf. 1 En. 10:1–14).

Second, the figure of Pharaoh parallels the hybrid giants in three ways. First, Pharaoh is the offspring of a deity and a human female as the hybrid giants.[75] Second, Pharaoh's persecution of the Israelites (Exod 1–2) parallels the atrocity of the hybrid giants (1 En. 7:3–6). Third, the Israelite outcry to God at Pharaoh's atrocity (Exod 2:23) parallels the human outcry to heaven at the atrocity of the hybrid giants (1 En. 8:4).

Third, the implications of three major events in the Exodus are found in the fallen angel tradition. First, God's punishment of the Egyptian deities in the death of

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[73] John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC 3 (Dallas: Word Books, 1987), 154; John D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), 108–9.

[74] The Enochic fallen angels watched the birth of beautiful human females and desired a human life (1 En. 6:1–2). It insinuates that they were originally patron angels and, eventually, misled Gentile nations to worship them with forbidden practices.

[75] Pharaoh was thought to be the hybrid offspring born from the union of a deity and a queen mother (Henry Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948], 299).

Egypt's firstborn parallels his punishing the fallen angels by killing the hybrid giants in their internecine fight (1 En. 10:9). Second, God's drowning Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea (Exod 14) parallels his drowning the human followers of the fallen angels by the Flood (1 En. 10:15–16). Third, the Red Sea crossing as a process for redeeming the Israelites and leading into God's holy dwelling (Exod 15:13) parallels the Enochic Deluge as God's cleansing the earth (1 En. 10:20, 22) and the survivors' entering God's blessing (1 En. 11:1–3).

The Punishment of Patron Angles and Earthly Rulers

The concept of God's punishing angelic beings also appears in Isaiah 24:21–22, where the prophet declares God's punishment of both heavenly hosts and earthly rulers:[76] "On that day YHWH will visit (in his indignation) on the heavenly host on high and the earthly kings on earth. They will be driven as a band of prisoners into a pit, closed up in the dungeon, and abandoned (there) for a great number of days." The confinement of the human followers in a subterranean prison is absent in the Book of the Watchers, but that of the heavenly host goes well with the description in the fallen angel tradition in five aspects.[77]

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[76] Watts argues that the phrase צבא המרון במרום refers to "armies in the high plateaus and hill country of Syria/Palestine" (John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, WBC 24 [Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005], 388). However, it contrasts with the phrase מלכי האדמה על אדמה, "the earthly kings on the earth." Therefore, the phrase refers to the heavenly host (George Buchanan Gray, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah I–XXXIX*, ICC 18 [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912], 422). Besides, the term מרום refers to where God resides in Isa 38:14.

[77] Suter views 1 En. 54:7–55:2 as a midrash of Isa 24:17–23 (David Winston Suter, *Tradition and Composition in the Parables of Enoch*, SBLDS 47 [Missula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979], 39–72). See also George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 2*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 200. Referring to the subterranean prison for the fallen angels in 1 En. 10, Gray argues that ideas in Isa 24:21–23 were well known to the ancient audience, and "the best commentary" is the fallen angel tradition (Gray, *The Book of Isaiah I–XXXIX*, 421).

First, Isaiah talks about a group of corrupted angels (cf. 1 En. 6:7–8).

Second, they mislead humans against God's will (cf. 1 En 7:1; 8:1–4). About the coupling of the heavenly host and earthly rulers, scholars say that the prophet may refer to the patron angels of the nations that exert a bad influence upon the earthly kings in their charge.[78] Then it parallels the fallen angels teaching secret knowledge to their human followers in 1 Enoch 8:1–4.

Third, their rebellion results in imprisonment in a subterranean prison (cf. 1 En. 10:4–6, 12). Isaiah's description of the pit is notable. The preposition אֶל or no preposition is used with בּוֹר, "a pit," elsewhere in the Old Testament, but Isaiah uses עַל, "over," to give a picture of the pit with a cover, such as in the Enochic pit for the fallen angels. The same goes with the noun מַסְגֵּר, "an enclosure."

Fourth, they stay in the subterranean prison for a great number of days (Isa 24:22b; cf. 1 En. 10:12). Isaiah uses the phrase רב ימים. The Aramaic version uses a similar expression יומא רבא (4Q202 4:11). The general expression for "many days" in Hebrew is יָמִים רַבִּים, but Isaiah 24:22b and the Aramaic text of 1 Enoch 10:12 read both with a singular form of רב.

Fifth, it is also notable that Isaiah prophesied that Tyre would be forgotten for "seventy years" in the previous chapter (Isa 23:15, 17). It led to the prophecy against the group of angels and earthly rulers in Isaiah 24:21–22.[79] The evil of the earthly rulers is closely related to the corruption of the patron angels. It parallels the Enochic fallen angels

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[78] Ibid., 422.

[79] Watts relates two prophecies to each other by saying, "Like the 'seventy years' that Tyre will need to wait for its final verdict, the final judgment on the kings will come later. In the meantime, they will be imprisoned" (Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 388).

and their human followers. Besides, the duration "seventy years" is reminiscent of the "seventy generations" for the angelic confinement in 1 Enoch 10:12.

A Subterranean Imprisonment

Isaiah the prophet declares the demise of a king of Babylon in terms of the fall of the morning star in Isaiah 14:12–15. He likens the king to the morning star appearing and disappearing quickly at dawn.[80] Since the ancient people identified stars as deities, he turns out to have explained the king's ambition by way of a well-known ancient myth, in which a deity tries to occupy supremacy.[81]

Isaiah presents themes as follows: the morning star has the ambition to rise above all the other stars, shines his light brighter than others around it, but exerts its power only for a short time, and sinks below the horizon into the subterranean pit (בּוֹר) for its rebellion. Isaiah reminds his audience of the myth of the deity Morning Star challenging the supreme god or עֶלְיוֹן here (Isa 14:13–14). He applies the myth to his contemporary situation. Like the ambitious Morning Star, the Babylonian king has conquered the neighboring nations, become a threat to Judah, and challenged YHWH, the patron deity of Judah and true supreme deity (cf. Deut 32:8–9). However, he will be thrown into oblivion soon in God's punishment as the morning star goes down below the horizon shortly after its appearance (Isa 14:15).

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[80] Davies, "The Origin of Evil in Ancient Judaism," 47–48.

[81] The prophet explains the king's rise and demise with a well-known ancient myth, which tells a power struggle for supremacy among deities and the misery of a defeated deity. Watts says that the prophet picked up themes of an ancient myth in Isa 14:8 and 12–15 (Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, 209). Many scholars agree with him (Matthias Albani, "The Downfall of Hele, the Son of Dawn: Aspects of Rayal Ideology in Isa 14:12–13," in *The Fall of the Angels*, ed. Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, TBN 4 [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 62–63).

The rebellion of an individual angel and his subterranean imprisonment are resonant of Azazel in 1 Enoch 8:1–2 and 10:4–6, where the Enochic author particularizes Azazel's sin and punishment apart from those of other fallen angels (cf. Lev 16:8, 10, 26). That one of Azazel's sins is teaching weaponry to human followers strengthens the connection (1 En. 8:1a). Weaponry was a powerful tool for ancient rulers. In some sense, Azazel's make-up art, lapidary, and cloth dyeing may also have something to do with tools of the earthly rulers (1 En. 18:1b).

A Judicial Session in God's Heavenly Court

A psalmist speaks of a judicial session in God's heavenly court in Psalm 82:1–8, where God rebukes a group of angelic beings against their corruption. The psalmist might refer to human rulers metaphorically with the accused angelic beings (cf. Exod 21:6).[82] However, the language is itself about God's presiding over the divine assembly (Ps 82:1). The psalmist shows several features analogous to the angelic fall in the Book of the Watchers.

First, the assembly was a judicial session as the verb יִשְׁפֹּט displays,[83] and the judicial session parallels the court scene in 1 Enoch 9:1–10:22, where the Angels of the

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[82] The identity of the "gods" is debatable. Cole argues that they are "those appointed to judge in Israel" (Robert L. Cole, *The Shape and Message of Book III (Psalms 73–89)*, JSOTSup 307 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic 2000], 102). Cole's argument is possible because the law about slaves says in Exod 21:6 that a master shall take his slave-to-be to God, which clearly indicates someone who acts on behalf of God. It is the oldest and almost universal view among the earlier commentators (James Montgomery Boice, *Psalms 42–106*, vol. 2, *Psalms* [Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996], 674). Charles and Emilie Briggs say that they refer to "the wicked governors of the nations holding Israel in subjection" (Charles Augustus Briggs and Emilie Grace Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, ICC [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907], 2:215). However, Tate prefers to view them as the patron deities God assigned for the nations (Marvin E. Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, WBC 20 [Dallas: Word Books, 1990], 340). Understanding the text literally, this study sides with Tate (ibid., 329, 334).

[83] The picture of God standing (נִצָּב) confirms the judicial session further because while

Presence brought an accusation against the fallen angels, the hybrid giants, and their human followers, and God passed sentence on them.

Second, the session was held in the absence of the accused, and it parallels the Enochic judiciary sessions. In Psalm 82:5a, God mentioned the accused angels with the third person plural pronoun: לֹא יָדְעוּ וְלֹא יָבִינוּ.[84] In the same way, the judicial sessions in 1 Enoch 9:1–10:22 and 15:1–16:3 are held without the presence of the fallen angels. They stayed near Mt. Hermon, and Enoch spoke to God on their behalf through dream visions (1 En. 12:4; 13:7–9).

Third, God addressed the accused in the second person in verses 6–7, which is reminiscent of the scene in 1 Enoch 15:1–16:3, where Enoch delivered God's decision in the heavenly court to the fallen angels in the second person.

Fourth, the nature of the accused heavenly host is reminiscent of that of the fallen angels. God spoke of them as being inherently ignorant and incapable of walking in the light (Ps 82:2–4).[85] The words of God go well with the portrayal of the fallen angels as weak as humans in 1 Enoch 6:3 and 13:4–5.

Fifth, the outcome of the unjust behavior of the accused heavenly host goes well with that of the fallen angels. Their corruption was serious enough to shake all the foundations of the earth (Ps 82:5).[86] The effect parallels that of the fallen angel tradition.

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human rulers usually sit to judge (Exod 18:13; Judg 4:5; 1 Sam 20:5), God stands to deliver his judgment in the heavenly court (Matitiahu Tsevat, "God and the Gods in Assembly: An Interpretation of Psalm 82," *HUCA* 40/41 [1969–1970]: 127; cf. Isa 3:13; Ps 76:9).

[84] The second plural pronoun in Ps 82 might be God's general address to all the heavenly hosts in the wake of unjust acts of the accused angels. God includes other heavenly beings in his address because they can also go wrong. But this study views it as his direct address to the accused in a verdict.

[85] Tsevat, "God and the Gods in Assembly," 128.

[86] Ibid., 128–29.

The angelic fall affected the earth so greatly that the Deluge was the only solution (1 En. 10:2, 22; cf. 83:5, 7, 9; 84:4).[87]

Sixth, the heavenly host's boundary breach in Psalm 82 parallels the Enochic angelic fall. God rebuked the accused that they were אֱלֹהִים and בְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן but would surely die as humans (כְּאָדָם) and fall (תִּפֹּלוּ) as one of the mortal rulers (אַחַד הַשָּׂרִים) (Ps 82:6–7). It is resonant of God's judgmental declaration upon the fallen angels in 1 Enoch 15:2b–7. There God reproached them that they had left heaven (1 En. 15:3), fathered the hybrid giants through mortal females like mortals (1 En. 15:4), and given up immortality (1 En. 15:6).

Seventh, the verb נפל in verse 7 reinforces the relationship between Psalm 82 and 1 Enoch 6–16.[88] It is reminiscent of the renowned warriors Nephilim in Genesis 6:4, which is part of a passage from which the fallen angel tradition is developed.[89]

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[87] Barker talks about a parallel of the ignorance between Ps 82:5 and 1 En. 16:3 to argue for the Enochic priority (Margaret Barker, "Some Reflections upon the Enoch Myth," *JSOT* 15 [1980]: 21–22).

[88] For the meaning of שׂרים as "commanders of an army," see 1 Sam 29:3–4; Dan 10:13.

[89] Nephilim is usually regarded as the hybrid giants in Gen 6:4, but the interpretation then causes a problem in connecting the previous three verses. This study relates Nephilim in Gen 6:4 to the humanized fallen angels in 1 En. 6:1–2; 15:3–7. Interpreting Gen 6:1–4 with the fallen angel tradition in mind makes the words in Gen 6:3 run smooth. This study translates Gen 6:3 at issue as לֹא־יָדוֹן רוּחִי בָאָדָם לְעֹלָם בְּשַׁגַּם הוּא בָשָׂר, "My spirit will not remain in *the* race [humanized angels] forever [not anymore]; since they are (now) flesh." The LXX clarifies the meaning, Οὐ μὴ καταμείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκας, "My spirit will never remain in *these* men forever because they are (now) flesh." Then the first word "Nephilim" in Gen 6:4 refers to the humanized fallen angels: הַנְּפִלִים הָיוּ בָאָרֶץ בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם, "they were the Nephilim on the earth in those days." The view clarifies the enigmatic statement in Gen 6:4b that the Nephilim had existed even before the copulation between the angels and human females (Kenneth A. Matthews, *Genesis 1–11:26*, NAC 1A [Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1996], 337). The meaning of הַנְּפִלִים, "the fallen ones," supports the interpretation further. The text also says that the Nephilim had sexual relations with the human females to give birth to renowned warriors (Gen 6:4b). It is very likely that the Nephilim were warriors because they had been members of an army of God, which explains their fathering renowned worriers. In conclusion, the Nephilim refer to the humanized fallen angels, their hybrid children, and the children of the hybrid children. They all belong to the race of Nephilim (Gen 6:4b; Num 13:33; Josephus, *Ant*. 1.3.1 §73). The concept goes well with Greek heroes born from the union between a deity and a human. It is notable that the hybrid children in Genesis are distinct from the Enochic hybrid giants, who are 300 cubits tall or about fifty-four meters tall (1 En. 7:2).

Eighth, a call for God's justice in the last verse (Ps 82:8) is reminiscent of the petition of four Angels of the Presence in 1 Enoch 9:4b–10. The last verse reads, "Arise, O God, and give judgment on the earth; for you shall own the nations." The speakers seem to be the angels in the presence of God. The petition calls for the judgment of the earth and the need of God's reclaiming it. God apportioned it to angels (Deut 32:8 LXX), but they failed to manage it according to God's will. They created a world-wide problem. Therefore, the petition is for God's restoring the world order (cf. Ps 82:2–5).[90] Similarly, in 1 Enoch 9:4b–10, four Angels of the Presence petitioned God to end the suffering of the earth not only from the violence of the hybrid giants but also from the chaos resulted from the forbidden practices the fallen angels had taught humans.

Summary

The Old Testament talks about angelic corruption and judgment in Exodus, Isaiah 14 and 24, and Psalm 82. The author of Exodus tells the corruption of the Gentile rulers under the influence of the patron angels. Pharaoh's identification as a child of the Egyptian deities, atrocity toward the Israelites, and the outcry of the Israelites are all reminiscent of the hybrid giants. God's punishing the Egyptian patron angels in killing Egypt's firstborn, drowning the Egyptian armies by the water, and interpreting the Red Sea event as redemption and entrance into God's holy dwelling are all reminiscent of the fallen angel tradition. In Isaiah 24:21–22, the prophet speaks of a group of corrupted angels and earthly rulers under their influence. The corrupted angels that mislead the earthly rulers and their confinement into a subterranean pit are noteworthy. In Isaiah

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[90] Tate says, "V 8 calls for a 'realignment of world order' (Fleming, *Divine Council*, 146), with Yahweh himself assuming the duties of the neutralized gods" (Tate, *Psalms 51–100*, 339).

14:13–14, the prophet speaks against a Babylonian king by way of an ancient myth. The morning star's rebellion and confinement in a subterranean pit parallel the portrayal of particularized Enochic Azazel. The author of Psalm 82 talks about a judicial session in God's heavenly court. The judicial session held without the presence of the accused angelic beings, the description of their nature as inherently incapable and weak as humans, the impact of their spiritual corruption on the entire earth, their fall from divine to mortal, and so forth are all reminiscent of the fallen angel tradition. The parallels are so striking that the said Old Testament accounts very likely caused the story of the Enochic angelic fall.

The Role of the Evil Spirits

The Enochic author says that the evil spirits mislead people to "sacrifice to demons as gods" to the people's destruction at God's punishing hands (1 En. 19:1). The role of the Enochic evil spirits is reminiscent of three accounts in the Old Testament: (1) Deuteronomy 32:17 LXX, which speaks of the Israelites' sacrificing to demons and not God, (2) 1 Kings 22:19–23, which speaks of "a spirit of falsehood (רוּחַ שָׁקֶר)" that mislead Ahab's prophets, and (3) Zechariah 13:2, which mentions the unclean spirit distinct from the evil spirits sent by God. This section will survey the said Old Testament accounts to see to what degree they are related to the role of the Enochic evil spirits.

Misleading Humans to Worship Demons

The evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers mislead humans to sacrifice to demons as gods until the great day of judgment (1 En. 19:1). It is reminiscent of the LXX translation of Deuteronomy 32:17. The Pentateuchal author says that the nation of Israel sacrificed to Shedim (לַשֵּׁדִים) during their wilderness life. The term שֵׁדִים is in a plural

form, and the exact identity is unclear and debatable.[91] The LXX uses the term δαιμόνιον for the שֵׁד. The LXX translation parallels the wording of 1 Enoch 19:1 strikingly in four aspects. Both speak of humans turning away from God, sacrificing to demons, regarding the demons as gods, and replacing God with the demons.[92] However, the LXX translation lacks the role of the evil spirits. The Enochic author seems to have added it based on his theological view. The Israelite idolatry after they had witnessed God's miracles in the Exodus and wilderness life is enigmatic. The simple explanation is the involvement of evil spirits (cf. Tg. Ps.-J. Exod 32:1).[93] The Enochic author seems to have added the misleading role of the evil spirits in his employment of Deuteronomy 32:17 LXX.

The Evil Spirits Replacing the Fallen Angels

Misleadingness is an essential theme in the Book of the Watchers. The fallen angels use forbidden knowledge to attract human followers, and the human followers are killed by the Flood (1 En. 7:1b; 8:1–4). After their subterranean incarceration, the evil spirits inherit their role and mislead people to worship them to the people's destruction at God's punishing hands (1 En. 16:1; 19:1). This study will survey if the Old Testament talks about the transference of the role from the fallen angels to the evil spirits.

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[91] The term שֵׁדִים is a loanword from Akkadian and "primarily used to indicate a protective spirit" (*HALOT*, 1417). The term recurs in Ps 106:37 (105:37 LXX), where people offer their children as sacrifices to them. The psalm seems to reflect later events in Canaan (cf. 2 Kgs 3:27) because the Old Testament says nothing about the Israelite human sacrifices during the wilderness life.

[92] Both Deut 32:17 LXX and the Greek text of 1 En. 19:1 use the verb θύω and noun δαιμόνιον to say that people sacrificed to demons. The word አማልክት is the plural form of አምላክ, "god." The expression "as gods" in 1 En. 19:1 indicates that people replaced God with demons. Both Pentateuchal author and LXX translator stress the replacement of God with demons with the phrases לֹא אֱלֹהַּ and οὐ θεῷ.

[93] Targum Pseudo-Jonathan helps this study see the logic of the Enochic author's adding the misleading role of the evil spirits. Telling the Israelite worship of a golden calf during Moses's stay on Mt. Sinai, the author of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan adds the role of the evil spirit to the story in the Hebrew Bible. He says that when Moses tarried on Mt. Sinai, "Satan came, misled them [people], and made their hearts arrogant (ואזל סטנא ואטעינון והדר ליבהון זהוהין)" to cast a golden calf as the image of God (Exod 32:1).

Evil Spirits Sent by God

The Deuteronomistic history introduces an angelic being who misleads people (1 Kgs 22:19–22 // 2 Chr 18:18–21). Jehoshaphat and Ahab formed a union with each other to retake Ramoth Gilead from the king of Aram (1 Kgs 22:1–4). Before going to war, they consulted divinations from Ahab's four hundred prophets and heard a favorable oracle for the campaign (1 Kgs 22:5–6). However, Jehoshaphat doubted the authenticity of their oracles because of unanimity and demanded Ahab to hear other possible oracles (1 Kgs 22:7).[94] Ahab summoned Micaiah, who was a nuisance to him (1 Kgs 22:8–14). Micaiah gave an evil omen about the military expedition as Ahab had expected (1 Kgs 22:15–18).

About the favorable oracles by Ahab's prophets, Micaiah said that they were all misled by רוּחַ שֶׁקֶר God had sent against Ahab (1 Kgs 22:22, 23). Using the term רוּחַ is notable here; it refers to one of the angelic counsels in God's heavenly court.[95] Therefore, the term contrasts with בָּשָׂר and refers to אֵל in contrast to אָדָם (Isa 31:3).[96] According to Micaiah, when God announced a plan to mislead Ahab to wage war against the Arameans to his demise, the angel volunteered to be a lying spirit in the mouths of Ahab's prophets (1 Kgs 22:20–21). The author of Ezekiel very likely had the same concept when he said that God could deceive a prophet to utter false oracles for his demise (Ezek 14:9; cf. Jer

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[94] Devries, *1 Kings*, 267.

[95] Albertz and Westermann say that the term רוּחַ in the Hebrew Bible usually refers to "an impersonal power," but "1 Kgs 22:22 is a special case" (R. Albertz and C. Westermann, "רוּחַ *rûaḥ* spirit," in *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, ed. Ernst Jenni and trans. Mark E. Biddle [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997], 3:1211). For Devries, the angelic being is the heavenly spirit, "the spirit of prophetic inspiration, personified" (Devries, *1 Kings*, 268). Concerning the various theological meaning of Micaiah's account, see Paul R. House, *1, 2 Kings*, NAC 8 (Nashville: Broadman and Holman, 1995), 237–38.

[96] *HALOT*, 1201.

27:9–10). The רוּחַ־רָעָה מֵאֵת יְהוָה, from which King Saul suffered, should be viewed in the same line of thought (1 Sam 16:14) because it is also part of the Deuteronomistic history (cf. Judg 9:23). Then, the Deuteronomistic evil spirits are the angels God sent to mislead and punish people. That an angel can take an evil role at will is meaningful for this study. It leaves room for the angelic fall in the Book of the Watchers.

Autonomous Evil Spirits

In comparison with the above-mentioned Old Testament authors, the evil spirits in the fallen angel tradition are unique because they are distinct from the angelic beings and take over the roles of the fallen angels. They display a significant change in concept. With introducing the evil spirits that accomplish God's purpose in a semi-autonomous way, the author excludes God from the direct cause of the evil work of enticement. The author of Jubilees goes further to put them under the command of Mastema (Jub. 10:7–9). Not only that, but he also makes humans ultimately responsible for their falling victim to the works of misleadingness by the evil spirits (Jub. 1:11, 20; 7:34; 15:9, 31).

The evil spirits distinct from the angelic beings sent by God have a precedent in the Old Testament. In Zechariah 12:1–13:6, the prophet says that God promised the restoration of Judah and the house of David in Jerusalem; God will cut down idols and remove הַנְּבִיאִים and רוּחַ הַטֻּמְאָה in the land (Zech 13:2). The word הַנְּבִיאִים with a definite article refers to the prophets of the mentioned idols. They are not the false prophets misled by the evil spirits God sent as in the Deuteronomistic history and Ezekiel. The term רוּחַ הַטֻּמְאָה is also related to the idols. The term means "a spirit of the uncleanness" literally. The definite article ה refers to the uncleanness that occurs due to the worship of

the idols. The unclean spirit very likely misled the said prophets so people might worship the idols. It is reminiscent of the Enochic evil spirits misleading humans to sacrifice to the demons as unto gods until the great day of judgment (1 En. 19:1). The unclean spirit in Zechariah parallels the Enochic evil spirits in three ways. First, it misleads people to worship idols (cf. 1 En. 19:1). Second, it works against God semi-autonomously; God allows it to be active until the appointed time (cf. 1 En. 16:1). Third, it is distinct from the evil spirits sent by God; God is not responsible directly for human errors of idolatry (cf. 1 En. 16:1; Jub. 1:11, 20). Provided that the Enochic author knew of Zechariah, it is very likely that he employed the unclean spirit there as the source for the creation of his evil spirits.[97] The unclean spirit in Zechariah lacks the concept of the departed souls of the hybrid giants. However, the Old Testament authors knew of the concept of departed human souls (1 Sam 28:11–20). The Enochic author could create his evil spirits by combining the concepts in Deuteronomy 32:17, 1 Samuel 28:11–20, and Zechariah 13:2, although he likely needed outside sources for a detailed portrayal of the departed souls of the hybrid giants as his evil spirits.[98]

Summary

The Enochic role of the evil spirits causing destruction and judgment has parallels in the Old Testament. Both 1 Enoch 19:1 and Deuteronomy 32:17 LXX talk about humans turning away from God, sacrificing to demons, regarding the demons as gods, and replacing God with the demons. Two things are noteworthy. First, the latter

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[97] Scholars view Zech 9–14 as added later around the fifth–sixth century BCE (Raymond F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomic School*, JSOTSup 167 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1993], 13).

[98] This study views the detailed portrayal of the Enochic evil spirits as having come from the ancestor worship in ancient Ugarit (*KTU* 1.20–22; 1.161; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 285, 285n222). For more information, see the section "Other Demonological Features" in Chapter Five.

lacks the role of evil spirits. However, the Enochic author very likely added the role to it for a theological reason as he employed it for his story. Second, the Enochic evil spirits are the departed souls of the hybrid giants and not angelic beings. However, it does not necessarily indicate that the Enochic author conferred with sources outside the Old Testament entirely. The view gets support from the two facts. First, the Deuteronomistic history talks about the departed soul of a person (1 Sam 28). Second, Zechariah 13:2 speaks of the unclean spirit misleading the people autonomously to idolatry until the appointed time. The Enochic author could create his evil spirits by combining the concepts in Deuteronomy 32:17, 1 Samuel 28:11–20, and Zechariah 13:2, although he may have needed outside sources for a detailed portrayal of the departed souls of the hybrid giants as his evil spirits.

Conclusion

This chapter began with doubt about the view that Genesis 6:1–4 was the only account that had made a contribution to the formation of the complex and refined fallen angel tradition. The doubt got stronger for two big reasons. First, the Enochic influence scholarship did not offer parallels between the Enochic accounts and outside sources. Second, scholars said that the Old Testament carried parallel accounts in the fallen angel tradition. Therefore, this chapter surveyed the accounts in the Old Testament that seem to share concepts with the fallen angel tradition under nine headings. This study found that the Old Testament contained many meaningful parallels with the fallen angel tradition.

First, the fallen angel tradition talked about outside influence upon human miseries (1 En. 6–16). It paralleled the Adamic Fall and Cain’s murdering Abel. Both the first humans and fallen angels crossed a forbidden boundary, produced violent offspring,

and got punished. Both traditions spoke of three cursed parties and the postponement of their decisive punishment. Both Cain and the hybrid giants were violent, caused an inhuman outcry to God, roamed around on the earth, were hated by people, and obtained the protection of their lives from God. Both traditions said that human corruption involved secret knowledge, was initiated by outsiders, and claimed the female as the first victim.

Second, the fallen angel tradition said that Mt. Hermon was the special place for the fallen angels with the mention of the place name change (1 En. 6:6). It was resonant of the place name change and the Rephaites in Deuteronomy 3:9–11 and the mention of the sacred place for the Canaanite gods in Judges 20:18 and 1 Samuel 10:3. The parallels between Mt. Hermon in the Book of the Watchers and Jacob's Bethel in Genesis 28 were also notable. Both places were said to be the gate of heaven where angels descended and ascended, a dream vision was seen, and the place-names were changed based on angelic activities.

Third, the fallen angel tradition stressed the ruinous nature of intermarriage (1 En. 7:1; 9:8; 10:11). So did Old Testament authors. In the comparison between Deuteronomy 7:3–4 and the fallen angel tradition, this study found parallels between the Canaanites and the fallen angels; they were powerful with their occult practices that led humans to apostasy to their punishment at God's hands. Both the Deuteronomistic history and the fallen angel tradition confirmed the message of Deuteronomy 7:3–4 as authoritative, although in different contexts. Both biblical Ezra and Enochic Enoch were said to have dealt with those who breached the intermarriage prohibition, given intercessory prayers for them, and served as both scribe and priest. Both traditions taught that intermarriage was destructive and to be avoided at all costs.

Fourth, the fallen angel tradition spoke of two angelic roles: Watchers (1 En. 6:1–2; 15:2) and Wakers (1 En. 17–36). The concept of angels as Wakers was found in Zechariah 4:1–2, where an angel helped the prophet see and understand visions. The concept of angels as Watchers was laid out indirectly in Song of Songs 5:2–7. The author of Song of Songs mentioned no angel but provided an account that could cause the fallen angel tradition: a crime of city watchmen against a vulnerable woman.

Fifth, the fallen angel tradition said that the fallen angels were an army of angels with a hierarchal system (1 En. 6:7–8). They were two hundred, and Semyaz was the leader with chiefs of tens under him. It is very likely that the number "two hundred" referred to a subdivision of the Egyptian military company. The view got support from four facts: (1) the Old Testament authors spoke of angels as God's army (Jer 5:14; 1 Sam 1:3; cf. Deut 20:9; Num 31:7; Josh 5:14; 22:12), (2) they also hinted at Jewish knowledge of a military system of Egypt (Exod 18:25; 1 Kgs 4:30; 1 Chr 23:4), (3) Jews in the Second Temple period were also familiar with a military system of Egypt (Let. Aris. 12–13), and (4) the Exodus was the central theme of Judaism.

Sixth, the fallen angel tradition showed Semyaz and the names of his chiefs of tens (1 En. 6:7). Their names are event- or duty-related. This study discovered that the Old Testament authors used the same naming methods as the Enochic author. Both used the naming formula "rain of God" instead of the foreign formula "god of rain." It showed that the Enochic author's angelological view was in line with that of the Old Testament authors, to whom the foreign formula was only for God. It was notable that the advanced Enochic view in 1 Enoch 18:14b had a precedent in Psalm 104:4. The Enochic names merely denoted the creative invention of the Enochic author for his story within the Old Testament practices.

Seventh, the fallen angel tradition particularized Azazel (1 En. 8:1; 9:6; 10:4–8). Leviticus mentioned the name, Azazel, four times (Lev 16). Both Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel were spiritual beings, responsible for human sins, and had their abode in the desert. The lack of atonement motif in the fallen angel tradition did not dismiss their close relationship with each other because the same motif was unnecessary for one work to be the source of another work. Both the exegetical survey and the Hittite scapegoat rituals supported a close tie between Levitical Azazel and Enochic Azazel. The first goat offered to God was expiatory (Lev 16:15, 20), and the second goat sent to Azazel was to return all human sins to the source for a fresh start of the new year.

Eighth, the fallen angel tradition told the angelic corruption and punishment (1 En. 6:1–8; 10:1–14; 15:1–12). So did the Old Testament authors in Exodus, Isaiah 14, 24, and Psalm 82. In Exodus, this study discovered striking parallels between the Egyptian deities and fallen angels, Pharaoh and the hybrid giants, and the Red Sea crossing and the Enochic Deluge. In Isaiah, this study found the corruption of angels and their subterranean imprisonment. In Psalm 82, this study discovered features that parallel the angelic fall in the Book of the Watchers. Essential features were a judicial session with the accused angelic beings absent, their weakness, their breaching a forbidden boundary affecting the foundation of the world shaken, the angelic petition of God for the restoration of the world order, and God's addressing the accused in the second person.

Ninth, the fallen angel tradition said that the evil spirits misled people to "sacrifice to demons as gods." It paralleled the wording of Deuteronomy 32:17 LXX, although Deuteronomy lacked the works of evil spirits. The fallen angel tradition presented the evil spirits as replacing the role of the fallen angels (1 En. 19:1; cf. 7:1b; 8:1–4). Similarly, the Old Testament also presented a conceptual development of evil

spirits from the evil spirit sent by God in the Deuteronomistic history to the autonomous unclean spirit in Zechariah. The Zecharianic evil spirit misled the people autonomously to idolatry until the appointed time (Zech 13:2; cf. 1 En. 16:1). It was notable that the Old Testament carried features with which the Enochic author might have created his evil spirits by combining them (Deut 32:17, Zech 13:2, and 1 Sam 28:11–20), although he might have needed to confer with outside sources for a detailed portrayal of the departed souls of the hybrid giants as his evil spirits.

The numerous parallels between the Old Testament and the fallen angel tradition are striking. All the essential Enochic themes this study surveyed have parallels in the Old Testament except for the detailed portrayal of the departed souls of the hybrid giants. They show the two traditions are closely related to, rather than distinct from, each other. Therefore, this chapter concludes that it is very unlikely that the Enochic author utilized sources outside Palestine to create the fallen angel tradition.

It is very likely that the Enochic author was well versed in the Old Testament. He seems to have been a scribe. Many parallels with the Pentateuch and Deuteronomistic literature show that he might have had education in a Deuteronomistic school. However, he was more than a Deuteronomistic writer for three reasons. First, the Enochic author adopted non-Deuteronomistic Prophets (Isa 14:12–15; 24:21–21; Ezek 14:9). Second, adopting Deuteronomy 32:17, he added the role of evil spirits in human decision-making in line with Targum Pseudo-Jonathan Exodus 32:1. Third, he adopted Psalm 104:4, where wind and fire were identified with angels (cf. 1 En. 18:4b). His view may reflect the concept of a later developed Deuteronomistic school.

Both the Old Testament and the Book of the Watchers talk about two types of evil spirits: the evil spirits sent by God (Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14; 1 En. 15:8–16:1) and the

evil spirits outside God's control (Zech 13:2; 1 En. 6–8). It is notable that the Enochic author replaced the fallen angels autonomously misleading humans to their destruction with the evil spirits designated by God. He reversed the order of appearance by the two types in the Old Testament. By doing so, the Enochic author seems to have ensured that the evil spirits were not out of God's control against the Zecharianic view, in which the unclean spirit was autonomous and even ruled over the covenant people (cf. Jub. 19:28). The distinction of their nature between the Enochic evil spirits and the Zecharianic unclean spirit provides a piece of significant information for this study to compare with the Markan unclean spirits.

CHAPTER 4

THE ENOCHIC AND OTHER ANCIENT EVIL SPIRITS

In the previous two chapters, this study found the weakness of the claim that the fallen angel tradition introduced a new demonological concept that deviated from the concept of the Old Testament authors. The new demonological concept appeared near the turn of the Common Era, and the Old Testament paralleled essential features of the fallen angel tradition. This chapter evaluates the validity of the argument that Mesopotamian demonology should influence the formation of the Enochic evil spirits.[1] This chapter undertakes the evaluation in three steps. First, this chapter surveys evil spirits in ancient Mesopotamia and sees what demonological concepts may parallel those of the Enochic evil spirits. Second, this chapter explores Egyptian demonology. The purpose is to see if the shared concept between the Mesopotamian and Enochic evil spirits, if any, is also found in ancient Egypt.[2] If so, the supposedly shared thought will challenge the argument for the exclusive Mesopotamian influence upon the Enochic concept. Third, this chapter looks into Greek demonology before the birth of the Enochic tradition. The Book of the

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[1] The Mesopotamian influence scholarship usually says that the Akkadian *utukku lemnu* caused the rise of the Enochic evil spirits (Henryk Drawnel, "The Mesopotamian Background of the Enochic Giants and Evil Spirits," *DSD* 21, no. 1 [2014]: 16–17; Henryk Drawnel, "*1 Enoch* 6–11 Interpreted in the Light of Mesopotamian Incantation Literature, " in *ESG*, 247; Archie T. Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels," in *ESG*, 219–20; Ida Fröhlich, "Mesopotamian Elements and the Watchers Traditions," in *WJCT*, 17).

[2] Hendrik van der Loos claims the influence of the Babylonian and Egyptian religions upon the Enochic concept after the fall of Jerusalem and the Exile (Hendrik van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, NovTSup 9 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965], 341).

Watchers is generally regarded as written in the earlier days of the Hellenistic expansion to Palestine. Some argue that Greek demonology caused the rise of the Enochic evil spirits.[3] This study investigates to what degree the two traditions share the demonological concept, specifically focusing on their relationship with Mesopotamian demonology.

Malign Spirits in Ancient Mesopotamia

Ancient Mesopotamians developed a concept of various types of malevolent spirits with different roles. Incantational literature is an excellent source for the study.[4] It employs twelve major terms for maleficent spirits: *utug-ḫul*, *ala-ḫul*, *gidim-ḫul*, *mulla-ḫul*, *dingir-ḫul*, *maškim-ḫul*, *dingir-rab-kan-me*, *dingir-rab-kan-me-a*, *dingir-rab-kan-me-kil*, *mulu-lil-la*, *ki-el-lil*, and *ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra*.[5] The first six appear most frequently. It is very likely that they refer to six types of evil spirits,[6] and the next six refer to particular spirits within the said six types. A list of evil spirits is usually followed by a list of evils

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[3] Glasson argued that the daimons in three Greek writings should have caused the Enochic evil spirits: Plato, *Apol*. 15 (27D), Hesiod, *O*p. 110–126, and Hesiod, *Cat*. 5.155.95–105 or *Cat. eo*. 2.1–15 (T. Francis Glasson, *Greek Influence in Jewish Eschatology* [London: S.P.C.K., 1961], 58–61). Cortés and Gatti (1975) argued jointly that Jewish demonology in Second Temple Judaism was derived from the Old Testament already influenced by "Mesopotamian demonology and the Greek belief in *daimones*" (Juan B. Cortés and Florence M. Gatti, *The Case against Possessions and Exorcisms* [New York: Vantage, 1975], 23, 26). See also James C. VanderKam, "1 Enoch, Enochic Motifs, and Enoch in Early Christian Literature," in *The Jewish Apocalyptic Heritage in Early Christianity*, ed. James C. VanderKam and William Adler, CRINT 3; JTECL 4 (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 61.

[4] The primary source for this section is Thompson's translation of ancient Mesopotamian tablets that he calls Series Utukki Limnûti (R. Campbell Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, vol. 1, *Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, LSTTS 14 [London: Luzac, 1903], xvii–xviii, 2–211). This study gets information from his transliteration and translation directly.

[5] Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, xxiv–lxv. The said list of the demonological terms is in Sumerian transliteration. Scholars often use Akkadian terms for them: *utukku limnu*, *alû limnu*, *ekimmu limnu*, *gallû limnu*, *ilu limnu*, *rabiṣu limnu*, *labartu*, *labaṣu*, *aḫḫazu*, *lilû*, *lilîtu*, and *ardat lilî*, but this study prefers to use Thompson's Sumerian transliterations throughout for an easier reference to the texts in Thompson's book, unless stated otherwise.

[6] The first six terms begin with *ḫul*, "evil," in Sumerian (*SumL*, 31). Therefore, the nouns it modifies are neutral and refer to six types of malign spirits.

in incantational texts (UL 3 V 195–201 [20/21]); UL C XXXI ii 95 [144/145]–109 [146/147]).[7] The texts put the list of evil spirits and the list of evils together with no distinguishing mark between them.[8] A sorcerer's healing or fixing problems involves charms and the employment of "various substances, animal, vegetable, or mineral" that were thought to have magical power.[9] This study will survey the said evil spirits under two headings: six types of malign spirits and two triads of malign spirits. It will lay the groundwork for the comparison with the Enochic evil spirits.

Six Types of Malign Spirits

The *utug-ḫul* or *utukku limnu*[10]

The *utug-ḫul* is the malignant spirit with hybrid appearance (*ANET*, 109).[11] Its abode is in the earth (UL 16 XXII 280–84 [108/109]) but distinct from the Underworld,

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[7] The citation "UL 3 V 195–201 [20/21]" indicates that the referent is in Thompson's Series Utukki Limnûti, tablet 3, plate 5, lines 195–201, and pages 20 (transliteration) and 21 (translation). Some tablets are numbered A, B, C, and D with the mark of obverse or reverse side with columns. Columns are referred with lower case Roman numerals. Therefore, "UL C XXXI ii 95–109 [144/145–146/147]" means that the referent is in Thompson's Series Utukki Limnûti, tablet C, plate 31, column 2, lines 95–109, pages 144 (transliteration) and 145 (translation) through 146 (transliteration) and 147 (translation). Reverse side is mentioned with "rev." Therefore, "UL C XXXII rev ii 150 [148/149]" indicates that the referent is in Thompson's Series Utukki Limnûti, tablet C, plate 32, reverse side, column 2, line 150, and pages 148 (transliteration) and 149 (translation).

[8] A sorcerer addresses both evil spirits and their evils without distinctive remarks between them: "Whether thou art an evil Spirit or an evil Demon, . . . , or evil pestilence, or noisome fever, or pain or sorcery or any evil, . . ." (UL 3 V 195–201 [20/21]). The context shows that they are distinctive. The view is confirmed in comparison with a paralleled text (UL 3 III 113–119 [12/13]): "Whether thou art an evil Spirit or an evil Demon, . . . Be thou removed from before me! . . . May the pestilence, fever, pain, sorcery, and all evil be removed from the body of the wanderer." The incantational structure is essential in this study's connecting an evil spirit with the evil spirit's works, or evil spirits with their works.

[9] A priest takes the role of a sorcerer and is helped by higher deities he serves (UL 3 III 107f [12/13]; UL 3 IV 129 [14/15], 159 [16/17]; UL 3 II 65–67 [8/9]; UL 3 III 106 f–g [12/13]). The patients are laypeople (UL 3 III 106 c–e [12/13]). The magical tools are often used (Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, xlviii–liii).

[10] The word *utu*g may refer to "pitfall" or "a weapon" (*SumL*, 68).

[11] "A Vision of the Nether World," trans. E. A. Speiser (*ANET*, 109–110).

where the *mulla-ḫul* and the *maškim-ḫul* reside, as seen later. It binds itself on a person's back (UL 5 XII i 40–44 [52/53]) in the desert (UL C XXXIII 170–74 [152/153]), comes to the person's place (UL C XXXII rev ii 167 [150/151]), and attacks the person at night (UL A XXV i 40–45 [120/121]). Its riding on a person's back and attacking the person at night display that it has limited mobility and power during the day. It rides the wind to roam "through the gloomy street," attacks sheep and cattle, and enters houses to find human victims (UL 4 IX ii 10–29 [34/35]). It does not stay in one place but rides storms to bring a blight from land to land (UL 4 IX i 25 [30/31], 40–44 [32/33]). It is the plague-bringer as Namtar (UL 5 XII i 1–14 [50/51]).[12] It causes humans to suffer pain and death with plagues (UL 5 XII i 35–44 [52/53]). One specific symptom mentioned is that it "causes the limbs to toss in pain."[13]

The *ala-ḫul* or *alû limnu*[14]

The abode of the *ala-ḫul* is similar to that of the *utug-ḫul*. It is in the surface of the earth (UL 16 XXII 280–84 [108/109]). Specifically, it dwells in ruins (UL B XXVIII 55–59 [134/135]). It is formless without limbs, mouth, and ears, so it neither speaks nor hears (UL B XXVII 9–15 [128/129]).[15] It moves like a bird or a bat to find a

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[12] Thompson's translation reads, "Plague Gods [NAM-TAR], the beloved sons of Bel, the offspring of Ninkigal" (UL 5 XII i 5–9 [50/51]). He says in a footnote that the term "Plague Gods [Namtar]" is "singular in the text" (Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, 51a). Therefore, this study understands that the *utug-ḫul* brings harms to humans as Namtar does. Namtar is the god of plague born of Anu the sky deity and Ninkigal the goddess of the Underworld (S. A. Meier, "Destroyer משחית" in *DDD*, 241). Here the term *namtar* refers to no name of a particular deity from the context. This study views the term as synonymous with "plague" or "disease" (cf. UL C XXXIII 175 [152/153]).

[13] See text number 127 in Lutz's translation of an *utukku limnutu* text (Henry Frederick Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, MPBS 1/2 [Philadelphia: University Museum, 1919], 35).

[14] The word *ala* means "net, seine" (*SumL*, 50).

[15] Thompson says that humans create the *ala-ḫul* "on a bed by night in sleep" (UL B xxvii 18

victim by night (UL A XXV i 44 [120/121]; UL B XXVIII 35–37 [131/132]). When it finds one, it enshrouds the victim like a sack from above (UL 3 I 30 [4/5]; UL B XXVIII 38–39 [132/133]; *LBN* ii 71–72 [*ANET*, 598]).[16] It impedes sight and hearing and makes arms stiff, knees weak, and feet paralyzed (*LBN* ii 73–79 [*ANET*, 598]). The overall symptom is similar to that of epilepsy: it binds a person's hands and feet for the person to fall like a wall and causes the person to speak gibberish (UL B XXVII 5–9 [128/129]; cf. Mark 9:18, 20). The *ala-ḫul* is also said to be a sleep robber probably because people are sleepless in fear of its attack at night (UL B XXVII 20–21 [128/129]).

The *gidim-ḫul* or *ekimmu limnu*[17]

The *gidim-ḫul* is the departed soul of a person probably with a grudge (UL 4 X iv 40 [38/39]–X v 14 [40/41]).[18] It is notable that the *gidim-ḫul* demands food to eat and water to drink (UL 4 X v 7–10 [40/41]; cf. Matt 12:43). A sorcerer's threatening or appeasing it with food and water shows that it is not necessarily evil by nature; some grudge at the time of or after a person's death seems to turn a person's departed soul into

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[128/129]). Geller translates the same lines as "whether you be the evil Ala who, on the couch at night, spills (semen) from a man in (his) sleep" (Markham J. Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-Hul*, FAOS 12 [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985], 137). From Thompson's view, the *ala-ḫul* may have referred to the departed souls of human sperms or some divine force that failed to create a life and became malignant because Sumerians regarded semen as having creating powers ("Enki and Ninhursag: a Paradise Myth," trans. S. N. Kramer [*ANET*, 38–41]).

[16] "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*," trans. Robert D. Biggs (*ANET*, 596–600).

[17] The word *gidim* means "spirit, ghost" (*SumL*, 56).

[18] That the *gidim-ḫul* is the departed human soul is evident from the phrases such as "a ghost [*gidim*] unburied," "a ghost [*gidim*] that none careth for," (UL 4 X v 5–14 [40/41]). The list of the dead begins with the sentence "Whether thou art a ghost [*gidim*] that hath come from the earth, or a phantom of night [*mulu-lil-la*] that hath no couch" (UL 4 X iv 40–44 [38/39]). The description seems to refer to the buried and unburied dead. The list is followed and includes a person who died a virgin, unmarried, alone in the desert, and uncovered in the desert and so on (UL 4 X iv 45 [38/39]–UL 4 X v 14 [40/41]). It seems to show that they are those who died with grudge. The description, "the evil Ghost [*gidim-ḫul*] and evil Devil [*mulla-ḫul*] that find no rest" supports the view (UL C XXXI ii 120–124 [146/147]; cf. Matt 12:43).

a malevolent being (UL 4 XI v 55–61 [44/45]). The *gidim-ḫul* may return to its living neighbors, family members, or servants to harm them (UL 4 X v 30 [42/43]–UL4 XI v 54 [44/45]). It roams around the street by night (UL A XXV I 45 [120/121]; UHF 7:692 [64/65]), seizes upon the body of a victim (UL 3 i 32–34 [4/5]), and kills the victim (UHF 3:172 [30/31]).[19] The verb *ekēmu(m)*, "to take away, deprive," from the same root of *ekimmu* in Akkadian seems to describe its work well.[20]

The *mulla-ḫul* or *gallû limnu*[21]

The *mulla-ḫul* refers to the seven messengers of Ereškigal, the queen of the Underworld (UHF 5:468–471 [46/47]). They behave like "raging bulls" that "break through all houses" (UL 5 XIV iv 15–19 [68/69]).[22] The description of their works seems to have something to do with collapsing buildings. Then it is very likely that they create an earthquake to cause humans to suffer. Other portrayals of their works support the view (UL 5 XIV iv 20, 27 [70/71]): "They grind the land like corn." "Where the images of the gods are, there they quake." They are said to be violent, merciless, and bloodthirsty spirits (lines 20–35). It is well seen in people's suffering and dying under the collapsed

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[19] An incantation reads, "the evil ghost [*gidim-ḫul*], which is let loose in the street, makes a man into a corpse" (UHF 3:172 [30/31]).

[20] *CDAkk*, 68.

[21] The word *mulla* may refer to "a destructive insect, caterpillar" (*SumL*, 32). Geller translates the *mulla-ḫul* as the evil Galla-demon [*galla-ḫul*] from its Akkadian transcription (UHF 3:173 [30/31]; cf. UL 5 XIV iv 15 [68/69]). The citation UHF 3:173 [30/31] indicates that it came from Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-Hul*, tablet 3, lines 173, and pages 30 (transliteration) and 31 (translation).

[22] "Demons (like) raging bulls, great ghosts, Ghosts that break through all houses, Demons that have no shame, Seven are they!" (UL 5 XIV iv 15–19 [68/69]) In the introductory section, Thompson says that the *mulla-ḫul* "sometimes assumes the form of a bull, since it is once described as 'the *gallû*, the headstrong bull, the great ghost" (Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, xxxv). However, the description seems to refer to its behaviors metaphorically rather than its shapeshifting ability literally. Thompson's translation "Demons (like) raging bulls" above in UL 5 XIV iv 15–19 [68/69] seems to prove the view.

temple of Nabû after an earthquake they caused: “They rage against mankind; they spill their blood like rain devouring their flesh (and) sucking their veins” (UL 5 XIV iv 25–29 [70/71]). They are also said to seize upon a person’s body (UL 3 I 32–34 [4/5]). It likely refers to their behaviors after an earthquake; the *mulla-ḫul* seizes upon humans and sucks out blood from their veins as they die bleeding under the collapsed buildings rather than the *mulla-ḫul*’s fastening to cause harms to humans. The earth’s absorbing the blood of the victims seems explained in terms of an act of the *mulla-ḫul*.

The *dingir-ḫul* or *ilu limnu*[23]

The *dingir-ḫul* refers to evil deities. They are the deities in charge of storms and divided into two types according to their abode: the ocean and heaven (UL 5 XV v 35 [76/77]; UL 16 xxii 265–269 [106/107]). The *dingir-ḫul* from the ocean seems to have something to do with tropical cyclones, and the *dingir-ḫul* from heaven with tornadoes.[24] A sorcerer conjures their return to their abode in the name of Anu and Bel (UL 16 xxii 251–254 [106/107]). It is very likely that they were thought to act arbitrarily without the supreme deity’s approval.

The *maškim-ḫul* or *rabiṣu limnu*[25]

The *maškim-ḫul* lives in the Underworld, fastens upon, and smites a person as the messenger of Bel/Enlil, the Lord of the world, at night (UL 3 I 25–27 [4/5]; 10 XVII

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[23] The term *dingir* means “god, deity” (*SumL*, 53).

[24] “O raging storms, ye evil gods!” (UL 16 xxii 251–254, 261 [106/107]) “In the Ocean Deep as their home they were reared” (UL 5 XV v 35 [76/77]). “Great storms directed from heaven, they are the evil gods” (UL 16 xxii 265–269 [106/107]).

[25] The word *maškim* means “inspector, monitor, sheriff, commissioner” (*SumL*, 62).

15–19 [82/83]; 14 XX 100–104 [94/95]).[26] It seems to function as the punishing angel (cf. Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14; 1 Kgs 22:19–22; Ezek 14:9). The view gets support from the meaning of the term *maškim*, "commissioner."[27] It brings various harms to people.[28]

Two Triads of Particular Malign Spirits

Ancient Mesopotamian incantations also introduce six other particular spirits: Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil, Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra (UL 3 V 195–197 [20/21]).[29] They do not appear as frequently as the previous six types of maleficent spirits, but they are worth noting because they bring harms to people that the previous ones did not cover. They usually appear as a triad of the first three and a triad of the last three.

The triad of Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, and Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil appears more frequently than the other triad (UL 3 I 35–37 [4/5]).[30] The word *dingir*

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[26] See also Geller, *Forerunners to Udug-Hul*, 86–87. The text in UL 14 XX 100–104 [94/95] is corrupted and unclear about the type of an evil spirit. Thompson's transliteration reads, "[DINGIR]-ḪUL-A-MEŠ." Therefore, he translates the sentence as "The evil gods, the messengers of Anu the king." However, it is very likely that the corrupted text talks about the *maškim-ḫul* in comparison with the parallel text in UL 3 I 25–27 [4/5].

[27] *SumL*, 62. Thompson translates *maškim-hul* as "evil Fiend," while Geller translates as "evil bailiff" (UHF 3:221 [32/33]). Geller's translation leaves us an impression of its work as an accuser. However, his translation is too abstract to be true in comparison with the works of other evil spirits.

[28] A sorcerer conjures to heal the patient by saying, "Be thou removed from before me! By Heaven . . . . May the pestilence, fever, pain, sorcery, and all evil be removed from the body of the wanderer!" (UL 3 I 115–119 [13/14]). After the list of evil spirits that ends with *maškim-hul*, a few lines of corrupted texts appear (lines 110–114). However, the word *maškim* survived in the texts to appear twice. It suggests that the following sentences should refer to the works of the *maškim-ḫul*.

[29] This study considers the said six terms are proper nouns or personal names (Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, xxxvi). They are in Sumerian transliteration. A variation Ki-el-ud-da-kar-ra appears for Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra in UL C XXX i 88 [144/145]. Their terms in Akkadian transcription are Labartu, Labaṣu, Aḫḫazu, Lilû, Lilîtu, and Ardat lilî.

[30] Thompson translates the triad of Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, and Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil as "a hag-demon," "a ghoul," and "a robber-sprite," respectively (UL 4 X v 15–20 [40/41]).

in their names shows that they are *dingir-hul*s.[31] The abode of Dingir-rab-kan-me is in the grass such as mountains, meadows, or marshes.[32] Dingir-rab-kan-me-a resides in the desert (UL A XXIV i 5 [116/117]). The resting place of Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil is unclear but seems to be the underworld.[33] Dingir-rab-kan-me has a hybrid appearance[34] and causes flu-like symptoms: fever, chill, cough, headache, and muscle aches (LS I inc. 4:62–75 [152/153]). Dingir-rab-kan-me-a spreads "heart-disease, heartache, sickness, and disease over the city of the man" (UL A XXIV i 5–9 [116/117]).[35] It makes victims suffer from fever and severe pain (lines 10–14) and have problems in eating and drinking (lines

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Geller transliterates them as "^{d}dìm-me," "^{d}dìm-a," and "^{d}dìm-me-lagab," respectively (UHF 5:436 [44/45]). Walter Farber says that the first of the three spirits was also known as Lamaštu, Daughter of Anu, in Akkadian (Walter Farber, *Lamaštu*, MC [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2014], 1–2). It is notable that ancient people named her differently according to her victims: "When she has seized an old man, they call her 'The Annihilator.' When she has seized a young man, they call her 'The Scorcher.' When she has seized a young woman, they call her 'Lamaštu.' When she has seized a baby, they call her 'Dimme'" (LS I inc.4:67–70 [152/153]). The citation "LS 1.4:67–70 [152/153]" indicates that it came from Farber's transcription and translation of the *pirsu* recension of Lamaštu Series in his book *Lamaštu, pirsu* 1, incipit 4, lines 67–70, and pages 152 (transliteration) and 153 (translation).

[31] The list of evil spirits in UL 3 I 27–35 [4/5] displays five types of the six major types. The list omits the *dingir-ḫul* and adds *dingir-rab-kan-me* and *dingir-rab-kan-me-a* in its place. It shows that they are classified as the *dingir-ḫul*.

[32] Farber's translation of an Akkadian inscription says that Lamaštu came up from the high mountains (LS II inc. 7:35 [168/169]) and the marches (LS I inc. 5:104 [154/155]). Another translation reads, "Her lair is [in the (dung-filled) tracks of] ox[en], . . . of sheep" (LS I inc.3:38–39 [148/149]. The Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian parallel version of LS I inc.3:38–39 [148/149] says that her abode is "meadow," and "her resting place is in the grass" (Farber, *Lamaštu*, 149). It is very likely that Lamaštu's abode is associated with where grasses grow.

[33] Texts in "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*," trans. Robert D. Biggs (*ANET*, 596–601) introduces a triad of evil spirits that attacked a person with malaria-like symptoms simultaneously, although Lamaštu is the only named one. They are from Apsu, "the underground water," Ekur, "the Underworld," and the Mountain (*LBN* ii 53–55 [*ANET*, 598]). For the meanings of the terms, see *SumL*, 50, 86; *CDAkk*, 21, 68.

[34] A bronze plate from Carchemish portrays Lamaštu [Dingir-rab-kan-me] as "with lion's head, bird's talons, standing on a donkey, wielding snakes, and suckling a pig and a dog" (Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution*, trans. Margaret E. Pinder and Walter Burkert, RA 5 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992], 84; Farber, *Lamaštu*, 4, 31). It is very likely that the other two of the triad are with hybrid appearance as well.

[35] Lutz translates the same text in UL A XXIV i 5–9 [116/117] as "heart-ache, madness, sickness, headache" (Lutz, *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*, 35).

15). The work of Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil is unclear but seems to be included in the works of the triad in *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*: fatigue, headaches, shivering, cough, phlegm-discharge, sore throats, chest pain, churned bowels, hardness of breathing, and muscle aches (*LBN* ii 52–70 [*ANET*, 598]).[36] Excluding the symptoms that the other two evil deities cause, this study can assign sore throats, phlegm-discharge, and hardness of breathing to Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil. To conclude, the triad seems responsible for flu-like symptoms, malaria-like symptoms, internal problems, and respiratory problems.

Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra also appear together (UL C XXX i 85–89 [142/143–144/145]) but not as frequently as the previous triad (UL 3 IV 155 [16/17]; UL 4 X iv 40–51 [38/39]).[37] Mulu-lil-la is said to have "no couch." It seems to refer to the absence of its specific abode (UL 4 X iv 44 [38/39]). It is very likely that the other two also have no specific abode. They are said to have caused suicidal thought to a distraught person (UHF 3:18–23 [20/21]).[38] They seem to be responsible for people

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[36] "*Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*," trans. Robert D. Biggs (*ANET*, 596–600). The symptoms seem to point to malaria.

[37] Thompson, *Evil Spirits*, xxxvi-vii. Geller transliterates them from Akkadian as *lú-líl-lá*, *ki-sikil-líls*, *ud-da-kar-ra* and translates them as "Lil, female Lil, and maiden Lil demon," respectively (UHF 3 223 [32, 33]). The last one, Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra or Ardat lilî, is missing in UL 3 IV 155, 164 [16/17], and only the first one, Mulu-lil-la, appears in UL 4 X iv 43–44 [38/39]. Therefore, the bond of Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra is not as strong as that of Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, and Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil. Thompson says that Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra's have no husband, and it indicates the departed soul of an unmarried woman (ibid., xxxviii). However, it is unlikely because he also says that the other two of the triad, Mulu-lil-la and Ki-el-lil, are "less human in its characteristics" (ibid.). It may mean that they are the departed souls of humans but less human, but it is very unlikely because they are introduced as "storm demons" in *CDAkk*, 182. Then their works overlap those of the *dingir-ḫul*. However, since Thompson's incantational texts never relate them to storms, this study dismisses them as storm-bringers. A sorcerer conjures, "[O Phantom of Night] approach him not, [O Night Wraith], approach him not, [O handmaiden of the Phantom], approach him not," which shows that they harm humans personally in contact (UL C XXX i 85–89 [142/143–144/145]). The Phantom of Night, Night Wraith, and Handmaiden of the Phantom refer to the triad of Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra.

[38] A Geller's translation reads, "The Lil demons [*líl-lá*], . . . , approached the distraught man's side, and set the grievous *asag*-disease in his body" (UHF 3:18–23 [20/21]). The identity of *asag*-disease is unclear, but it refers to something occurring in a distraught person. See also UHF 3:67 [22/23]. The words

who died single, alone, and unburied in the desert in UL 4 X iv 40–51 [38/39], where Mulu-lil-la is mentioned and followed by the said deaths that may be related to suicide.

Summary

Incantational texts in ancient Mesopotamia display six major types of evil spirits. The *utug-ḫul* refers to the plague bringers with hybrid forms; the *ala-ḫul* to the formless spirits that cause an epileptic symptom; the *gidim-ḫul* to the departed souls of humans with grudge that cause death; the *mulla-ḫul* to the seven earthquake creators under the command of Ereškigal, the queen of the Underworld; the *dingir-ḫul* to the unruly deities in charge of storms, tornadoes, and cyclones; and the *maškim-ḫul* to evils casters under the command of Bel/Enlil, the Lord of the world.

There are two triads of particular evil spirits. The triad of Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, and Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil attacks people with flu- or malaria-like symptoms, internal problems, or respiratory problems. The triad of Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra causes distraught people to resort to suicide. The first triad harms people physically and the second psychologically. The evil spirits are everywhere: the *utug-ḫul*, *ala-ḫul*, and *gidim-ḫul* are in the shallow surface of the earth, the *mulla-ḫul* and *maškim-ḫul* are in the Underworld, and the *dingir-ḫul* is in the deep ocean and heaven. The triad of Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, and Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil is in mountains, meadows, marshes, deserts, or seas. The triad of Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra has no specific place to call home.

No evil spirit enters the body of a victim. The *utug-ḫul* rides on a victim's back. The *ala-ḫul* enshrouds a victim like a cloak or sack. The *gidim-ḫul*, *mulla-ḫul*,

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"the Asag-demon sorely overwhelms him" hints at the nature of disease (UHF 7:770f [64/65], 715[66/67]). The words such as *šag*$_5$, "to slaughter," or *sag*$_9$*-hul*, "good and bad" also hint at their role (*SumL*, 27, 134).

maškim-ḫul, and the triads of particular evil spirits fasten upon the body of a victim. The *dingir-ḫul* uses weather disasters to attack people.

No evil spirit parallels the Enochic evil spirits, the departed souls of the hybrid giants born from the union between corrupted deities and humans and designated by God to work as evil spirits. Some elements may be gathered from the *utug-ḫul*, the *gidim-ḫul*, and the *maškim-ḫul* and put together to create the image of the Enochic evil spirits: the hybrid appearance, the departed soul of a person, and the messenger of the supreme deity Enlil. Gilgamesh may be a far better model than the *utug-ḫul* for the Enochic hybrid birth because he was a warrior with two-thirds of him as divine and one-third of him as human (*EG* i 2:1–2 [*ANET*, 73]; ix 2:16 [*ANET*, 88]).[39] The *maškim-ḫul* is excluded from a possible cause for the rise of the Enochic evil spirits because the Old Testament authors already knew of "an evil spirit sent by God" (1 Sam 16:14). Then the combined image of Gilgamesh and the *gidim-ḫul* becomes the possible contributors to the formation of the Enochic evil spirits. Now, a question is raised whether they are exclusive to ancient Mesopotamia. The study of evil spirits in ancient Egypt will answer the question.

Malign Spirits in Ancient Egypt

Ancient Egypt's worldview was pantheistic and animistic. Nature and natural phenomena were closely related to or identified with deities.[40] Humans and deities lived

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[39] "The Epic of Gilgamesh," trans. E. A. Speiser (*ANET*, 72–99). Gilgamesh's father and mother are Lugalbanda and Ninsun (*ANET*, 49; "Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living," trans. S. N. Kramer [*ANET*, 47–50]). It is noteworthy that his mother Ninsun is a priestess-queen (*EG* iii 1:16; 2:1–10 [*ANET*, 81]; "Epic of Gilgamesh," trans. E. A. Speiser [*ANET*, 72–99]).

[40] Assmann says, "Der Kosmos ist demgegenüber die eigentlich göttliche Veranstaltung, Inbegriff und Resultat dessen, was die Götter von sich aus tun" (Jan Assmann, *Ägypten-Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984], 67).

together intermingled.[41] Deities were portrayed with various forms of animals, humans or something between them.[42] Not only that but certain animals, things, and humans might also be regarded as the embodiments or avatars of deities including evil spirits (*AEMT*, 87 §56–58).[43] Magical texts employ the terms *ɜḫ*, *mt*, *ḏɜy*, *ḫfty*, *pfy*, Shɜḳḳ, ʿAkku, and Samana to refer to malignant spirits.[44] This study surveys them to lay the groundwork for evaluating the argument that Mesopotamian demonology should have caused the rise of the Enochic evil spirits exclusively. In the previous section, this study discovered that the figure of Gilgamesh, the hybrid being born with partly divine and partly human, might be combined with the *gidim-ḫul*, the evil departed soul of a person, to cause the rise of the Enochic evil spirits. This study investigates Egyptian demonology to see if it has the two features under four subjects: the malign deity, the malign dead, three relational terms for the malign spirits, and a triad of particular malign spirits.

The Malign Deity

The term *ɜḫ*, "spirit," refers to deities.[45] It is attested in the couplet use of the spirit and dead. They often appear together (9 §4; 18 §16) and are replaced with the god

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[41] J. A. Wilson, "Egypt," in *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 2 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 56.

[42] Etienne Drioton, Georges Contenau, and Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin, *Religions of the Ancient East*, trans. M. B. Loraine, TCEC (New York: Hawthorn, 1959), 19.

[43] The citations of ancient Egypt's magical texts for this section come primarily from J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, NISABA 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978). The "*AEMT*, 87 §56–58" indicates that the cited source is in the incantational text number 87 on pages 56–58 of his book. This section will use the citation format throughout but without the abbreviation of the book.

[44] Borghouts does not provide the original hieroglyphic texts along with his transliteration. Therefore, this study resorts to use his transliterated terms and names for a reader's convenient reference. Other authors may have their own transliteration. This study uses them as they are for the same reason.

[45] For the meaning of the term *ɜḫ*, see *akhu*, "divine spirits," *ȧakhu*, "the spirit-soul of a god or man," and *Ȧakhu*, "the seven guardian spirits of the body of Osiris," in *EgHD*, 9, 23, 24.

and dead (9 §5; 58 §38; 71 §44). Magical texts exhibit various names of evil deities: Seth, Apap, Sakhmet, Bastet, Wedjoyet, and others (7 §4; 10 §10; 20 §17). Seth, Sakhmet, and Bastet have hybrid forms of humans and animals.[46] The knowledge of Egyptian myths is essential for a sorcerer to resolve the evils caused by evil deities (44 §31).[47] The sorcerer reenacts a mythical story to deal with their harms. For example, Seth was the brother and rival of Osiris, responsible for the latter's untimely death, and revenged later by Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis (81 §49; 87 §58). In a brawl, Seth smashed Horus's head to give him a severe head injury. Isis helped Horus recover from the injury by using stalks of reeds from Khemmis. Therefore, a sorcerer employs the mythical accounts to heal his patient's headache (44 §31). The sorcerer tells the mythical story in conjuration, and the story is reenacted magically and actually in the room.[48] The patient becomes the embodied Horus with the head injury, the sorcerer the embodied Isis, and the stalks of reeds those which Isis used for healing Horus's head injury. Therefore, a sorcerer's ability to conjure a myth for reenactment in the room is significant and essential for the magical healing in ancient Egypt.

The Malign Dead

The *mt*, "dead," refers to some force of a dead human: a dead person's shadow (80 §48), influence (64 §41), spell (67 §42), or ejaculation (73 §46). It "penetrates" the

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[46] *RDGD*, 31, 45, 139, 143, 161.

[47] Malignant deities might be responsible for a person's terror (6 §3), death (9 §4), mouth diseases (11 §10–11), plagues (20 §17), headache (39 §27), vomit (47 §32), swell and pain in limbs (52 §35), eye diseases (58 §37; 77 §48), skin diseases (71 §44–45), and others. It is notable that plagues are attributed to deities exclusively (cf. Exod 7–12).

[48] "Look, she has come, Isis there, . . . her son Horus on account of the smashing (*whn*) of his head, . . . by Seth the son of Nut, during that fight in the great valley!" (44 §31)

body of a person (9 §5) and does various harms to the person (9 §5).[49] All the dead are not necessarily evil. Particular ways that a person dies contribute to the rise of an evil dead. The cause of a person's death for the evil dead might be deities, humans, animals, diseases, poisons, infections, accidents, hunger, thirst, or others (9 §4–5). They might be all summarized as unnatural death. The death at a particular time of the day (9 §4) or with a disfigured state (9 §5) may also cause the rise of an evil dead. Egyptians believed that malignancy remained in the body of a person after the death. Therefore, magical texts say that a proper way of a pre-burial ritual and taboos is crucial to remove the malignancy from the body and to make sure of preventing the dead from being malignant (9 §5–6).[50] The rite involves spells, animal figurines, and fumigation of the dead (9 §6).

Three Relational Terms for the Malign Spirits

Magical texts also mention the *ḫfty*, *pfy*, and *ḏ̲ȝy* as malignant entities.[51] Their identification is hard to grasp but worth discussing. The triple appearance shows that they

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[49] The malignant dead may be responsible for terror (6 §3), death (8 §4), a food poisoning (27 §22), headache (39 §27), physical malfunction (41 §29; 71 §45), a physical problem after drinking (46 §32), pain and swell in limbs (52 §35), eye-diseases (58 §38; 77 §48), an ejaculation problem (59 §38), a breastfeeding problem (64 §41; 67 §42), the problem of ineffective medicine (73 §46; 76 §47), delay of healing (81 §49), and others.

[50] "If the removal of an enemy *(ḫfty)*, fiend *(pfy)*, male dead, female dead and so on is delayed—then the enemy of the heaven will split it [the body of a dead] asunder, then the enemy of the earth will turn it over forcibly, . . ." (9 §5–6). Taboos for a certain period before the regular burial are: (1) no water to be offered to the dead in the coffin, (2) no burial for the dead in Abydos, (3) no covering for the dead in Busiris, (4) no offering to the dead in Heliopolis, (5) no cult participation in a temple, and (6) no offering to any god in any festival, probably, by the town's people (9 §6). Abydos and Busiris are places or necropolises for an afterlife (10 §10), and Heliopolis is a place where cosmic deities reside (14 §14; 22 §18; 48 §32).

[51] The *ḫfty*, *ḏ̲ȝy*, and *pfy* appear all when magical texts deal with a headache (39 §27) and a funeral ritual for the exorcism of malignancy from a dead person (9 §5–6). The *ḫfty* becomes the cause of a mouth disease (11 §10–11), food poisoning (27 §22), a physical problem after drinking (46 §32), a vomit (47 §32), an ejaculation problem (59 §38), an infant death (68 §43), and eye diseases (77 §48). The *ḏ̲ȝy* brings people additionally terror (6 §3), death (8 §4), fever and catarrh (55 §37), eye diseases (77 §48), and the delay of healing (81 §49). The *pfy*'s additional harms are food poisoning (27 §22) and a physical

are distinct from one another (39 §27).[52] However, the alternate coupling of the *ḫfty* and *pfy* (9 §5) and that of the *ḫfty* and *ḏ3y* (9 §6) within the same magical ritual display that they are closely related to one another.

The word *ḫfty*, "enemy," is a relational term (10 §10; 138 §92; 140 §92). Apap the chaos god is said to be the enemy of Rēʿ the sun god (10 §10), cobra the enemy of the ram (138 §92), and snake the enemy of Horus (140 §92).[53] Then it is very likely that the other terms are also relational. It is notable that the *ḫfty* and *ḏ3y* have distinct sexes (11 §11; 39 §27), so they likely refer to the deity or dead in opposition to patients (9 §5–6). The *ḏ3y* is related to the dead (9 §5–6),[54] so the *ḫfty* likely refers to the divine opponent, including the living creatures thought to be divinely embodied. The *pfy*, "fiend," has no distinctive sex, so it likely refers to something in opposition to patients beyond the *ḫfty* and *ḏ3y* (52 §35); they seem to refer to other evil factors such as the shadow (80 §48), influence (64 §41), spell (67 §42), and others.

A Triad of Particular Malign Spirits

Magical texts mention three particular entities: Sh3ḳḳ, ʿAkku, and Samana. Sh3ḳḳ is a heavily deformed monster with his right paw attached backward and his left paw crossing over his eyebrow (22 §17–18). He lives on dung (22 §18).[55] It is likely that

problem after drinking (46 §32).

[52] "Oh enemy (*ḫfty*), and fiend (*pfy*), . . . , male opponent (*ḏ3y*), female opponent!" (39 §27).

[53] Apap was "a monster mythological serpent" (*EgHD*, 111). It gets support from 111 §78, where it reads, "a sister of the snake is the scorpion (*ḏl*), a sister of Apap."

[54] A magical text talks about the urgency of "the removal of an enemy (*ḫfty*), fiend (*pfy*), male dead, female dead" (9 §5–6). The dead comes to the place of *ḏ3y*. The *ḏ3y* is closely related to the dead.

[55] A magical text speaks of Sh3ḳḳ "whose eyes are in his head (*dbn*)" (22 §17). The word *dbn* may also mean "dung" (*DLE*, 245). He seems to seek for something to eat in dung (cf. *AEMT*, 101n51).

he is the departed soul of a warrior.[56] The abominable look and lifestyle even scare "the gods in the necropolis" and keep them away from him (22 §18). The magical texts say nothing particular about how he harms humans, but he seems to cause people to suffer from some deformity.[57]

Shɜḳḳ has features reminiscent of the Enochic hybrid giants, evil spirits, and Flood (22 §17–18). First, he resembles the Enochic giants because he is a hybrid monster. He is said to have "come forth from the heaven and the earth" (22 §17; 1 En. 6:1–2). The expression refers to his mixed origin. His mother is Ḥṯsmm, and his father is Twtwbdš (22 §18). Their referents are enigmatic because they are foreign names.[58] However, their names also very likely show his mixed origin.

Second, a sorcerer's threat parallels the Enochic evil spirits in two aspects. One is his abode. Shɜḳḳ is said to be the enemy of the sky god Horus and the god of the underworld Osiris (22 §18), so he belongs neither to heaven nor the Underworld. It is reminiscent of God's words about the Enochic evil spirits in 1 Enoch 15:10, where the author of the Book of the Watchers says that the good angels belong to heaven, the fallen angels to the subterranean prison, but the evil spirits to the earth. The other aspect

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[56] The Egyptian term *s'ḳ* means "to cut, to destroy." See *s-āq* in *EgHD*, 647. The deformity of Shɜḳḳ seems to result from combats. Then it may indicate that he is the dead abandoned in a battle field without a proper burial.

[57] Edwards speaks of Shɜḳḳ in a footnote, "the personification of an ailment and its representation as a demon are known from other magical texts" (I. E. S. Edwards, "Ḳenḥikhopshef's Prophylactic Charm," *JEA* 54 [1968]: 157n1). Then, his appearance gives a clue to his evil works.

[58] Edwards relates the names of Shɜḳḳ's parents to the lists of deities in the Hittite treaties and in Sanchuniathon, specifically some Syrian mountain deities (ibid., 59np and nq). Budge relates Shɜḳḳ to Assyrian *shaḳḳu*. See *sāq* in *EgHD*, 647. The term *asakku* in ancient Assyrian may refer to a demon (*CAD*, 1.A.2:325). It is noteworthy that Twtwbdš, the name of Shɜḳḳ's father, has "*w*" in the middle. Ancient Ugarit had double deities such as Kôṯaru-wa-Ḫasīsu and Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu (*COS* 1.86:244; 1.87:281; "Baʿlu Myth," trans. Dennis Pardee [*COS* 1.86:241–74]; "Dawn and Dusk," trans. Dennis Pardee [*COS* 1.87: 274–83]). It may support Shɜḳḳ is of Syrian origin.

reminiscent of the fallen angel tradition is Shɜḳḳ's getting an evil name (22 §18). The sorcerer threatens him that his name would be removed, his body would be annihilated, and then an evil name would be given to him. It denotes that his current existence would end, and another existence with an evil name would begin. It is resonant of the Enochic hybrid giants becoming the evil spirits after their deaths (1 En. 15:8–9).

Third, the sorcerer's threatening him with water is reminiscent of the Enochic Flood. He threatens to pour down water against Shɜḳḳ as if the water is a great threat to him (22 §18). The threat of water is resonant of the Enochic Flood, although the Enochic Flood is against the corrupted humans (1 En. 10:2). This study lacks evidence to say that Shɜḳḳ gave rise to the Enochic giants and evil spirits but acknowledges that there are overlapping images between them.

ʿAkku and Samana are mentioned together as if a couple (23 §18–19). They cause people to suffer from some sickness in the limbs (24 §19–21; 25 §21).[59] They are said to prevent "prosperity, health, and good tidings" from coming to a person (23 §19). They seem to prevent the person from conducting a daily productive life, which likely caused them to be branded as violent spirits (23 §19).[60] It is noteworthy that they are threatened with the punishing water and poisons of higher deities, and the magical healing from their attacks includes the use of a particular herb (25 §21).[61] The violent nature of ʿAkku and Samana and a sorcerer's using an herb to heal their diseases are

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[59] Since ʿAkku and Samana do the same harm to humans, a sorcerer's description of each might be regarded as about both. Therefore, this study uses "they" instead of each of their names in the following sentences as the magical text speaks of each.

[60] A sorcerer threatens ʿAkku, "Then he [Ba'al] will make an end of the violence . . . . It is like this you also will be, oh *samana*, with the gods acting against you, . . ." (23 §19).

[61] A sorcerer speaks to a patient, "I have fetched a herb that came into existence by itself" (25 §21).

reminiscent of Jubilees 10:12, where God gives Noah a herbal knowledge to heal sickness the evil spirits will bring to his offspring when they sin.

In conclusion, Shɜḳḳ, ʿAkku, and Samana have shared points of resemblance with the Enochic evil spirits. Egyptologists think that they are imported from ancient Syria.[62] Their Syrian origin hints that such a concept had very likely spread from Syria to Egypt via Canaan even before the Exile.[63]

Summary

Ancient Egypt's magical texts use several terms for malignant spirits: *ɜḫ*, *mt*, *ḫfty*, *ḏɜy*, *pfy*, Shɜḳḳ, ʿAkku, and Samana. The *ɜḫ* refers to deities, and the *mt* to the dead. They are neutral terms. The *ḫfty*, *ḏɜy*, and *pfy* carry a hostile connotation. The three terms are used to include malignant entities beyond the *ɜḫ* and *mt*. The *ḫfty* refers to deities, the *ḏɜy* to the dead, and the *pfy* to other personified malignant factors. Shɜḳḳ is a hybrid monster with horribly deformed appearances. He is an evil spirit compatible with the Enochic evil spirits; he is the departed soul of a warrior born from the union of the heavenly and earthly beings. ʿAkku and Samana are a demon-couple. They have features reminiscent of the Enochic hybrid giants and evil spirits. It is notable that Shɜḳḳ, ʿAkku, and Samana are of Syrian origin. Their figures suggest that people in Palestine should

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[62] Edwards, "Ḳenḥikhopshef's Prophylactic Charm," 159np and nq; Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 45. It is noteworthy that an Ugaritic myth tells the birth of Šaḥru-wa-Šalimu from the union between ʾIlu and two human females (*COS* 1.87:280–81), and they consume birds and fishes "with one lip to the earth and the other lip to the heavens" (*COS* 1.86:282; "Dawn and Dusk," trans. Dennis Pardee [*COS* 1.87:274–83]). The union between a deity and two human females, the birth of hybrid lesser deities, and their eating birds and fishes are reminiscent of the Enochic hybrid giants, if not paralleled.

[63] The author of Ḳenḥikhopshef's prophylactic charm that contains a spell against Shɜḳḳ lived between the 13th and 12th century BCE (Edwards, "Ḳenḥikhopshef's Prophylactic Charm," 156).

have known of the concept similar to the Enochic evil spirits before the Exile. Ancient Egypt has similar features to those of Mesopotamia that might have influenced the rise of the Enochic evil spirits. The *mt* is a type of the departed soul of a person, and some evil deities had hybrid appearances. Besides, the figure of Pharaoh corresponds to Gilgamesh because he was thought to be the offspring born from the mystical union between a deity and a queen.[64] Therefore, Egyptian demonology weakens the argument of the exclusive Mesopotamian influence upon the formation of the Enochic evil spirits.

Malign Spirits in Ancient Greece

The survey of evil spirits in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt showed that both cultures had the features causing the Enochic evil spirits: a hybrid figure born from the union between the god and human and the departed soul of a person as an evil spirit. This section surveys Greek demonology to see if it carries any point of resemblance with the said common features. If this section reveals so, the argument for the exclusive influence of Mesopotamian demonology upon the Enochic evil spirits will be discouraged further. The survey will be undertaken under three topics: malign deities, malign departed human souls, and daimons/daimonions/the daimonic.[65]

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[64] Henry Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 169, 299. It is notable that Pharaoh was depicted as "a strong bull," while a queen mother as "the cow that has borne a bull" (ibid., 162). The metaphor of the bull for the embodied deity, the metaphor of the cow for the queen mother, and their sexual union are all reminiscent of the metaphoric description of the union of the fallen angels and human females in the Book of Dream Visions, where the author says that many stars [fallen angels] came down to earth and became ኦልህምት, "bulls," to be with ጣዕዋ, "the young cow [human females]" (1 En. 86:3).

[65] To avoid being confused with English terms such as "demon" or "daemon" that may not carry proper meanings for this section, this study improvises the three terms "daimon," "daimonion," and "the daimonic" for convenience. "Daimon" is for δαίμων, "daimonion" is for the noun form of δαιμόνιον, and "the daimonic" is for the adjective form of δαιμόνιον with the article τό. Aristotle says, Τὸ δαιμόνιον οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀλλ᾽ ἢ θεὸς ἢ θεοῦ ἔργον (Aristotle, *Rhet*. 2.23 [1398a]). The word δαιμόνιον should be

Malign Deities

Homer (800–700, 700–600 BCE) mentioned the goddess Erinys walking in darkness (*Il*. 9.570; 19.85).[66] Hesiod (800–700, 700–600 BCE) introduced her as a "horrid goddess (θεὰ δασπλῆτις)" (*Fr. alt.* 216.9). Sophocles (497–406 BCE) spoke of her as the one who punished the wicked (*Trach.* 807–809; *El.* 261–275) and executed the curses of people (*Oed. col.* 1284–1299), using beguilement (*Fr. not.* 577).

Hippocrates of Cos (500–400 BCE) talked about the goddess Hekate to whom his contemporaries had attributed various types of diseases. His contemporaries called the diseases the sacred disease (*Morb. sacr*. 1.1) because they were "beyond their skill (ὑπὸ ἀπειρίης)" and "marvelous (θαυμασιότητος)" to their eyes (*Morb. sacr*. 1.4–5).[67] The sacred disease was thought to be of θεῖον origin (*Morb. sacr*. 1.4) and to cause fears, terrors, delirium, jumping from the bed, or rushing out of doors at night (*Morb. sacr.* 4.30–34).[68] Hekate's work was related to delusions rather than physical attacks with diseases. Theophrastus (400–300, 300–200 BCE) confirms it by saying that Hekate bewitched a person's house (Theophrastus, *Char*. 16.7). Sophron (500–400 BCE) introduced her as a subterranean goddess and the ruler of the dead (*Mim. fem*. 7). Her image seems to have been κύνες, "dogs," because Aristophanes (500–400, 400–300

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adjective for it to refer to both a deity and a deity's work, so this study translates the term τὸ δαιμόνιον as "the daimonic."

[66] The dates of the Greek works in this section are derived from each book of Loeb Classical Library. The phrase "Homer (800–700, 700–600 BCE)" indicates that Homer lived sometime between the eighth century BCE and the seventh century BCE; the phrase "Aristophanes (500–400 BCE)" shows that Aristophanes lived sometime in the fifth century BCE; and the phrase "Sophocles (497–406 BCE)" shows that Sophocles lived from 497 BCE to 406 BCE.

[67] Hippocrates thought that the sacred disease had natural causes (*Morb. sacr*. 1.3), and the concept was devised by magicians, purifier, charlatans, and quacks in their ignorance (*Morb. sacr*. 2.1–3.20) and for their personal gains (*Morb. sacr*. 4.7–21).

[68] Hippocrates mentioned "heroes" as responsible for the sacred disease as well (*Morb. sacr.* 4.30–34). This study will discuss the departed souls of heroes in the next subsection.

BCE) said that people sacrificed to the statue of dogs for her (*Fr. s. nom.* 608). People seem to have hoped to avoid her attacks by appeasing her through their sacrifices.

Malign Departed Souls of Humans

Hippocrates of Cos talked about the general public of his time who attributed the sacred disease to not only deities but also heroes (*Morb. sacr*. 4.30–34). The heroes very likely refer to departed souls of the heroic race, whom Homer and Hesiod mentioned in their works (Homer, *Il*. 1.1–5; Hesiod, *Op*. 156–173).[69] Ancient people called heroes demigods (*Op*. 160). However, it is unclear if the heroes were thought to be all hybrid offspring born from the union between deities and humans because Hesiod said that Zeus had made the heroic race as αὖ τις ἔτ᾽ἄλλο, "yet again a certain other," after his dissatisfaction of the bronze race made "out of ashtree" (*Op*. 160, 145–151).[70] It is unlikely that the heroic race was born originally from the union between deities and humans, although Hesiod told births from such a union at the time of the heroic race. The heroes were warriors and destroyed by war and battle (*Op*. 161). The Trojan War was part of their history (*Op*. 162–165; Plato, *Apol*. 16 [28C]). Homer had talked about the menacing souls of the dead in the heroic race before Hesiod (*Od*. 11.36–43).

Following Circe's advice (*Od*. 10.490–540), Odysseus and his comrades went to the house of Hades and Persephone at the end of the earth to seek the advice of the

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[69] According to Hesiod, the immortal deities made the five races of humans that honor them and sacrifice upon their altars: the golden, silver, bronze, heroic, and iron race (*Op*. 106–201, 136–137).

[70] Helped by the Olympian deities, Zeus made the silver race first (*Op*. 127–129), but it was a failure because they were undisciplined under the care of their cherished mother (*Op*. 130–131). Then Zeus made the bronze race ἐκ μελιᾶν (*Op*. 143–145). They were also a failure because they were reckless fighters with massive stature (*Op*. 145–151). They eventually fought one another to death and went to Hades (*Op*. 152–155). Then third, Zeus made the heroic race as αὖ τις ἔτ᾽ἄλλο (*Op*. 160).

departed soul of Theban Teiresias about their way back home (*Od*. 11.22). There Odysseus took the sheep and bled it over the pit to attract the souls of the dead from Erebus.[71] The departed souls of the dead thronged "in crowds about the pit from every side" (*Od*. 11.36–43). They were the departed souls of brides, unwed youths, miserables, old people, maidens, young people, and warriors. They were the souls of the recently dead (*Od*. 11.39).[72] Seeing them, Odysseus was scared greatly (*Od*. 11.44). However, he collected his mind, kept them off the sheep with his sword drawn out, and waited for the departed soul of Theban Teiresias to approach (*Od*. 11.50). Meanwhile, he met the departed souls of a few acquainted humans. One of them was the departed soul of Elpenor. Odysseus's conversation with Elpenor is notable (*Od*. 11.51). Elpenor was a comrade who fell headlong from the roof to his death (*Od*. 11.62–65). He warned Odysseus to commemorate him (*Od*. 11.71). He said if he would have been left behind unwept and unburied, he would become malign to harm Odysseus (*Od*. 11.73). He instructed Odysseus how to perform a proper burial rite in memory of an unlucky person to ensure Odysseus against harms (*Od*. 11.74–78). The word "unlucky" shows that the departed soul of a person with a grudge became malign.

Greek authors mentioned particular names of the evil departed souls of humans. Aristophanes talked about Ἔμπουσα as a frightful spirit with a shape-shifting ability (*Ran.* 289–295). She had an ugly blister caused by blood on her face (*Eccl*. 1056–1057). Theocritus (300–200 BCE) introduced a story of a mother who had drawn Μορμώ

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[71] Erebus was the deep darkness that had existed even before the earth, air, and sky: Χάος ἦν καὶ Νὺξ Ἔρεβός τε μέλαν πρῶτον καὶ Τάρταρος εὐρύς· Γῆ δ' οὐδ' Ἀὴρ οὐδ' Οὐρανὸς ἦν· Ἐρέβους δ' ἐνὰπείροσι κόλποις (Aristophanes, *Av*. 693–694).

[72] Liddell and Scott interpreted νεοπενθέα θυμὸν ἔχουσαι as "in new sorrow" (LSJ, 1168). The phrase literally denotes "the newly mourned to receive (a libation of) a mixture of thyme with honey and vinegar."

in the conversation with her female child to discourage the child from joining her for a city outing and encourage the child to stay babysitting the infant brother at home (*Id.* 15.40). Μορμώ might have been associated with the wind that scattered human souls after their death (Plato, *Phaed.* 24 [77d–e]) (427–347 BCE). Another malign departed soul, introduced with a name, is Λάμιας. Diodorus of Sicily (100 BCE–1 CE) told a legend of Λάμιας (*Hist.* 20.41). She was a queen of Libya with surpassing beauty, but her face became bestial later. All her children died because of the jealous wrath of the goddess Hera, so Λάμιας became jealous of women delighting in their newborn babies and killed their babies.

Daimons/Daimonions/the Daimonic

Ancient Greek authors used the three Greek terms δαίμων, δαιμόνιον, and τὸ δαιμόνιον to refer to evil spirits. This study terms them as "daimon," "daimonion," and "the daimonic" in the survey. Their concepts are hard to define in a word because ancient Greek authors displayed no consensus on the terms even to the point of confusion.[73] This study explores the use of the terms by ancient Greek authors chronologically to see if it reveals any conceptual development and resemblance with the Enochic evil spirits.

Homer used the term "daimon" to refer to a deity (*Il.* 1.222).[74] However, Hesiod employed the same term for the first-generation humans, the golden race, whom Zeus made take a role of the φύλακες, "watchers," over the later races of humans (*Op.*

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[73] Brenk says that the term "daimones" is "an extremely ambiguous word" (F. E. Brenk, "In the Light of the Moon: Demonology in the Early Imperial Period," in *ANRW* 2/16/3 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986], 2068–69).

[74] Athene the goddess was said to have been μετὰ δαίμονας ἄλλους in Olympus (*Il.* 1.222). The author of *Illiad* used the term δαίμων for Athene and other deities.

122–126). They monitored humans to see if they performed their duty to deities justly or abusively.[75] They rewarded humans with wealth for fulfilling their religious duties. They were like air and could go anywhere they wanted to be. It is notable that they were said to be honored with the role as ἐσθλοί δαίμονες, "good daimons." Hesiod did not necessarily introduce a new concept of "daimon" because he said all races of humans were of the same origin as deities (*Op*. 108).[76] Mortality distinguished humans from deities (*Op*. 116). Therefore, when the golden race became the god-like or divine beings, whose souls did not go down to Hades but in service to Zeus, they were rightly called "daimons."[77] The "daimon" turns out to imply the god-like or divine existence of beings. It has a neutral connotation, so the sinless golden race became good daimons (*Op*. 115).[78]

However, Hippocrates of Cos introduced malign daimons in the lips of the general public at his time. People said that they caused the sacred disease (ἱερή νοῦσος), in which people became paralyzed, deranged, delusional, and suicidal (*Puell.* 1.5–12 [466]). The human victims saw δυσμενέας δαίμονας, "hostile daimons," holding on to

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[75] Hesiod's daimons monitored people's way of worshipping deities in temples. Hesiod gave a clue to it in *Theog*. 989–991, where he said that Eos, the goddess of dawn, bore Cephalus a son Phaethon, who was θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα (*Theog*. 987). Aphrodite was fond of him and snatched him away to make him her innermost νηοπόλον or δαίμονα δῖον (*Theog*. 989–991). The word ἀνερειψαμένη, "snatching away," is from the verb ἀνερείπομαι, which consists of ἀνά and ἐρείπομαι. The verb means "to be thrown down" or "to be fallen in ruins" (LSJ, 685). It is very likely that Phaethon became a temple-keeper after his death.

[76] Ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ᾽ ἄνθρωποι (*Op*. 108).

[77] The Greek texts are not explicit about the death of the golden race for their souls to become daimons. However, their invisibility and ability to be anywhere at their will like air seem to refer to their being without bodies (*Op*. 122–126).

[78] Hesiod explains that the golden race was perfect in all aspects (*Op*. 109–126). They lived with deities on Olympus at the time of Cronus (*Op*. 109–110), worried nothing (*Op*. 112), had no labor and hardship (*Op*. 113a), did not age (*Op*. 114), were *sinless* (*Op*. 115), and even died peacefully as if having been overpowered by sleep (*Op*. 116). Their life can be summarized in a sentence as Ἐσθλὰ δὲ πάντα τοῖσιν ἔην, "So all things were continually being good to them" (*Op*. 116–117). They are comparable to Adam and Eve before the Fall in Genesis, specifically, in his description of their grain-giving field by itself (*Op*. 117–118).

their bodies under a delusion, and it drove many victims to hang themselves (*Puell.* 1.5–12 [466]). People's terror of seeing daimons indicates that the daimons were not the golden race as seen in Hesiod. It is very likely that they were malign deities.

Demosthenes (384–322 BCE) talked about a punishing daimonion having brought calamities upon Athen (*Exord.* 39.2 [1448]). The calamities likely referred to the Mytilenean revolt (*Exord.* 37.2 [1447]). He said that if a certain daimonion had brought the tragic events, they must have taken place to pay what had been due (*Exordia* 39.2 [1448]). His view on the daimonion is confirmed in another place when he spoke of his fear of a daimonion behind Athenians' disharmony: "This fear had often haunted me if a certain daimonion might be driving the affairs: (the affairs) of abusiveness, jealousy, (and) jibe" (3 *Philip.* 54 [124]).[79] Here a daimonion caused disharmony among Athenians as an executioner of justice.

Aristotle (400–300 BCE), a contemporary of Demosthenes, introduced the view of the general public at his time. He told a piece of hearsay about a wild herb Sistrus, which grew at the place called Scamander, with a magically protecting power from a daimonion (*Mir. ausc*. 160 [846a]). He also told a story from hearsay about a bean-shaped stone in the river Nile with a magically exorcistic power (*Mir. ausc*. 166 [846b]). In the latter story, he spoke of "a (certain) daimon" and categorized it as the daimonic.[80] It shows that people at the time of Aristotle did not distinguish among daimons, daimonions, and the daimonic. The term τὸ δαιμόνιον, "the daimonic," seems

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[79] Πολλάκις γὰρ ἔμοιγ᾽ ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἐλαύνῃ, ὥστε λοιδορίας, φθόνου, σκώμματος (3 *Philip.* 54 [124]).

[80] Ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ποταμῷ γεννᾶσθαι λίθον φασὶ κυάμῳ παρόμοιον, ὃν ἂν κύνες ἴδωσιν, οὐχ ὑλακτοῦσι. Συντελεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῖς δαίμονί τινι γενομένοις κατόχοις· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ προστεθῆναι ταῖς ῥισὶν ἀπέρχεται τὸ δαιμόνιον (*Mir. ausc.* 166 [846b]).

to mean τὸ δαιμόνιον γένος.[81] People also said that the daimonic was responsible for pseudocyesis (*Hist. an.*, 10.3 [636a.9–26]).[82] The work of the daimonic is closely related to a psychological effect.

Polybius (200–118 BCE) mentioned "the daimonic" when he talked about a certain man named Timaeus whom he disliked. Timaeus wrote a book in which he blamed others for the sins he had himself committed. Polybius criticized him, saying "Then, considering that Callisthenes must have been laid down his life in a punishment justifiably in exchange for the life (of Alexander the Great), how should Timaeus suffer (for his evil)? For it is much fairer for the daimonic to be wroth with him more than with Callisthenes" (*Hist.* 12.23.3–4).[83] The daimonic here seems to be a punishing spirit.[84]

Summary

Greek authors before the third century BCE mentioned malign deities, malign departed souls of humans, and daimons/daimonions/the daimonic.

Two known names of malign deities were Erinys and Hekate. Erinys punished sinners and executed curses with beguilement. Hekate brought humans fears, terrors, and odd behaviors at night. The evil departed souls of humans were from the heroic race who died with a grudge and at war, but those whom later authors mentioned were irrelevant to

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[81] The word γένος is a collective noun. Here it means "a class, sort, kind" (LSJ, 344).

[82] Aristotle said, ἀναφέρουσι [people] δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος εἰς τὸ δαιμόνιον (*Hist. an.,* 10.3 [636a.24–25]). The context tells the πάθος, "affection," refers to a woman's feeling a phantom pregnancy (*Hist. an.,* 10.3 [636a.9–11]).

[83] Πλὴν εἰ τὸν Καλλισθένην θετέον εἰκότως κολασθέντα μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον, τί χρὴ πάσχειν Τίμαιον; πολὺ γὰρ ἂν δικαιότερον τούτῳ νεμεσήσαι τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ Καλλισθένει (*Hist.* 12.23.3–4).

[84] Polybius's "the daimonic" goes well with Demosthenes's daimonions mentioned above.

the heroic race. Three known names were Empousa the frightful shape-shifter, Mormo the threat to children, and Lamia the infant killer.[85] It is noteworthy that the named evil deities and departed souls of humans were all females.

The concept of daimons/daimonions/the daimonic was complicated because Greeks had different views on them from one another. Conceptual development appeared with time. Homer identified daimons and deities. Hesiod said that the departed souls of the golden race were benign daimons in service to Zeus, but the general public at the time of Hippocrates spoke of the sacred disease in which patients saw fearful daimons under a delusion to their strange behaviors, including suicide. Demosthenes employed the term "daimonion" to refer to an evil spirit influencing people's minds for disharmony as the executioner of justice. Aristotle told two stories on hearsay about malign spirits at his time, where people did not distinguish between daimons and daimonions and categorized them as the daimonic. They also believed in a particular plant or stone with an exorcistic power and regarded the daimonic as responsible for pseudocyesis. Polybius mentioned the daimonic as a punishing spirit. It is notable that the malign daimons and daimonions influence humans psychologically.

There existed the intersection of evil deities and daimons/daimonions/the daimonic. Hippocrates's daimons and Hekate caused people to suffer delusions from the sacred disease. Demosthenes's daimonions and Erinys caused disharmony among humans. The daimonic of Aristotle, Erinys, and Hekate brought harms to humans psychologically. The daimonic of Polybius and Erinys were punishers. However, this study found no intersection between the evil departed souls of humans and daimons/

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[85] Lamia was from Diodorus of Sicily, *Hist.* 20.41 (the first century CE).

daimonions/the daimonic. The δαίμων referring to divine existence seems to have been the cause.

It is notable that ancient Greeks talked about the departed souls of humans and birth from the union between deities and humans in their demonology. The features in Mesopotamian demonology might have been combined to give rise to the Enochic evil spirits. Greek demonology discourages the exclusive Mesopotamian influence upon the Enochic evil spirits in the same way as Egyptian demonology does.

Conclusion

This study began this chapter to evaluate the validity of the argument that Mesopotamian demonology should cause the Enochic evil spirits. As part of the process, this study surveyed the evil spirits in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece. The survey of the evil spirits in Mesopotamia was to see what demonological features paralleled those of the Enochic evil spirits. The survey of the evil spirits in Egypt and Greece was to observe if the emerged parallels from the first survey were exclusive to the Mesopotamian world. This study's findings might be summarized under six topics: types of evil spirits, their harms and evils, the concept of justice in evil spirits, the significance of a proper burial for the dead, an evil spirit's entering the body of a person, and figures paralleled to the Enochic evil spirits.

Types of Evil Spirits

Ancient Mesopotamia's incantational texts showed six types of evil spirits in Sumerian: the *utug-ḫul*, *ala-ḫul*, *gidim-ḫul*, *mulla-ḫul*, *dingir-ḫul*, and *maškim-ḫul*. Their Akkadian transcriptions were *utukku limnu*, *alû limnu*, *ekimmu limnu*, *gallû limnu*, and *ilu limnu*. In addition, the incantational texts also showed two triads of particular evil spirits.

One triad was Dingir-rab-kan-me, Dingir-rab-kan-me-a, and Dingir-rab-kan-me-kil; the other triad was Mulu-lil-la, Ki-el-lil, and Ki-el-gid-da-kar-ra. In Akkadian transcription, they might be called as the triad of Labartu/Lamaštu, Labaṣu, and Aḫḫazu and the triad of Lilû, Lilîtu, and Ardat lilî. Ancient Egypt's magical texts showed three types of malign spirits: the *ɜḫ*, "divine spirit," *mt*, "dead," and the other. They might be categorized as the *ḫfty*, *ḏɜy*, and *pfy* in relational terms. Ancient Egypt also had three particular spirits with names: Shɜḳḳ, ʿAkku, and Samana. Ancient Greece had two types of evil spirits: malign deities and malign departed souls of humans. The golden race or malign deities might be explained in terms of daimons, daimonions, or the daimonic. Ancient Greece had evil spirits with particular names: Erinys, Hekate, Empousa, Lamia, and Mormo. The first two names referred to malign deities, and the others to malign departed souls of humans. All the three cultures had two common types: evil deities and evil departed souls of humans.

Harms and Evils of Evil Spirits

The evil spirits in Mesopotamia caused various evils to humans that they may experience in their quotidian life such as plagues, epilepsy, unnatural death, and natural disasters, and others. The evil spirits in Egypt were also responsible for a wide range of evils except for natural disasters. The evil spirits in Greece did not cause a wide range of evils to humans. They influenced humans psychologically; they drove victims beguiled and delusional to their fear, self-injury, and disharmony. Disease- or plague-causing evil spirits were absent in Greece.

The Concept of Justice in Evil Spirits

Both ancient Mesopotamians and Greeks had maleficent deities taking the role of punishers. It seems to have encouraged people to honor deities in everyday life. The

malignant spirits in Egypt did not show such a role. It seems to have been natural in an animistic faith. To know how the world operates and to live in harmony with nature or cope with each situation wisely seem to have been an essential part of a happy life in Egypt.

A Proper Burial for the Dead

Mesopotamians, Egyptians and Greeks stressed all a proper burial rite to prevent departed human souls from becoming malevolent. The concept seems to have promoted honoring the dead, although fear likely prompted the action.

An Evil Spirit's Entering the Body of a Person

The evil spirits in Mesopotamia did not enter the bodies of humans. Some held on to or enshrouded victims; the other created natural disasters to cause harms to humans. The malevolent spirits in Greece also did not enter the bodies of humans. Their punishing, bewitching, or appearing in hallucinations showed it well. However, the malignant spirits in Egypt entered the bodies of people mysteriously but evidently.

Parallel Figures to the Enochic Evil Spirits

Mesopotamia had no parallel figure to the Enochic evil spirits: the departed souls of the hybrid giants born from the union between the fallen angels and human females. The best option was to combine features from the *gidim-ḫul*, the evil departed human soul, and Gilgamesh born partly divine and partly human. The two features were all found in Egypt and Greece. It was notable that the figure of Shɜḳḳ in Egypt had strikingly paralleled features to the Enochic evil spirits. He was born from the union between the heavenly and earthly, belonged to neither heaven nor the underworld, was

threatened to have an evil name after his annihilation, and was threatened with water. Egyptologists thought that the figure of Shɜḳḳ to have been imported from Syria before the first millennium BCE. This study suggested that the concepts corresponding to the Enochic evil spirits should have spread from Syria to Egypt via Canaan before the Exile. The presence of the concepts in Ugarit supported the view; an Ugaritic text spoke of the union of ’Ilu with two human females and the ensuing birth of lesser deities that ate birds and fishes insatiably with one lip to the earth and the other lip to the heavens (*COS* 1.87:280–82). Ugaritic myths and faith may not be related directly to Shɜḳḳ, but the figure of Shɜḳḳ shows that it is unnecessary to look outside Palestine for the influence upon the Enochic evil spirits.

In conclusion, ancient Mesopotamians, Egyptians, and Greeks had particular views of their own, but there existed an intersection among them. Meaningful elements for this study were the evil departed soul of a person and the birth from the union of a deity with a human. These features and their wide distribution challenge the exclusive Mesopotamian influence upon the rise of the Enochic evil spirits.

The different features of Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece from one another are significant for this study. They will provide meaningful information to this study’s final survey of the Markan unclean spirits and their exorcism as this study evaluates the outside influence upon Markan demonology.

CHAPTER 5

THE MARKAN PORTRAYAL OF UNCLEAN SPIRITS

This study has surveyed the evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers and other Second Temple Jewish literature, the Old Testament, and several works in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece before the appearance of the Book of the Watchers. It was to ascertain their demonological views and survey the relationship between the Book of the Watchers and other literature.

This chapter surveys Markan demonology. The results are compared with the findings in the previous chapters. It is to see if the Markan concept is related to any other ancient work. It lays the groundwork for evaluating the premise that the Book of the Watchers and other Second Temple Jewish literature should influence the formation of the Markan concepts.[1] Mark employs various demonological terms: πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, δαιμόνιον, σατανᾶς, Βεελζεβούλ, and πνεῦμα ἄλαλον (1:13, 23, 34; 3:22; 9:17).[2] Mark never uses the popular terms διάβολος (1 Chr 21:1; Job 1:6; Matt 4:1; Luke 8:12) and πνεῦμα πονηρόν (Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14; Tob 6:8; Matt 12:45; Luke 8:2). It hints that

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[1] For the view of the Enochic influence scholarship, see Margaret Barker, *The Lost Prophet* (London: SPCK, 1988), 23; Archie T. Wright, "The Demonology of 1 Enoch and the New Testament Gospels," in *ESG*, 243.

[2] Mark speaks of φάντασμα (6:49), which is exchangeable with φάσμα (LSJ, 1916). The term is excluded in this study because it occurs in no exorcism story in Mark. In Classical Greek, it referred to a frightening vision of Hecate, the underworld goddess, in a dream (Aeschylus, *Fragm. dub*. 489c) (525–436 BCE) or the ghostly image of a dead person which people saw among the graves or tombs (Pluto, *Phaed.* 81d; *Dio*. 2.3–4) (1–100 CE). It is a known concept to Jews (Job 20:8; Wis 17:14; *Ant*. 1.20.2 §331–333). The φάντασμα in Mark is a reality than a hallucination because all disciples saw it together and alike.

Mark may have a distinct view from those of his predecessors. The Markan use of the demonological terms is complicated. For instance, Mark renames Beelzebul as τὸ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων (3:22), σατανᾶς (3:23), and πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον (3:30). The term σατανᾶς or שׂטן without the definite article usually refers to an adversary and not Satan in the Hebrew Bible.[3] Mark uses the terms σατανᾶς and δαιμόνιον interchangeably (3:22–23) and the terms πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον and δαιμόνιον as well (6:7, 13; 7:25, 26). The Markan use makes the Markan concept all the more complicated.

This chapter surveys why Mark uses the distinct terms that might be used interchangeably and what implication each term has. The function of each term is also surveyed. The results are compared with other ancient works to assess their influence on Mark. The surveys will be done under three topics: demonological terms, demonological works, and other demonological features.

Demonological Terms

Mark uses five terms for his evil spirits in the exorcism and exorcism-related accounts: πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, δαιμόνιον, σατανᾶς, Βεελζεβούλ, and πνεῦμα ἄλαλον. He interchanges the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον with each of the other terms (1:27, 34; 3:26, 30; 3:22, 30; 9:17, 25). Therefore, Mark presents four types of evil spirits under the category of unclean spirits (cf. 9:29).

Unclean Spirits

The term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον was not a common term for Jews in the Second Temple period. Jewish authors, including the Old Testament authors, often used the term

[3] GHCL, 788; *HALOT*, 1317.

רוּחַ רָעָה or πνεῦμα πονηρόν.[4] Mark does not explain why he uses the unusual term, but the adjective ἀκάθαρτον reveals the implication of the term.[5] In short, Mark employs the word ἀκάθαρτον to show the relationship of his evil spirits with the ritual impurity in Leviticus.[6] Four aspects support the view.

First, Mark employs the verb καθαρίζω three times and the noun καθαρισμός once in relation to leprosy in 1:40–44. Leprosy is a disease closely related to ritual impurity (cf. Lev 13–14).[7] Mark shows the ritually impure character of the unclean spirits drastically in Jesus's healing a leper as he associates it with the exorcism ministry in two ways. He not only arranges the story of Jesus's cleansing a leper as if it were part of the exorcism ministry (1:39)[8] but also reinforces his view by using three unusual verbs (ὀργίζομαι, ἐμβριμάομαι, and ἐκβάλλω), which fit in the context of exorcism (1:41, 43).[9]

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[4] For the use of רוּחַ רָעָה or πνεῦμα πονηρόν, see Judg 9:23; 1 Sam 16:14, 16, 23; Hos 12:2; 1 En. 15:9; Jub. 10:3; Tob 6:8; T. Lev. 5:6; *Ant*. 6.11.2 §211; and *Gig*. 4 §17; LAB 53:4. The term "unclean spirit" appears in a few of Dead Sea Scrolls (4Q444 1 4; 4Q444 2 i 4; 11Q5 19:15). The one in 4Q444 refers to Satan, and the other one in 11Q5 to a human disposition. The Ethiopic version of Jubilees also had a similar term አጋንንተ፡ርኩሳን, "unclean demons" (Jub. 10:1), which was identified with the ነፍሳተ፡እኩያን, "evil spirits" (Jub. 10:3).

[5] Wahlen says that the phrase πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον is a "special Markan vocabulary" (Clinton Wahlen, *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels*, WUNT 2/185 [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 87). Referring to Pimentel, he says, "the term represents Mark's 'essential thought'" (ibid., 87–88).

[6] Lynne Louise Abney, "Demons in the First Century," *OJT* 2 (December 1987): 49–50.

[7] C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, CGTC (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 92; Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, WBC 34A (Dallas: Word, 1989), 73. The Hebrew word טָמֵא, corresponding to the Greek word ἀκάθαρτος, is used for ritual uncleanness in terms of persons, animals, foods, objects, lands, and diseases in the Old Testament (Edwin Yamauchi, "809 טָמֵא (ṭāmēʾ) *become unclean*," in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, ed. R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke [Chicago: Moody, 1980], 349–51).

[8] Mark tells Jesus's healing a leper after he introduced a new phase of Jesus's ministry in Galilee as proclaiming messages and expelling demons: Καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλων (1:39).

[9] Mark's using verbs ὀργίζομαι, ἐμβριμάομαι, and ἐκβάλλω has been enigmatic to scholarly minds (Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 92–95; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 74–75; R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002], 117–19). The NA[28] text prefers

Second, Mark uses the verb καθαρίζω against the tradition of the elders about impure food in 7:19. It was the conclusive remark against the Pharisees and scribes who said that eating food with unwashed hands should cause a person to be unclean (7:1–5).

Third, in the story of the Gerasene demoniac, Mark shows the ritually impure character of the unclean spirits indirectly. He says that the unclean spirits made the possessed dwell among the tombs and entered the bodies of swine by their own choice (5:2, 12–13).[10] The Law says that both tombs and swine are ritually unclean (Lev 11:7; 21:11; Num 5:2).

Fourth, the phrase ἄνθρωπος ἐν πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ (1:23; 5:2) shows the ritually impure character of the unclean spirits. The phrase is often translated literally as "a man with an unclean spirit." However, it may be misleading. Many unclean spirits were in the Gerasene demoniac (5:9), so he should not be a man with one unclean spirit. The ἐν phrase states that the man was in an unclean state due to contact with the plural unclean spirits. The phrase is better translated as "a man in an unclean state with reference to his own spirit."

Since being rendered clean allows one to participate in the worship of the community again at the Temple with the approval of the priest, Mark very likely says that Jesus's exorcism was a way of restoring people in God's chosen community (cf. 1:44).[11]

σπλαγχνισθείς to ὀργισθείς. For a good support of originality of ὀργιθείς, see Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 92.

[10] Guelich says that "tombs," "swine," and "Gerasene" are all related to ritual impurity (Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 277). He also says that Mark 5:3–5 might be "a midrashic development of the tradition based on Isa 65:4–6 and Ps 67:7[LXX]" by a later editor (ibid.).

[11] Darrell L. Bock, *Mark* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 135–36; Bruce Chilton, "Purity and Impurity," in *Dictionary of the Later New Testament and Its Developments*, ed. Ralph P. Martin and Peter H. Davids (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1997), 990; N. Kiuchi, "Leviticus, Book of," in *DOTP*, 529; Peter Pimentel, "The 'Unclean Spirits' of St. Mark's Gospel," *ExpTim* 99, no. 6 (1988):

The concept of the evil spirits for those outside the chosen people was not new to Mark because Jubilees and Testament of Levi had said that their evil spirits would not harm Israel but influence Gentiles to attack Israel as a way of God's discipline (Jub. 15.31b–32a; T. Lev. 5:6b).

However, Mark is still unique in that a person with an unclean spirit may have a chance to participate in God's covenant community again through Jesus, while the Law offers nothing of how the demon-possessed returns to the covenant community by way of purity ritual. The demon-possessed had no chance to regain purity and rejoin the covenant community. It is understandable because God sent an evil spirit to punish an Israelite in the Old Testament (1 Sam 16:1, 14, 23; 1 Kgs 22:19–22). Therefore, Mark introduces Jesus's exorcism ministry to lay the groundwork for Jesus's redemptive death at the end of his gospel; God forgives his people of all their sins in Jesus Christ.

It is notable that Zechariah 13:2 prophesied about the day when God would remove רוּחַ הַטֻּמְאָה for the restoration of Judah and the house of David (Zech 12:1–13:6). Mark viewed Jesus's exorcism ministry as fulfilling the prophecy by Zechariah.[12] Five features support the view. First, Mark views a prophecy of Zechariah as fulfilled in Jesus Christ explicitly (Zech 13:7; Mark 14:27).[13] Second, Mark uses the unpopular term

175. To support his view, Pimentel mentions Dead Sea Scrolls, in which the cleansed Qumran community belongs to the Prince of Light, while all the others to Beliar (1QM 13:9–13; 1QS 3:17–22; 1QS 5:18–20; ibid., 173–74).

[12] Steffen Jöris, "The Markan Use of 'Unclean Spirit': Another Messianic Strand," *ABR* 60 (2012): 63–66; Christopher M. Tuckett, "Zechariah 12:10 and the New Testament," in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 112; John Muddiman, "Zechariah 13:7 and Mark's Account of the Arrest in Gethsemane," in *The Book of Zechariah and Its Influence*, ed. Christopher Tuckett (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003), 101–10.

[13] Gleason L. Archer and Gregory Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1983), 162, 163. Compare also the house of David to be restored in Zech 12:7–8, 10; 13:1 with Jesus as the "Son of David" in Mark 10:47–48 and the pierced Messiah in Zech

"unclean spirit" as Zechariah did (Zech 13:2).[14] Third, both Zechariah and Mark relate unclean spirits to ritual impurity.[15] Fourth, both Zechariah 13:2 and Mark 1:23–24; 7:27 speak of an unclean spirit being removed from the covenant community. Fifth, both Zechariah and Mark talks about the autonomous unclean spirits that differ from the evil spirits sent by God.

The Markan concept of uncleanness in association with the Levitical impurity hints at the nature of his unclean spirits; they are spiritual beings that cannot come into the presence of God (Lev 13:46). It is reminiscent of the evil spirits in the fallen angel tradition, whom God designated to stay on earth until the great day of judgment (1 En. 15:10; 16:1). However, it is very unlikely that the fallen angel tradition caused the rise of the Markan concept for two reasons, although Mark likely knew of the Enochic tradition. First, the used terms differ from each other. The fallen angel tradition never uses the term "unclean spirit," nor does Mark the term "evil spirit." Second, the fallen angel tradition is silent on the evil spirits' entering the bodies of humans, but Mark uses the expression frequently (1:25–26; 5:8, 13; 9:25–26).

Daimonions[16]

Mark mentions δαιμόνιον eleven times in nine verses of Mark (1:34, 39; 3:15, 22; 6:13; 7:26, 29, 30; 9:38). He also employs the participle δαιμονιζόμενον to refer to

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12:10 with the death of Jesus as the Son of David on the cross in Mark 15:25–26 (Jöris, "The Markan Use of 'Unclean Spirit'," 63–64).

[14] In Zech 13:2, the LXX translates רוּחַ הַטֻּמְאָה as τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀκάθαρτον.

[15] The unclean spirit in Zech 13:2 is closely related to "idolatry which defiled the temple and the land" (Yamauchi, "809 טָמֵא (ṭāmē') *become unclean*," 349; cf. Ezek 4:13). The verb אַעֲבִיר supports the view further. It is a *hiphil* form of עבר and may mean "to consecrate" (GHCL, 603). See also Eugene H. Merrill, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi* (Richardson, TX: Biblical Studies, 2003), 288–89.

[16] Throughout chapter five, this study uses the transliterated term "daimonion" for δαιμόνιον in Mark rather than "demon" to compare it with the terms used in the ancient Greek literature.

the Gerasene demoniac three times (5:15, 16, 18). Mark's use of the term can be divided into four cases.

First, Mark uses the term δαιμόνιον as he speaks of the exorcism ministry of Jesus and his disciples in a summary form (1:34, 39; 3:15; 6:13; 9:38). Providing that Mark told to the Greek-speaking audience the events which had taken place in Palestine for the Greek-speaking audience,[17] it is very likely that the term was explanatory,[18] and he rephrased the Jewish term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον with the Greek term δαιμόνιον to help his Greek-speaking audience understand it more easily.[19]

Second, Mark uses the term δαιμόνιον as he identifies it with the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον twice (6:7, 13; 7:25, 26). Mark begins a story with the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον to replace it with the term δαιμόνιον later. The order shows that the latter is explanatory. Mark says in 6:7 and 13 that after a mission discourse, Jesus gave the authority over the unclean spirits to his disciples and sent them out for a mission trip (6:7–11). Then he closes the story by saying that they went out to proclaim repentance to people while casting out δαιμόνια πολλά and healing the sick with oil anointing (6:12–13). In 7:25–26, Mark makes the view clearer. There he says that Jesus met a Syrophoenician woman with a daughter who had an unclean spirit (7:25). The woman

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[17] The Markan place of writing and audience is debatable. For various views, see Guelich, "Mark, Gospel of," in *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, ed. Joel B. Green, Scot McKnight, and I. Howard Marshall (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1992), 515. However, it is certain that the Markan audience was unfamiliar with Aramaic expressions (Mark 3:17; 5:41; 7:11, 34; 15:22) and certain forms of Judaism (Mark 7:3–4; 15:42; Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 8; Guelich, "Mark, Gospel of," 515).

[18] Greeks viewed a δαιμόνιον as an evil spirit around the fourth century BCE (Aristotle, *Mir. ausc.* 160 [846a], 166 [846b]). The concept continued through the first century CE (*Ant*. 8.2.5 §45–49).

[19] Cranfield says in Mark 1:23, "πνεύματι ἀκαθάρτῳ is a thoroughly Jewish expression, *rûaḥ ṭum'āh* being a specially common way of denoting demons in Rabbinic literature" (Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 74).

bowed down at Jesus's feet and begged him to cast τὸ δαιμόνιον out of her daughter (7:26). The definite article is notable; it is anaphoric and refers to the previously mentioned πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. Mark employs the term δαιμόνιον twice more in the same event (7:29, 30). In 7:29, Mark puts the word δαιμόνιον in the mouth of the woman. It confirms that the term δαιμόνιον was for Gentiles. In 7:30, he says that τὸ δαιμόνιον, which was previously said to be an unclean spirit, left her daughter as Jesus had said to her. In conclusion, Mark speaks of Jesus's expelling an unclean spirit remotely for the Gentile woman with the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον and then uses the term δαιμόνιον three times referring to the former term (verses 26, 29, 30). Mark displays not only the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον is Jewish, but also the term δαιμόνιον is explanatory for the Gentiles.[20]

Third, Mark employs the term δαιμόνιον in the Beelzebul controversy (3:22–30). There the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον (3:30) follows the term δαιμόνιον in order (3:22), but the reversed order creates no contradiction because the Beelzebul dispute belongs to a bigger context (3:7–35), in which Mark arranges the two terms in a chiasmus: πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον (3:11), δαιμόνιον (3:15), δαιμόνιον (3:22), πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον (3:30).

Fourth, Mark's using the participle δαιμονιζόμενον referring to the Gerasene demoniac (5:15, 16, 18) also displays his explanatory use of the term δαιμόνιον for the Greek audience. Mark consistently uses the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον in the main part of

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[20] One may raise a question if Mark presents the term δαιμόνιον every time when he employs the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. The reply is yes, considering a wider range of story section. Compare Mark's using of both terms: the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον appears first (1:23, 26, 27; 3:11, 30; 5:2, 8, 13; 6:7; 7:25; 9:25), and the term δαιμόνιον follows it (1:32, 34, 39; 3:15, 22; 5:15, 16, 18; 6:13; 7:26, 29, 30; 9:38). Verbal nouns are used in the underlined verses: τοὺς δαιμονιζομένους (1:32); τὸν δαιμονιζόμενον (5:15), τῷ δαιμονιζομένῳ (5:16), and ὁ δαιμονισθείς (5:18).

the exorcism accounts because the focus is on the unclean spirits (5:1–13), but moving his focus from the unclean spirits to the healed, he uses the participle δαιμονιζόμενον to refer to the healed (5:14–20). Therefore, Mark turns out to say that the man suffered from unclean spirits; he was possessed by the daimonions.[21]

Satan

Mark employs the term σατανᾶς six times in five verses (1:13; 3:23, 26; 4:15; 8:33). He has two expressions: ὁ σατανᾶς (1:13; 3:26; 4:15) and σατανᾶς (3:23; 8:33). They are reminiscent of the use of הַשָּׂטָן (Job 1:6; Zech 3:1) and שָׂטָן (1 Kgs 11:14; 1 Chr 21:1) in the Hebrew Bible.[22] For a detailed comparison, this study surveys the Markan use of the term in four accounts.

First, Mark employs ὁ σατανᾶς in 1:13. The term σατανᾶς appears for the first time in Mark, so it parallels the term הַשָּׂטָן in Job 1:6 and Zechariah 3:1. Mark means Satan by the term and shares the concept with Job and Zechariah.

Second, Mark also uses the term ὁ σατανᾶς without a precedent word in 4:15. The term occurs as Jesus explains the Parable of the Soils, where Satan refers to the birds that come to devour the seed on the path (4:4). The term seems used in a collective sense: Satan and his subordinates or his tools. Using a word in a collective sense was not foreign to Jews. In 2 Kings 1:2, the name בַּעַל זְבוּב appears to be in a collective sense: "Baal Zebub, the gods of Ekron."[23]

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[21] Mark uses the term δαιμόνιον exclusively in the exorcism or exorcism-related accounts. It hints that Mark assigns a specific function against humans to δαιμόνιον, as seen later.

[22] The LXX translates the term שָׂטָן as σατανᾶς but the term הַשָּׂטָן as ὁ διάβολος, and Mark never employs the term διάβολος. Mark's renderings are closer to that of the Hebrew Bible.

[23] The Deuteronomistic author says that the deity Ahaziah consulted was בַּעַל זְבוּב אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן.

Third, Mark uses both σατανᾶς and ὁ σατανᾶς in 3:22–30. The scribes argued that Jesus must have been possessed by Beelzebul in order to expel daimonions. Jesus countered them with a question: Πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; (3:23b) Based on the charge that Jesus should expel daimonions in league with Beelzebul, the subject σατανᾶς refers to Beelzebul, while the object σατανᾶν to the daimonions he expels. It is notable that the subject σατανᾶς for Beelzebul is without the definite article. Mark uses the term σατανᾶς here in the sense of "adversary," the basic meaning of the term שָׂטָן "in the military and political sphere" (1 Sam 29:4; 1 Kgs 5:18; 11:14, 23, 25).[24] Jesus very likely showed to the accusing scribes that Satan and the daimonions are on the same side, and it is nonsense for them to be in discord with one another. Mark confirms the view in 3:24–26, where Jesus says that Satan is too smart to do such a foolish thing that causes his kingdom, house, or himself to be divided from within to hasten his doom.

Fourth, Mark employs the term σατανᾶς in the vocative in 8:33, where Jesus addressed Peter as Satan after Peter had tried to talk him out of his destined way to his redemptive death on the cross (8:33). It is unlikely that Peter was possessed by Satan.[25] Jesus seems to have said that Peter did something only Satan might do to Jesus; Peter's action was satanic.[26]

In conclusion, Mark uses the term σατανᾶς, either with or without the definite article, to refer to Satan or Satan and his subordinates as the enemies of Jesus. Mark uses the term in line with the use by the Old Testament authors.

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[24] *HALOT*, 1317.

[25] Cranfield recognizes Jesus's addressing Peter himself due to the words τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, and concludes it is "hardly to Satan" (Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 280).

[26] Darrell L. Bock, *Jesus according to Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2002), 232.

Beelzebul

Mark mentions Βεελζεβούλ in Mark 3:22, where the scribes from Jerusalem defamed Jesus as Βεελζεβούλ, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων. There are three things to make note of regarding the term.

First, Βεελζεβούλ sounds like an Aramaic or Aramaic related foreign term rather than a Hebrew term.[27]

Second, the term Βεελζεβούλ does not seem to have been a standard Jewish term of Second Temple Judaism because it does not appear in extant Jewish literature.[28] Terms such as Satan, Mastema, and Beliar were employed to refer to the head of evil spirits in Second Temple Judaism. That is probably why Mark adds the phrase ἐν παραβολαῖς when he says that Jesus countered the charge of the scribes by saying, Πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; (3:23) Mark likely showed with the phrase that Beelzebul is not the term for the prince of the daimonions Jesus or he accepted.

Third, the scribes seem to have used the term known to Galileans as a way of defaming Jesus and appealing to their audience. Galileans may have identified Beelzebul with the head of foreign deities.[29] Scholars have suggested four views about the referent

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[27] The word *Βεελ* or בָּעֵל is Aramaic (*HALOT*, 142) because the proper Hebrew noun form is בַּעַל rather than בָּעֵל (cf. 2 Kgs 1:2). Although the word order is reversed, the epithet *zbl b'l*, which means "Prince Baal" or "Lord Baal," often appears in Ugaritic texts (*KTU* 1.2 i 38; 1.3 i 3; 1.5 vi 10; Pierre Bordreuil and Dennis Pardee, *A Manuel of Ugaritic*, LSAWS 3 [Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009], 159). The term *b'l zbl* appears as a feminine personal name in Phoenician texts, and it means "Zebel is prince" (*PhPD*, 171).

[28] Gaston, "Beelzebul," 247; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 174.

[29] John Day views the original reading of Baalzebub in 2 Kgs 1:2 as Baalzebul, and says Baalzebub was "a deliberate distortion of Baal-zebul, 'Baal the Prince' [in Ugaritic]" (John Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, JSOTSup 265 [London: Sheffield Academic, 2000], 79). Wyatt says that Beelzebul is "a plausible antecedent for the biblical Beelzebub [Mark 3:22]" (N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, BibSem 53, 2nd ed. [London: Sheffield Academic, 2002], 443, 443n5).

of the name Beelzebul: the Lord of Dwelling,[30] the Lord of Exaltation,[31] the Lord of Dung,[32] and the Lord of Flies.[33]

This study accepts the meaning "the Lord of exaltation" or "the Lord of the exalted house." The view is strong for five reasons. First, the Aramaic זבל may mean "exaltation."[34] Then the Aramaic term בעל זבל means the Lord of Exaltation. Second, the meaning goes well with the phrase בית זבל, "a house of exaltation" or "an exalted house" in 1 Kings 8:13. Third, a worship area or cultic place was called a רמה, במה, or high place in the Old Testament.[35] Fourth, providing that the name Beelzebul means "the lord of the exalted places," the scribes in Mark very likely meant that Jesus had "the lord of the Gentile deities worshipped in the exalted places." It goes well with Βεελζεβούλ, ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων. Fifth, Jews regarded the Gentile deities or patron angels as daimonions (Deut 32:17 LXX; Ps 95:5 LXX; Bar 4:7; 1 Cor 10:20).[36]

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[30] W. E. M. Aitken, "Beelzebul," *JBL* 31, no. 1 (1912): 34–53; Gaston, "Beelzebul," 247–55; Guelich, "Mark, Gospel of," 174.

[31] Eberhard Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse, vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1885), 174–75; James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, ed. Henry Snyder Gehman, ICC (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), 191–92; New Revised Standard Version (1989).

[32] Beelzebul with the meaning of "the Lord of Dung" is possible in Aramaic, but scholars have not seriously considered it as suitable for the Markan image. See *DSAr*, 219. Bruce says that Beelzebul means "god of dung" (Alexander Balmain Bruce, "The Synoptic Gospels," in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll, vol. 1, 1–651 [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897; repr., Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990], 361).

[33] The Vulgate and Syriac versions display a variant reading *Beelzebub*, "the lord of the fly/flies" (2 Kgs 1:2–3, 6, 16; GHCL, 237).

[34] *DSAr*, 219.

[35] For the term במה, see 1 Sam 9:13; 1 Kgs 3:4; 11:7; 2 Kgs 23:15; Isa 16:12; Ezek 20:29; 43:7; Mic 1:3. For the term רמה, see Ezek 16:24–25, 31, 39. The terms במה and רמה are interchangeable in Ezekiel.

[36] Aitken, "Beelzebul," 47; Lloyd Gaston, "Beelzebul," *TZ* 18 (1962): 253.

In conclusion, Beelzebul was an Aramaic term referring to the head of the Gentile deities in Galilee but not a standard term for Satan in Second Temple Judaism.[37]

A Dumb-spirit

Mark introduces a special type of an unclean spirit in 9:14–29. A man asked Jesus to exorcize πνεῦμα ἄλαλον from his son (9:17).[38] Jesus addressed the spirit as τὸ ἄλαλον καὶ κωφὸν πνεῦμα as he cast him out (9:25). The boy had symptoms of epilepsy such as having convulsions, foaming at the mouth, grinding his teeth, and becoming rigid (9:18).[39]

The particular unclean spirit is reminiscent of the *ala-ḫul* in Mesopotamia, the formless evil spirit without limbs, mouth, and ears (UL B XXVII 9–15 [128/129]) that bound people's hands and feet so the people may fall like a wall and speak gibberish (UL B XXVII 5–9 [128/129]). It is notable that both Markan and Mesopotamian terms have the *ala* component. The πνεῦμα ἄλαλον seems to be of Mesopotamian origin.

Summary

Mark uses five terms for evil spirits with a clear sense of purpose. First, he uses the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον to display the character of the evil spirits in association with the Levitical ritual impurity. They deprive the demon-possessed of the right to stand

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[37] Twelftree says, "Beelzebul was most probably a pseudonym for Satan" (Graham Twelftree, *Jesus the Exorcist: A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Jesus*, WUNT 2/54 [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1993], 199). However, his view of the referent of Beelzebul is distinct from that of this study. He accepts the view of Aitken and Gaston to say Beelzebul was meant for Baalshamaim or Zeus (ibid., 106).

[38] The American Standard Version (1901) translates the term πνεῦμα ἄλαλον as "a dumb spirit." New English Translation and various other English versions translate it as "a spirit that makes him mute."

[39] David Cole Wilson, introduction to *By the Finger of God*, by S. Vernon McCasland (New York: MacMillan, 1951), x.

before God, and Jesus helps the possessed return to the covenant community and enjoy the fellowship with God with his exorcism ministry. Therefore, he fulfills the prophecy of Zechariah 13:2.

Second, Mark uses the term δαιμόνιον for the Greek-speaking audience. His way of using it supports the view. He uses it in summary statements and in his rephrasing the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον. It is notable that Mark uses the term in the exorcism accounts exclusively, which indicates his employing the term δαιμόνιον for the specific function of unclean spirits.

Third, Mark uses the terms ὁ σατανᾶς and σατανᾶς in line with the use of שָׂטָן and הַשָּׂטָן in the Hebrew Bible. The σατανᾶς with the definite article refers to Satan and the one without the definite article to an adversary in general. The vocative use of σατανᾶς in 8:33 for Peter does not indicate that he was possessed by Satan but that he did something Satan might do.

Fourth, Mark uses the term Βεελζεβούλ as he introduces the accusation of scribes against Jesus's exorcism ministry. It is not a term Mark and Jews usually used for Satan. Galileans seem to have used it derogatorily against the head of the foreign deities.

Fifth, Mark mentions the term πνεῦμα ἄλαλον as he speaks of Jesus's healing a boy with epilepsy. The term very likely came from the *ala-ḫul* in Mesopotamia.

Demonological Works

In the previous section, this study surveyed the Markan demonological terms themselves. This section surveys the works that Mark assigned to the said demonological terms under the category of unclean spirits. However, Mark identifies Beelzebul with Satan, so this section surveys the works of Satan, daimonions, and a dumb-spirit.

Satan

Mark introduces two major works of Satan explicitly: Satan puts Jesus to the test and prevents the closed-minded from repentance. Mark also hints at two additional works of Satan. In Peter's action against Jesus, Mark hints that Satan tries to mislead Jesus into giving up his death on the cross. In the Beelzebul dispute, Mark hints that Satan commands the daimonions. Therefore, this subsection surveys four works of Satan.

Putting Jesus to a Test

Mark says that ὁ σατανᾶς put Jesus to a test (1:12–13). The Markan account is brief in comparison with the other Synoptic parallels (cf. Matt 4:1–11 and Luke 4:1–13). He does not detail the story, but his using the verb πειράζω hints at the work of Satan (cf. 8:11; 10:2; 12:13–15). He uses the verb to describe the action of putting a person into a trial so as to prove the person to be unworthy of something.[40]

It is very likely that Satan tried to disprove God's approval of Jesus as the Christ in 1:12–13 (cf. 1:1).[41] Satan turns out to confirm his qualifications as the Christ.[42] The trial took place between God's approval of Jesus in the baptism (1:9–11) and the

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[40] In 8:11, Mark relates the verb πειράζω to Jewish leaders' asking Jesus a sign from heaven so they might have the proof of his right to do his ministry. In 10:2 and 12:13–15, he relates the verb to their asking him questions about divorce and paying taxes to Rome, two of the most controversial issues. The Pharisees and Herodians may have well tried to put Jesus in harm's way by asking him the questions (Bock, *Mark*, 266–67, 305). However, Mark explains nothing about the background issues. Since Mark stresses their hostility to Jesus out of envy in 15:10, it is very likely that their questions were directed to damage Jesus's reputation as the righteous and wise teacher in a similar way as in 8:11. Therefore, this study summarizes the Markan meaning of πειράζω as putting a person to a test to disprove the person's being worthy of something.

[41] Ibid., 115; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 35. After the baptism, Jesus saw the Spirits descending on him and heard a voice from heaven, saying, Σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα (Mark 1:11b). The description is closely related to the words in Ps 2:7 and Isa 42:1 (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 80). Mark very likely showed that the long-awaited prophecy of the Old Testament had been fulfilled in Jesus from Nazareth; the new era began with him (cf. 1:1–2; Bock, *Mark*, 116; Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 40).

[42] Bock, *Jesus according to Scripture*, 89.

beginning of his public ministry (1:14–15). The sequence shows that the trial of Jesus is the confirmation process of Jesus's qualification as the Christ and, therefore, the go-sign for his ministry as the Christ.

The trial of Jesus parallels that of Job 1:9–12 and 2:1–7 strikingly. In Job, God initiated a conversation with Satan by approving Job as a recommendable servant of his (1:8; 2:3). It caused Satan to demand of God that Job should stand the test of his sincerity (1:9–11; 2:4–5),[43] and God let him test Job's faith (1:12; 2:6). Therefore, Satan put Job to the test (1:13–19), which turned out to prove Job to be a pious person worthy of God's praise (1:20–22). The second trial of Job has the same story outline as the first one (2:1–10). Mark does not speak of Satan's accusation against Jesus, but a series of events show that Job and Mark parallel each other. God's approval of Jesus as the Messiah (1:10–11; cf. Ps 2:7; Isa 42:1),[44] the Spirit's driving Jesus into the wilderness for a trial (1:12),[45] Satan's carrying out the trial (1:13a), and Jesus's passing the trial (1:13b)[46] go well with

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[43] Satan brings Job hardships to reveal the truth of his piety whether it resulted from God's causing him to live in prosperity or his revering God in a true sense (David J. A. Clines, *Job 1–20*, WBC 17 [Dallas: Word Books, 1989], 25; Robert L. Alden, *Job*, NAC 11 [Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1993], 55).

[44] France says that the Servant of Isa 42:1 and the Messiah of Ps 2:7 were "two contrasting strands in Jewish messianic thought" but "are here brought creatively together" in Mark 1:11 (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 81).

[45] Mark says, Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτὸν [Jesus] ἐκβάλλει εἰς τὴν ἔρημον (Mark 1:12). The verb ἐκβάλλει may be problematic to some because it is an "unnecessarily strong" language (Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 38) or used for driving out demons (William Hendriksen and Simon J. Kistemaker, *Exposition of the Gospel according to Mark*, BakNTC 10 [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1975], 46). However, it is very likely that the verb meant "to leave alone" (LSJ, 501; cf. Euripides, *Ion* 958, 964). In Gen 3:24 LXX, the verb is used for God's sending Adam and Eve out of the Garden of Eden so they might be exposed to a harsh environment. In Lev 21:7 LXX, the same verb is used for a man's divorcing a wife. Therefore, the verb ἐκβάλλει refers to depriving a person of comfort. Using the verb, Mark emphasizes Jesus's taking the trial all by himself while being outside God's protection.

[46] Mark says in 1:13 that angels ministered to him after the trial (1:13b). It seems to indicate that Jesus went through the trial successfully.

the story plot in Job 1:6–22 and 2:1–10. It is very likely that Mark patterned the trial of Jesus after the trials of Job.[47]

Preventing the Closed-minded from Repentance

In 4:15, Mark speaks of Satan who takes away Jesus's messages from certain people lest they should reflect on the messages, repent of their sins, and live by them later.[48] Since Jesus talks about various hearts responding to Jesus's teachings, the path-like soil, from which Satan takes away Jesus's messages, refers to the heart that refuses Jesus's teachings initially. Mark's using the adverb εὐθύς is noteworthy. It emphasizes Satan's leaving no chance for Jesus's messages to take root in their hearts. Satan rules over the hearts of those who refuse to open their hearts to Jesus.

The work of Satan is reminiscent of Beliar in the Testament of Asher, who is also called Satan (T. Ash. 6:4), rules over the hearts of those who fail to live by the Law, and prevents them from completing their good intentions (T. Ash. 1:8–9; 6:4). However, it has a precedent in the Old Testament. King Saul ignored God's instructions, it made God regret that he had made Saul a king of Israel, the Spirit of God moved from Saul to David, and an evil spirit from God stepped into Saul's life to torment him (1 Sam 15:11;

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[47] The trial of Jesus is also reminiscent of David's words in Ps 26:1–2. David claimed that he walked before God in perfection and put his trust in God without wavering (Ps 26:1). Then he asked God to try him for it so he might prove it right away (Ps 26:2). The first two verbs בחן and נסה are closely related to a test (*HALOT*, 119, 702). The LXX translates חָנֵנִי and נַסֵּנִי as δοκίμασόν με and πείρασόν με (Ps 25:2 LXX). The phrase πείρασόν με is reminiscent of πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ in Mark 1:13. It is very likely that Mark understood David's words in Ps 26:1–2 as a messianic prophecy fulfilled in the trial of Jesus because David could not claim that he had walked in his perfection. Three facts seem to support the view further. First, Mark stressed Jesus as the messianic king of the Jews (1:1, 11; 15:2, 9, 12, 18, 26, 32). Second, Mark presents Jesus as the Messiah who came in the Davidic line (2:25; 10:47, 48; 11:10; 12:35–37). Third, Mark understood words of David in Psalms as prophecies fulfilled in Jesus in 1:11 (cf. Pss 2:7; 12:36; 110:1).

[48] Bock interprets the phrase τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον εἰς αὐτούς as the message of the kingdom that Jesus delivers (Bock, *Mark*, 177).

16:13–14). The author of the Testament of Asher turns out to have viewed the angelic evil spirit God sent to torment King Saul as Satan. It is very likely that Mark also viewed it in the same line of thought.

Misleading Jesus from the Destined Path

Mark hints at the work of Satan in 8:33, where Jesus addressed Peter as Satan. Peter was not possessed by Satan, but his work caused Jesus to liken him to Satan, so his work shows a work of Satan indirectly.

When Jesus said to his disciples that he should suffer, die, and rise from the dead after three days (8:30–31), Peter disliked Jesus's arrest and death,[49] whatever he meant by the resurrection after three days (cf. 9:31–32).[50] Peter sternly discouraged Jesus from doing so (8:32). Then Jesus countered him with the same sternness and said, Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ, ὅτι οὐ φρονεῖς τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων (8:33).[51]

Mark does not inform readers with what words Peter tried to stop Jesus from going his destined way to the cross. However, the ὅτι clause hints at the work of Peter as satanic; he incited Jesus to judge things by a human-oriented mindset in doing God's

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[49] Markan Peter very likely thought that the arrest and death of Jesus would end the Jesus movement (14:50; cf. Acts 5:36–37; John 18:10).

[50] Mark says in 9:32 that Jesus's disciples did not understand the teaching of his suffering, death, and resurrection, and it led them to some fear. Mark uses the verb φοβέω twelve times (Mark 4:41; 5:15, 33, 36; 6:20, 50; 9:32; 10:32; 11:18, 32; 12:12; 16:8), and they refer all to an uneasy emotion that results from a possible event that might occur unpredictably or unexpectedly soon. Therefore, not-understanding and fear are closely related to each other in Mark.

[51] Mark says that Peter and Jesus exchanged rebukes each other. Both use the same verb ἐπιτιμάω against each other. France views it as "a serious confrontation of incompatible ideologies" (France, *The Gospel of Mark*, 338). The verb ἐπιτιμάω is a strong language compatible with "to command" in Mark (1:25; 3:12; 4:39; 8:30; 9:25; 10:13, 48). France also says that "Peter acts as spokesman" for all disciples because Jesus replied to Peter ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ (ibid.; Bock, *Mark*, 244). Jesus may have merely seized an opportunity for teaching all his disciples not to behave in a satanic way as Peter did (Bruce, "The Synoptic Gospels," 398).

will.[52] Peter very likely argued that Jesus should not allow himself to be arrested and die (cf. 14:47).[53] Then Peter utilized the fleshly needs and desires of Jesus to prevent him from doing what he had come to do on earth. Peter's misleading Jesus was satanic (cf. Matt 1:10; 16:23).[54]

The misleading Satan was not foreign to the Old Testament authors. First Chronicles informs that Satan provoked David to take a census against God's will (21:1).[55] David fell into Satan's temptation, and Israel suffered greatly at God's punishing hands (21:7–13). The serpent's work in Genesis 3 may also parallel the misleading work of Satan (Gen 3:1–6; cf. John 8:44; Rev 12:9; 20:2).[56]

Commanding the Daimonions

The Markan scribes defamed Jesus by saying that he cast out daimonions in league with Beelzebul, the prince of the daimonions (3:22). Jesus understood that they

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[52] Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 280.

[53] Peter seems to have stood in Jesus's way for two reasons in Mark 8:32. First, he expected Jesus to be the messianic king who would drive out the foreign powers from Israel with the power of God and rule over all peoples on earth eventually (2:25; 10:47–48; 11:10; 12:35–37; 4Q161 8–10 iii 18–22). Second, he desired for a significant position under the rule of Jesus (9:34; 10:37). Therefore, Peter did not want Jesus to die; it would ruin all he had expected from Jesus.

[54] Matthew's extending the account of Mark 1:12–13 shows the misleading role of Satan well. Matthew associates the Temptation of Jesus with the satanic work of Peter in two ways. First, the Matthean Jesus spoke to Satan at the end of the Temptation story with the almost same expression as the one Jesus used against Peter. Jesus rebuked Satan, Ὕπαγε, σατανᾶ (Matt 4:10), while he rebuked Peter, Ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ (Matt 16:23b // Mark 8:33). Second, Matthean Jesus confirms the misleading character of Peter's work by adding a sentence, Σκάνδαλον εἶ ἐμοῦ, to the Markan account (Matt 16:23c).

[55] Concerning the referent of שׂטן in 1 Chr 21:1, it is debatable whether the term refers to Satan or a human adversary. See Ralph W. Klein and Thomas Krüger, *1 Chronicles*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 418–19. Major lexicons view it as Satan due to the parallel account in 2 Sam 24:1 (GHCL, 788 and *HALOT*, 1317). They think that the author of 1 Chronicles changed the text from God to Satan for a theological reason (GHCL, 788).

[56] Wisdom of Solomon identifies the serpent in Genesis with διάβολος (Wis 2:23–24), and the term διάβολος is often used for Satan in the Septuagint (1 Chr 21:1; Job 1:6; 2:1; Zech 3:1). The Book of the Similitudes identifies the serpent with a fallen angel Gadreel (1 En. 69:6).

had meant Satan by Beelzebul because Jesus refuted their charge by saying, Πῶς δύναται σατανᾶς σατανᾶν ἐκβάλλειν; (3:23, 26)

Satan, the ruler of the daimonions, is resonant of Mastema in Jubilees 10:7–8, where God leaves a tenth of the evil spirits on earth at Mastema's request so that they may mislead and destroy the wicked as a way of punishment under the command of Mastema. Jubilees identifies Mastema with Satan (10:11). Mastema is not one of the fallen angels because the fallen angels were all locked up by the time Mastema had asked God to leave the said evil spirits for his task.[57] The concept of Satan in Jubilees goes well with Satan in Job 1:6–7; 2:1–2, where Satan is one of the angelic beings that stand before God.[58]

However, Markan Satan is portrayed somewhat differently from Satan in Job and Jubilees; Markan Satan is the enemy of God's Kingdom (3:23–27) and an unclean spirit that cannot stand before God (3:30).[59] It is notable that the author of Melchizedek (11Q13) talks about the year of grace, when Melchizedek, the heavenly savor figure, will carry out the judgment of God against Beliar and his evil spirits at the end of ages (11Q13 2:12–13). Beliar and his spirits here are autonomous enemies of the sons of light, and Beliar commands his evil spirits. Satan's ruling over the daimonions in Mark goes well with Beliar in the Melchizedek scroll (cf. Heb 5–7).

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[57] Reimer says in Jub. 10:7–8 that Mastema is "another entity entirely, one with a divinely appointed task" (Andy M. Reimer, "Rescuing the Fallen Angels: The Case of the Disappearing Angels at Qumran," DSD 7, no. 3 [2000]: 342; J. W. van Henten, "Mastemah משטמה," in *DDD*, 553).

[58] Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 58. Walton argues that הַשָּׂטָן in Job is one of the angelic beings in service to God in a similar way to the Persian "secret service" to a king (Job 1:6–12; J. H. Walton, "Satan," in *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry & Writings*, ed. Tremper Longman III and Peter Enns [Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, 2008], 715–16).

[59] Cranfield says that "the fully developed conception of Satan as the ruler of an organized empire of evil" appears first in the New Testament (Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 59).

Daimonions

Mark tells two major works of the daimonions: revealing the hidden identity of Jesus and doing harm to the possessed.

Exposing Jesus's Hidden Identity

Daimonions expose the hidden identity of Jesus to the public as ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ (1:24), ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ (3:11), and ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου (5:7).[60] The crowds were familiar with the concept in which a spirit knew of hidden things and revealed them to humans (Deut 18:10–11; 1 Sam 28:7; Acts 16:16; Plutarch, *Def. orac*. 9 [414E]). Therefore, their ability to reveal secrets was not an issue but the contents of their secret knowledge.

Mark seems to have emphasized three things about Jesus. First, Jesus is the eschatological High Priest performing the redemptive work. The term "Holy One of God" in 1:24 may to refer to Aaron and the eschatological priest God will raise up to bind Beliar and restore the life in the Garden of Eden (Ps 106:16; T. Lev. 18:1–12).[61] Second, Jesus is the Christ in the Davidic line. The term "Son of God" (3:11) may be closely related to the Davidic Messiah God would install as his instrument (1:11; Ps 2:6–7). Third, Jesus is divine. The term "Son of the Most High" in 5:7 may refer to Melchizedek, the eschatological Priest-King and Judge of the angels and peoples, who was thought to be divine (Gen 14:18; Ps 110:4; 11Q13 2:1–25; Heb 7:1–4).

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[60] Cranfield says that the revealed titles of Jesus in Mark are not known messianic titles. Referring to John 6:69 and 10:36, he argues that Mark shows Jesus's divinity with them (Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 77). See also Lewis S. Hay, "Mark's Use of the Messianic Secret," *JAAR* 35, no. 1 (May 1967): 26; Brian P. Levack, *The Devil Within* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 34.

[61] Bock, *Mark*, 127.

In the first two accounts, Mark speaks nothing of the harm the daimonions did to their hosts (1:23; 3:11). He introduced the accounts merely to inform readers about Jesus's authority over them. Mark confirms the view in two ways. First, he arranges Jesus's first exorcism to be sandwiched between the remarks that the crowds made about his authority (1:22, 27).[62] Second, Mark arranges the daimonions' exposing Jesus's hidden identity in his first public ministry after the trial by Satan (1:23–27). With the accounts, he confirms Jesus's passing the trial as the Beloved Son of God and Christ who has the divine authority (cf. 1:1, 11).[63]

Mark's words in 3:11 is noteworthy. He says that the daimonions exposed Jesus's identity ὅταν αὐτὸν ἐθεώρουν; their exposing his hidden identity had repeatedly occurred in his exorcism ministry even when Mark does not mention it.[64] An evil spirit's promoting an exorcist by exposing the exorcist's hidden identity is unseen before Mark. The work very likely gave Jewish leaders a chance to charge Jesus that Beelzebul helped him win popularity from people and misled the people from the right path (3:22; cf. 15:10). The daimonion's work turned out to be two sides of the same coin; it not only helped Jesus's followers realize his divine authority but also gave his enemies a chance to plot to kill him.

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[62] Mark 1:21–28 is arranged chiastically with the recognition of Jesus's authority by the crowds as the bookends (verses 21–22, 27–28). The story of Jesus's exorcism in the middle provides the evidence of his authority (The Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26*, 57; James A. Brooks, *Mark*, NAC 23 [Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 1992], 51; Bock, *Mark*, 128).

[63] Concerning the confession of the unclean spirit in Mark 1:24, Bock says that it recognizes "the unique set-apart role Jesus has before God" (Bock, *Mark*, 127). Mark's contrast of Jesus with the scribes who were professionally trained and authorized to teach the Law to people confirms Jesus's divine authority (1:22).

[64] Using the imperfect verb in the ὅταν clause shows that the daimonions' exposing Jesus's hidden identity took place repeatedly (Bock, *Mark*, 162).

Causing Insanity to People

Daimonions harm people (5:3–4, 13; 7:25–26). They caused the possessed person in Gerasene to behave strangely; he dwelled among the tombs and screamed (5:3, 5).[65] They drove him to be self-destructive; he cut himself with stones (5:5).[66] Mark also says that the possessed was a man of unusual strength. People tried to contain him with fetters and chains, but he was too strong to be contained with them (5:4). However, it is unclear if the possessed man's strength was of the daimonions because his status after the cure by Jesus is said to be σωφρονοῦντα only (5:15).[67] The daimonions seem to have caused the possessed only to be insane.[68] Their relationship with insanity is also stated in 3:21–22, in which the scribes charged Jesus with having Beelzebul, and his kinfolks regarded him as "out of his mind." The same insanity very likely caused a herd of swine to rush down the steep bank frantically to death in the lake (5:13). Occasionally Mark skips explaining what made people regard a person as a demoniac (1:23; 3:11; 7:25). It is very likely that strange and unexplainable behaviors were the norm for them to distinguish demoniacs from normal people.

Insanity-causing evil spirits were known to Greeks. The sacred disease in the writing of Hippocrates of Cos appears to be insanity-related. There malevolent daimons

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[65] For the tombs at the time of Jesus, see m. Pesaḥ. 8:8; B. R. McCane, "Burial Practices, Jewish," in *Dictionary of New Testament Background*, ed. Craig Evans and Stanley E. Porter (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 2000), 173–74.

[66] The demoniac's harmlessness to others gets support further from townspeople's reaction to Jesus after his making the demoniac whole. They begged Jesus to leave their region (5:16–17).

[67] The verb σωφρονέω is contrasted with the verb ἐξίστημι (Mark 3:21; cf. 2 Cor 5:13) and closely related to the verb νήφω (1 Pet 4:7), and, therefore, refers to a state in which a person can control himself (Tit 2:6; BDAG, 986; Ceslas Spicq, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*, trans. and ed. J. D. Ernest, 3 vols. [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994], 359).

[68] Aus, *My Name is "Legion,"* 3–6; Wilson, introduction to *By the Finger of God*, x.

caused people to be paralyzed, deranged, delusional, and suicidal (*Puell.* 1.5–12 [466]). The concept survived through the first century of the Common Era.

According to Plutarch, a man named Nicias pretended to be a demoniac to escape a threat of arrest (*Marc*. 20.5–7 [309]). Nicias's act displays what a demoniac would be like in the minds of the general public at the time of Plutarch: Nicias threw himself upon the ground, spoke in a low and trembling voice, raised and sharpened his tones little by little, tore off his clothes, and jumped up half naked to run frightened and screaming.[69] Plutarch said that his act may have been best described as that of a madman and demon-possessed.[70] He relates insanity closely to demon-possession. Plutarch's portrayal of Nicias and Mark's portrayal of the Gerasene demoniac resemble each other strikingly. The similarity very likely made Mark rephrase the unclean spirits with the term δαιμόνιον for his Greek-speaking audience.

However, it is unlikely that the Greek concept influenced the Markan concept of daimonions because the close relationship between possession and insanity was also known to Jews in the Old Testament. An evil spirit from God caused Saul to be violent toward David insanely (1 Sam 16:14; 18:10–11; 19:9; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.11.3 §214).[71]

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[69] The last sentence reads, Ἠμίγυμνος ἀναπηδήσας ἔθεε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ θεάτρου, βοῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ματέρων ἐλαύνεσθαι (*Marc*. 20.5–6 [309]). The word ματέρων in the last clause is enigmatic. Perrin translates the clause as "crying out that he was pursued by the Mothers." See his translation in Plutarch, "Marcellus," in *Lives, Volume V: Agesilaus and Pompey. Pelopidas and Marcellus*, translated by Bernadotte Perrin, LCL 87 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1917), 491. It may be translated as "shouting (as if) to be driven by τῶν ματέρων." This study translates it from the context as "screaming at the top of his voice as if frightened."

[70] Μηδενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ἅψασθαι μηδὲ ἀπαντῆσαι διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκτρεπομένων, ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐξέδραμεν, οὔτε φωνῆς τινος οὔτε κινήσεως πρεπούσης δαιμονῶντι καὶ παραφρονοῦντι φεισάμενος (*Marc*. 20.6 [309]). This study translates the last half as "(his behavior of) refraining neither any voice nor movement resembling the one who is demon-possessed and out of one's mind."

[71] בְּעָתַתּוּ רוּחַ־רָעָה מֵאֵת יְהוָה (1 Sam 16:14b). The verb בעת denotes a psychological impact

A Dumb-spirit: Epilepsy-causing Spirit

Mark says that the dumb-spirit is an unclean spirit (9:25) but does not identify it with a daimonion. Therefore, this study surveys it in a distinct subsection, although it seems to be a daimonion because it causes a health problem to a possessed. The dumb-spirit caused people to suffer from epilepsy (9:18).[72] This study said that the term πνεῦμα ἄλαλον likely came from the *ala-ḫul* in Mesopotamia (UL B XXVII 5–15 [128/129]).

However, attributing epilepsy to an evil spirit is also found in Canaan and Greece; it is a widely known concept. First, an Ugaritic text says a group of evil spirits called *dbbm* caused a person to suffer from a stiffness in the back,[73] a facial paralysis,[74] a problem with consuming food and beverages,[75] a speech disorder,[76] and a cerebral palsy (*KTU* 1.169).[77] Second, Theophrastus spoke of superstitious people at his time who had

(*HALOT*, 147). Josephus confirms the insanity-causing evil spirit by saying that the demonic spirit put King Saul into disorder (ἐθορύβει) and confusion (συνετάραττε) to try to kill David with a spear (*Ant.* 6.11.3 §214).

[72] Wilson analyzes the symptom of the demoniac in Mark 9:17–22 as that of epilepsy in a modern medical term (Wilson, introduction to *By the Finger of God*, x).

[73] *KTU* 1.169:5. The description "a stiffness in the back" seems to refer to a paralysis of the upper body part.

[74] *KTU* 1.169:6. The Ugarit word *tmnt* seems to correspond to the Hebrew תמונה, which means appearance, form, or image (GHCL, 866). An Ugaritic lexicon gives its meaning as "frame" (*DUgL*, 872). Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Wyatt translate it as "complexion" or "face." The text seems to speak of a rigid state.

[75] *KTU* 1.169:7.

[76] *KTU* 1.169:11. The text reads, *lẓtm al tmk*. It literally means "Do not speak scoffing words." Wyatt understands it as a speech disorder and says, "The sick man, not in control of his speech, tongue and lips, will have been ranting, stammering and dribbling" (Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 447n35).

[77] *KTU* 1.169:14. The Ugaritic term *zrm*, "motionless, transfixed," was used for a person's strange behaviors (*DUgL*, 1001). J. C. de Moor translates it as "the strange one" (de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 18), and Wyatt as "the madman" (Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 448). The word seems to correspond to the Hebrew זרם, which means "to flow, pour itself out" (GHCL, 254), and refers to a shocked state. It may describe a symptom of cerebral palsy or catatonic disorders.

thought insanity as closely related to epilepsy.[78] He informs his readers that seeing a madman or an epileptic, the superstitious people shudder and spit in their bosom (*Char*. 16.14).

A careful reading of the Old Testament shows that the author of 1 Samuel also relates insanity and epilepsy to each other as he speaks of David's escaping from the hand of Achish king of Gath (1 Sam 21:13). There he says that David scratched marks on the doors with his hands, as if he had been insane. He also says that David let his saliva running down his beard, as if he had had some seizures (cf. Mark 9:20).[79]

Therefore, Jews and Greeks likely related insanity and epilepsy closely together by the time of Mark. That is probably why Mark spoke of insanity and epilepsy as the two health problems that his unclean spirits caused people to experience.

Summary

Mark introduces distinct works for Satan, the daimonions, and a dumb-spirit, respectively, under the category of unclean spirits.

First, Mark speaks of four works of Satan: Satan puts Jesus to a test, rules over the closed-minded to prevent them from living by Jesus's teachings, and tries to mislead Jesus from the path of his redemptive death, and commands the daimonions. The first three works are found in the Old Testament. Mark patterns the first work after the work of Satan in Job 1:9–12 and 2:1–7. The second work has a precedent in the work of

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[78] Stol says, "For the Greeks and Romans epilepsy and madness (*mania*) were very close" (Stol, *Epilepsy in Babylonia*, CM 2 [Groningen: STYX, 1993]. 49).

[79] Joanna Jędrzejczak and Krzysztof Owczarek, "Psychogenic Pseudoepileptic Seizures: From Ancient Time to the Present," in *Epilepsy*, ed. Dejan Stevanovic (Rijeka, Croatia: InTech, 2012), 235.

the evil spirit in 1 Samuel 16:14. The third work parallels Satan's work in 1 Chronicles 21:1 and the serpent's work in Genesis 3:1–6. The fourth work is not found in the Old Testament.[80] The Book of Jubilees talks about Satan as the prince of the Enochic evil spirits. However, Satan working for God there differs from Satan in Mark. Beliar in the Melchizedek scroll parallels Satan in Mark better because Beliar and his evil spirits there are autonomous enemies of the sons of light to be defeated by Melchizedek, the heavenly savior figure, during the year of God's grace (11Q13 2:12–13; cf. Luke 4:19).

Second, Mark speaks of two works of the daimonions. They reveal the hidden identity of Jesus and cause the possessed people to suffer from insanity. The first work promotes not only the divine authority of Jesus as the Priest-King Messiah but also his redemptive death on the cross. It is unique to Mark. The second work is known to Jews.

Third, a dumb-spirit causes a person to experience epilepsy. The epilepsy-causing evil spirit was known to Mesopotamia and Ugarit. Greeks and Old Testament authors viewed insanity and epilepsy as closely related to each other, although they did not attribute epilepsy to an evil spirit explicitly. It is very likely that people in Palestine also attributed epilepsy to an evil spirit during Mark, so Mark includes epilepsy in the evil works of his unclean spirits.

Other Demonological Features

This section surveys demonological features such as the relationship of the unclean spirits with sins and diseases, Jesus's verbal exchange with them, their entering the bodies of hosts, and the identity of the daimonions. This study has mentioned the first

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[80] Walton says, "Based on the use of 'satan' in the OT, we would have to conclude that Israel had little knowledge of a being named Satan or of a chief of demons, the devil, during the OT period" (J. H. Walton, "Serpent," in *DOTP*, 738).

two topics, but this section focuses on Mark's relationship with Second Temple Jewish works before him on the said subjects.

Relationship with Sins

Various Second Temple Jewish works attribute human sins to evil spirits. The evil spirits in the Book of the Watchers mislead people to worship demons (1 En. 19:1). The evil spirits in Jubilees incite people to be violent to one another (Jub. 10:1–3). The evil spirits in the Testament of Dan and the Testament of Benjamin are part of the human dispositions and incite people to live against the Law (T. Dan 1:6–7; 3:1, 6; T. Benj. 3:3). Some evil spirits in the Dead Sea Scrolls cause people to err in making a right decision (4Q510 1 5–6; 11Q5 19:15). Mark also associates unclean spirits with human sin but attributes the work only to Satan and not all unclean spirits. Satan tempted and tried to mislead Jesus into walking against God's will (1:13; 8:32–33; Job 1:6–22; 2:1–10). It is notable that Satan initiated his misleading work only against Jesus. Satan's work against the general public is introduced only in his taking away Jesus's messages from the closed-minded lest they should live by Jesus's teachings (4:15). Satan's victims are those who refuse to accept the teachings of Jesus initially. Satan does not mislead innocent people to sin against God.

The work of Satan parallels Beliar's work in Testament of Asher 1:8–9 and 6:4, where Beliar prevents those who fail to live by the Law initially from completing their good intentions later. Mark turns out to replace the Law with Jesus's teachings. However, it is improper to say that the Testament of Asher influenced Mark because a similar case appears in 1 Samuel 15:11 and 16:13–14, where having failed to obey God, King Saul went under the rule of an evil spirit sent by God. For Mark, Jesus is the

Messiah whom God sent, and living by his teachings is to do God's will (9:37b). A person's refusal to accept his teachings results in Satan's rule over the person's life.

Mark stresses initial human responsibility. It is well seen in three accounts. First, Mark does not attribute Judah's betrayal to Satan unlike Luke and John (14:10–11; cf. Luke 22:3; John 13:27). Second, Jesus says that the hypocrisy of Jewish leaders was a matter of their hearts (7:6); sinful thoughts come out of the heart of one person and defile the other person (7:21–23; cf. Ps 95:8). Satan is not liable for the person's sinful thoughts ultimately. Third, driving out those in "the sale of animals and other requirements for the sacrifices,"[81] Jesus uses the second-person plural ὑμεῖς in his paraphrased quotation of Jeremiah 7:11 and rebukes them for turning the Temple into a den of robbers. Mark does not say that Satan instigated them to do so. For Mark, each individual is responsible for their sins initially and ultimately.[82]

Relationship with Diseases

Jewish works in the Second Temple period say that evil spirits bring diseases to humans. The Book of the Watchers merely says that the Enochic evil spirits destroyed humans (1 En. 15:11–16:1). The Book of Jubilees comments and extends it to say that the evil spirits not only instigated humans to be violent to one another (Jub 10:1) but also punished the wicked with illnesses under Mastema, which required herbal care (Jub 10:8, 12). Dead Sea Scrolls and Josephus's works say that their evil spirits smote people with injuries and diseases (11Q11 5:5; 4Q560 1 I 4; *Ant*. 8.2.5 §45). The Second Temple

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[81] Cranfield, *The Gospel according to Saint Mark*, 357.

[82] Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20*, WBC 34B (Dallas: Word, 2002), 415; R. Alan Culpepper, *Mark*, SHBC (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys, 2007), 505.

Jewish works attribute a wide range of harms and diseases to their evil spirits. Unclean spirits in Mark also make people suffer from health problems, but their works are limited to two health problems: insanity and epilepsy.

It is notable that Mark disjoins the health problems needing a doctor's care and those beyond a doctor's power.[83] Mark distinguishes them in three ways. First, Mark employs the terms νόσος, μάστιξ, and ἀρρωστία to refer to the health problems needing a doctor's care but the term δαιμόνιον to refer to the source problem of a demon-possessed (1:34; 3:10–11; 6:13; cf. *Ant*. 8.2.5 §45). Second, Mark calls those who need a doctor's care οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες (2:17) and the demoniacs οἱ δαιμονιζομένοι (1:32). Third, Mark uses the verb θεραπεύω for the healing of those in need of a doctor's care (1:34) but the verbs ἐξέρχομαι and ἐκβάλλω for the healing of a demoniac (1:26, 34).[84] He attributes insanity and epilepsy to unclean spirits but does not include them in the category of the malady needing a doctor's care.

The health problems that the Markan unclean spirits cause people to experience are distinct from the health problems that the evil spirits in the Second Temple Jewish works preceding Mark do so; Mark does not attribute a wide range of harms and diseases to his unclean spirits.

Verbal Exchanges with Jesus

The verbal exchange between Jesus and the unclean spirits is unique to Mark (1:24–26; 5:6–13). No ancient writing before Mark carried an account of vocal exchanges between the exorcist and evil spirit. According to Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts,

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[83] Wahlen, *Jesus and the Impurity of Spirits*, 5.

[84] Ibid., 88–89.

exorcists conjured evil spirits to leave the possessed. It hints that their evil spirits understood the language of exorcists. However, they kept no record of any actual vocal exchange between the exorcist and evil spirit.[85] They recorded one-way conversations. Apocryphal Psalms[a] and Aramaic Magical Booklet also hinted at a possible conversation between the exorcist and malignant spirit as their authors instructed exorcists to address malignant spirits as "you" (11Q11 4:4; 4Q560 1 ii 5–6) and ask their names (11Q11 5:6–8). However, the question was not for an exorcist to initiate a vocal exchange with evil spirits; it was a way of rebuking them such as "how dare you . . . ?" or "Who do you think you are to do . . .?" It was a one-way conversation. The said Dead Sea scrolls (11Q11 and 4Q560) merely display the concept of a possible conversation between the exorcist and evil spirit but provide no evidence that exorcists from Qumran actually conversed with evil spirits. Provided that there had been no case of a vocal exchange between exorcists and evil spirits previously, Jesus's conversation with unclean spirits in Mark is admirable (1:27) and even fearful (5:15). It is very likely that Jesus's words with unclean spirits enhanced Jesus's authority to an unprecedented level.

Entering the Bodies of Hosts

Unclean spirits in Mark enter the bodies of hosts. The hosts may be humans or animals (5:1–13). Mark clarifies their entering the bodies of hosts in three ways. First, Jesus commanded them to come out of a possessed (1:25; 5:8; 9:25). Second, Jesus prevented them from entering the person's body again out of whom they had just left

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[85] The vocal exchange between the exorcist and demon appears in Acts 16:16–18; 19:11–16; T. Sol. 2:1–7; Philostratus of Athens, *Vit. Apoll*. 4.20; and Lucian of Samosata, *Philops*. 16. They are all written after Jesus in the Common Era. The Synoptics seem to have influenced them.

(9:25). Third, Mark speaks of daimonions' entering (5:13) and coming out of the body of a host (1:26; 5:13; 9:26). It is notable that more than one daimonions can enter a host in Mark (5:9).[86] The Markan daimonions are resonant of the evil spirits in Egypt, although the Egyptian evil spirits are mysteriously present in the body of a person—their whole entities are not in the bodies of hosts.[87] Aramaic Magical Booklet (4Q560 1 i 3) and Josephus's works (*J.W.* 7.6.3 §185) offer better parallels with the Markan concept because malignant spirits there enter the bodies of humans as a whole entity.

Mark says that Satan also enters the body of a person. The scribes charged Jesus with having been possessed by Beelzebul to command daimonions in his exorcism. Two expressions support Beelzebul's entering the body of a person. First, the scribes say that Jesus ἔχει Beelzebul (3:22a, 30). Mark uses the verb ἔχω to refer to demoniacs, such as the Gerasene demoniac (5:15), the Syrophoenician girl with a daimonion (7:25), and a boy possessed by a dumb-spirit (9:17). The verb's meaning is confirmed when Mark says that the unclean spirits went out of their bodies (5:8; 7:29; 9:26). Second, the scribes charged Jesus with having exorcized daimonions ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων (3:22b). Mark uses an ἐν phrase to refer to the Gerasene demoniac (5:2), out of whom a legion of unclean spirits entered the bodies of two thousand swine (5:8, 13).

In conclusion, Mark says that all unclean spirits, including Satan, enter the body of a host. For the purpose of this study, it is worth remembering that no evil spirit in Mesopotamian writings enters the body of a host.

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[86] The words λεγιών and πολλοί in Mark 5:9 show that many unclean spirits were inside the Gerasene demoniac. Their entering the bodies of two thousand pigs later confirms it (5:13).

[87] In ancient Egypt, a dead person's shadow (*AEMT*, 80 §48), influence (64 §41), spell (67 §42), or so forth enters the person's body to harm the person. So does a deity's influence (52 §35).

Identity of the Daimonions

The daimonions in Mark refer to the corrupted angels in later Old Testament books. Mark's close relationship with Old Testament demonology helps this study come to the conclusion in three ways.

First, Mark adopted the concepts of σατανᾶς and πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον from the Old Testament (Job 1:6; 1 Chr 21:1; Zech 13:2), so it is very likely that he also adopted the concept of δαιμόνιον from it. The term δαιμόνιον in the Old Testament denotes patron angels or foreign deities (Deut 32:8 LXX; Ps 95:5 LXX), and the view was popular among Second Temple Jewish authors, including Paul (Tob 3:8, 17; Bar 4:7; 1 Cor 10:20). Then Mark very likely thought of corrupted angels as he employed the term δαιμόνιον in his gospel.

Second, the insanity-causing daimonions in Mark parallels the evil spirit God sent against King Saul (5:3–4, 13, 15; 7:25–26; 1 Sam 16:14). Evil spirits were angelic beings in the Deuteronomistic history (1 Kgs 22:19–22), so Mark very likely thought of unclean *angels* as he spoke of daimonions.

Third, Mark categorizes his daimonions as part of unclean spirits, following the term in Zechariah 13:2, distinct from the evil spirits God sent in the Deuteronomistic history (1 Kgs 22:19–23). It is very likely that the unclean spirit in Zechariah is still an angelic being, although corrupted. The view gets support from the corrupted angels appearing between the Deuteronomistic books and Zechariah. They defiled themselves with sins, were banned from coming into God's presence, and waited for their doom at the end of the ages (Isa 24:21–22 and Ps 82:1–8). Adopting the term "unclean spirit" from Zechariah 13:2, Mark very likely had the corrupted angels in mind (cf. 1:24).

One departure from the Old Testament in Mark is the unclean spirit's entering the body of a host; an angel's entering a person's body is unclear in the Old Testament. As seen in chapter one, an evil spirit's entering the body of a host appeared near the turn of the Common Era (4Q560 1 i 3; Josephus, *J.W.* 7.6.3 §185). It is likely that the concept of an angel's entering the body of a person also developed near the turn of the Common Era. Philo provides the evidence; he introduces his evil spirits as the angels that descend into the bodies of people at their conception, succumb to carnal pleasure, and refuse to return to God with enlightenment (*Gig*. 3 §12, 15; 4 §17). Although Philo speaks of his evil spirits dwelling in human bodies as human souls, he shows that the concept of an angel's entering the body of a person developed near the turn of the Common Era.

Having witnessed the exorcism ministry of Jesus,[88] his followers seem to have added the concept of an angel's entering the body of a person as they told Jesus's exorcism to their audience and later in the Synoptics. Conclusively speaking, the daimonions that caused health problems in Mark very likely referred to the corrupted angels under the command of Satan.[89]

For the purpose of this study, Markan demonology and Enochic demonology need to be compared. The Markan unclean spirits are not the departed souls of the hybrid giants in the fallen angel tradition. It is very likely that the Enochic evil spirits are of

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[88] Many scholars recognize that the historical Jesus performed miracles (Craig A. Evans, "Prophet, Sage, Healer, Messiah, and Martyr: Types and Identities of Jesus," in *The Study of Jesus*, vol. 2, *Handbook for the Study of the Historical Jesus*, ed. Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter [Leiden: Brill, 2011], 1228). For an excellent argument of the historicity of Jesus's exorcism in the Gospels, see John P. Meier, *Mentor, Message, and Miracles*, vol. 2, *A Marginal Jew*, ABRL (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 646–77.

[89] Hendrik van der Loos, *The Miracles of Jesus*, NovTSup 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 341–42.

Ugaritic origin because they are resonant of *tḫt rpim qdmym*, "the most ancient Rephaim," in an Ugaritic incantational text (*KTU* 1.161:24). The Rephaim in Ugarit were the deified departed souls "of kings, heroes, warriors and rulers," whom people in Ugarit worshipped in their ancestor worship.[90] They were conjured up for a healing from the netherworld (*KTU* 1.20–22; 1.161).[91] They very likely caused the Enochic evil spirits as the departed souls of the hybrid giants for three reasons. First, the phrase "the most ancient Rephaim" is resonant of הַגִּבֹּרִים אֲשֶׁר מֵעוֹלָם (Gen 6:4). Second, ancient people regarded kings and heroes as born from the union between deities and humans. Third, Jews regarded foreign deities as corrupted angels (cf. Deut 32:8 LXX).

Summary

Mark has five demonological features for this study to compare with other ancient Jewish works: the unclean spirits' relationship with sins, diseases, conversation with Jesus, entering the bodies of hosts, and identity.

First, Mark attributes sins only to Satan. Satan initiates his misleading work only against Jesus. He put Jesus to the test. Mark also introduces Satan's misleading work indirectly through Peter's work against Jesus. Satan does not initiate his misleading work against the general public; he steps into a person's life after the person refused to live by God's will or Jesus's teachings. The work parallels Beliar's work in Testament of Asher 1:8–9 and 6:4, but it is improper to say that the Testament of Asher influenced Mark

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[90] Helge S. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, WMANT 61 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1988), 285, 285n222.

[91] Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 314–23; Baruch A. Levine and Jean-Michel de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty," *JAOS* 104, no. 4 (1984): 649–59. Wyatt translates the phrase *tḫt rpim qdmym* as "the ancient saviours" (Wyatt, *Religious Texts from Ugarit*, 434).

because the work has a precedent in the work of an evil spirit against King Saul (1 Sam 16:14).

Second, Mark attributes insanity and epilepsy to his unclean spirits. He is distinct from other Jewish writers in the Second Temple period, who attributed a wide range of harms and diseases to their evil spirits. It is notable that Mark distinguishes the malady that needs a doctor's care and the health problems that his unclean spirits cause people to experience by employing different terms for the cause, identification, and cure.

Third, Mark introduces the verbal exchange between Jesus and unclean spirits. No ancient work before Mark has such a record. Therefore, it promotes Jesus's authority to an unprecedented level.

Fourth, Mark says that his unclean spirits enter the bodies of hosts, either humans or animals. Aramaic Magical Booklet in Qumran and Josephus spoke of it before Mark. It is the demonological feature developed near the turn of the Common Era.

Fifth, it is very likely that the Markan unclean spirits are the corrupted angels in later Old Testament books. Three facts support the view. Mark adopted the concepts of σατανᾶς and πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον from the Old Testament. Insanity-causing daimonions in Mark parallels the angelic evil spirit sent by God against King Saul. Mark presented the exorcism ministry of Jesus as fulfilling the prophecy of Zechariah 13:2, where a corrupted angel as the unclean spirit appears.

A feature new to the Old Testament authors is an angel's ability to enter the body of a person. Mark very likely adopted the feature developed near the turn of the Common Era under the influence of the Egyptian faith. Therefore, the Markan unclean spirits are distinct from the Enochic evil spirits, the departed souls of the hybrid giants, whose concept are of Ugaritic origin.

Conclusion

This chapter surveyed the Markan demonological terms, their implications, and their relationship with other ancient literature under three headings: demonological terms, demonological works, and other demonological features.

In the section "Demonological Terms," this study discovered Mark used five terms with a clear sense of purpose. First, Mark used the term πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον as a generic term for his evil spirits (3:23, 30; 6:7, 13). He adopted the term from Zechariah 13:2 to show two things: his evil spirits were ritually unclean, and Jesus fulfilled the prophecy of Zechariah 13:2 in his exorcism ministry. Second, Mark employed the term δαιμόνιον, with which his Greek-speaking audience was familiar, to refer to insanity-causing unclean spirits (3:21; 5:15; 7:26; Hippocrates, *Puell.* 1.5–12 [466]; Plutarch, *Marc*. 20.5–7 [309]). Third, Mark adopted the use of the terms ὁ σατανᾶς and σατανᾶς from the use of שָׂטָן and הַשָּׂטָן in the Hebrew Bible; the term ὁ σατανᾶς referred to Satan (1:13; 3:26; 4:15; Job 1:6), and the term σατανᾶς to an adversary (3:23; Num 22:22). Fourth, Mark spoke of Βεελζεβούλ in the Beelzebul dispute (3:20–30). Jesus identified him with Satan (3:26). The term was not a standard Jewish term for Satan, but the scribes likely used it to tarnish Jesus's exorcism ministry in an effort to appeal to their Galilean audience. Fifth, Mark introduced πνεῦμα ἄλαλον as an epilepsy-causing unclean spirit (9:17). It was very likely that the dumb-spirit was related to the *ala-ḫul* in Mesopotamia (UL B XXVII 5–15 [128/129]).

In the section "Demonological Works," this study surveyed how Mark allotted the demonological works to the three terms: Satan, daimonions, and a dumb-spirit. First, Mark talked about Satan's works in four ways: he put Jesus to a test (1:11–13), ruled over the closed-minded to prevent them from living by Jesus's teachings (4:12, 15), tried

to mislead Jesus from following his destined path to his redemptive cross (8:31–33), and commanded the daimonions (3:22). The first three works were well known to Jews (Job 1:9–12; 2:1–7; 1 Sam 15;11; 16:13–14; 1 Chr 21:1). The last work was not explicit in the Old Testament. Markan Satan was closely related to Beliar in Melchizedek (11Q13), where Beliar was autonomous, committed evil against God, and commanded his evil spirits. Second, Mark spoke of two works of the daimonions. They revealed the hidden identity of Jesus (1:24; 3:11; 5:7) and caused the possessed to suffer from insanity (3:21; 5:15). The former work was unique to Mark, while the latter work was known to Jews (1 Sam 16:14; 18:10–11; Josephus, *Ant.* 6.11.3 §214). Third, Mark introduced the dumb-spirit as an epilepsy-causing unclean spirit (9:18, 20). Epilepsy-causing spirits were known to Mesopotamians and Ugaritians (UL B XXVII 5–15 [128/129]; *KTU* 1.169). The Old Testament said nothing about an epilepsy-causing evil spirit but associated insanity with epilepsy closely (1 Sam 21:13). So did the Greek authors (Theophrastus, *Char*. 16.14). This study concluded that Jews and Greeks during the time of Mark very likely associated evil spirits with epilepsy.

In the section "Other Demonological Features," this study researched into the five features besides the demonological features mentioned in the previous sections. It was to evaluate further the relationship between Mark and other Jewish works before Mark. First, Mark attributed sins only to Satan and not all unclean spirits. His explicit work was to have put Jesus to the test (1:13). Mark also showed Satan's work indirectly in Peter's action against Jesus's destined path to the cross (8:32–33). Therefore, Satan in Mark initiated his misleading work only against Jesus. His work against the general public was in response to their refusal to accept the teachings of Jesus (4:15), which paralleled Beliar's work in Testament of Asher 1:8–9 and 6:4. This study concluded that

the work of an evil spirit against King Saul likely influenced the authors of the Testament of Asher and Mark. Second, Mark attributed two health problems to his unclean spirits: insanity to the daimonions and epilepsy to a dumb-spirit. The feature distinguished Mark from Second Temple Jewish works before him, which attributed a wide range of harms and diseases to their evil spirits. Third, Mark introduced the verbal exchange between Jesus and unclean spirits (1:24–26; 5:6–13). Ancient works before Mark hinted at the feature, but the actual record was unique to Mark. Fourth, Mark spoke of the unclean spirits entering the bodies of hosts (3:22; 5:8, 12, 13). This study argued that the concept very likely developed near the turn of the Common Era (4Q560 1 i 3; Josephus, *J.W.* 7.6.3 §185) under the influence of Egyptian demonology (*AEMT*, 9 §5; Philo, *Gig*. 3 §12, 15; 4 §17). Fifth, Mark adopted the concepts of Satan and the unclean spirits from the Old Testament (Job 1:6; 1 Chr 21:1; Zech 13:2), so it was very likely that he also adopted the term δαιμόνιον from it and used the term for a corrupted angel (Deut 32:8 LXX; Ps 95:5 LXX). The view gets further support from an insanity-causing angelic spirit in 1 Samuel 16:14 and the corrupted angels appearing in later Old Testament books, such as Isaiah 24:21–22 and Psalm 82:1–8.

Concerning the Enochic influence upon Markan demonology, it is weak for three reasons. First, the Markan unclean spirits are the corrupted angels appearing in Isaiah 24:21–22, Psalm 82:1–8, and Zechariah 13:2, while the Enochic evil spirits are the departed souls of the hybrid giants born from the union between the fallen angels and human females in Genesis 6:1–4. Second, the Markan unclean spirits are primarily rooted in the Old Testament, while the Enochic evil spirits are derived from the most ancient Rephaim in Ugarit (*KTU* 1.20–22; 1.161). Third, the Markan evil spirits enter the bodies of hosts, while the Enochic evil spirits do not.

Concerning the influence of other Second Temple Jewish works upon Markan demonology, it caused two demonological features in Mark: Satan's commanding the daimonions (cf. 11Q13) and the unclean spirits' entering the bodies of hosts (cf. 4Q560 1 i 3; Philo, *Gig*. 3 §12, 15; 4 §17; Josephus, *J.W.* 7.6.3 §185). It is noteworthy that the earliest documents with two features are all found in Dead Sea Scrolls written near the turn of the Common Era.

In conclusion, Markan demonology resulted from the combined concepts of later Old Testament books and Second Temple Jewish works developed near the turn of the Common Era.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Summary and Final Thoughts

This study evaluated the argument of the Enochic influence scholarship by revisiting its premises. These premises may be summarized in five sentences. First, the Old and New Testaments have demonological views distinct from each other. Second, the fallen angel tradition in the Book of the Watchers reflects a concept learned in the Exile and foreign to the Old Testament. Third, the Book of the Watchers laid the groundwork for all other demonological conversations afterward in Second Temple Judaism. Fourth, the Second Temple literature caused Synoptic demonology. Fifth, the Synoptics tell that the evil spirits are spontaneous beyond God's control, enter the bodies of victims, and afflict them with diseases.

To explain the demonological paradigm-shift between the Old and New Testaments based on the historical background is desirable. However, there has been no overall examination of primary texts to support its premises. It prompted this study to revisit each premise in dialogue with primary texts. The second through fifth chapters were the main arguments of this study.

In the second chapter, this study explored the Second Temple Jewish literature before and around the time of Jesus's ministry to ascertain the demonological view of the Book of the Watchers and evaluate its influence upon the other Jewish writings that came afterward. This study discovered three major facts. First, the Book of the Watchers was

not the origin of the new demonological concept. God designated the hybrid giants to become evil spirits after their death. It was also silent on their entering human bodies and causing illnesses. Second, later Enochic books, Jubilees, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Philo's writings, and Pseudo-Philo were not the likely source of the new demonological concept. Something that may be compatible with the new demonological concept began appearing in the Book of Tobit. A more compatible description was found in Apocryphal Psalms[a]—where an evil spirit's entering the body of a person is unclear. The fully compatible one was in Aramaic Magical Booklet and Josephus's works. These works are all written near the turn of the Common Era. Third, the Second Temple Jewish works displayed a diversity of demonological views. The diversity was even within the Enochic authors and the Jewish authors who upheld the new demonological concept.

In the third chapter, this study investigated the Book of the Watchers and the Old Testament to evaluate the premise, based on nine topics in the Book of the Watchers, that Enochic demonology was foreign to the Old Testament. This study found the Old Testament carried not a few meaningful parallels with the Book of the Watchers. The investigated Enochic topics were found all in the Old Testament. This study concluded that two traditions were closely related to, rather than distinct from, each other. Although the author of the Book of the Watchers created the concept of the evil spirits foreign to the biblical authors, he was well versed in the Old Testament. It is very likely that he carefully analyzed the Old Testament accounts before applying them to his writing.

In the fourth chapter, this study surveyed other ancient demonological views in ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Greece to evaluate the premise that Mesopotamian demonology caused the rise of the Enochic evil spirits. The goal was to ascertain what Mesopotamian concepts would parallel those of the Enochic evil spirits and see if the

shared concepts between the Mesopotamian and Enochic traditions were unique enough not to be found in other cultures. This study discovered three significant facts. First, no evil spirit in ancient Mesopotamia paralleled the departed souls of the hybrid giants born from the union between rebellious deities and humans. Second, the combined image of the hybrid hero Gilgamesh and the *gidim-ḫul*, the malign departed soul of a person, might have contributed to the formation of the Enochic evil spirits. Third, the malign spirits in Egypt and Greece had similar features to the combined image of Mesopotamia. Egyptians had Pharaoh as the offspring born from the mystical union between the deity and queen mother, and the *mt* as a type of the departed soul of a person. Greeks thought that deities and humans were of the same origin, so their sexual union was thought to be natural. Not only that, but they also thought of malign departed souls of heroes, among whom many were born from the union between a deity and a human. This study saw that the figure of Shɜḳḳ in Egypt was specifically fascinating because he was the evil departed soul of a warrior born from the union of heavenly and earthly beings. He was compatible with the Enochic evil spirits. The manuscript that mentioned Shɜḳḳ dated back to the time before the first millennium BCE. Since he was of Syrian origin, this study concluded that the figure of Shɜḳḳ was known to ancient people in the regions of Syria through Egypt before the Exile. In conclusion, the exclusive Mesopotamian influence upon the formation of the Enochic evil spirits during the Exile was weak.

In the fifth chapter, this study researched into the Markan portrayal of unclean spirits in the exorcism and exorcism-related accounts to ascertain the Markan views and evaluate the premise of the Enochic influence scholarship that the Book of the Watchers and other later Second Temple Jewish works caused the rise of Markan demonology. This study saw that Markan demonology was organized, systematic, and sophisticated.

The unclean spirits were divided into three types according to their works. It might be four types depending on how readers understand φάντασμα. Markan demonology was primarily rooted in the Old Testament, but Mark added two features from the Second Temple Jewish literature outside the Old Testament. One feature was Satan as the prince of the daimonions (11Q13 2:12–13). The other feature was the unclean spirits' entering the bodies of hosts (4Q560 1 i 3; Philo, *Gig*. 3 §12, 15; 4 §17; Josephus, *J.W.* 7.6.3 §185). The two features were all developed in the Second Temple period near the turn of the Common Era.

In conclusion, the angelic fall in the Book of the Watchers has parallels in the Old Testament, the Enochic evil spirits are neither spontaneous nor from Mesopotamia, the evil spirits in the Second Temple Jewish works are too diverse to speak of the overall influence by the Book of the Watchers, and the Markan unclean spirits are the corrupted angels of some later Old Testament books with two additional features developed after the Book of the Watchers. Therefore, this study concludes that the primary sources this study has surveyed display that the premises of the Enochic influence scholarship said in the beginning of this chapter are debatable.

Assessment and Direction for Future Study

This study is constructive because it engaged in dialogue with primary sources to discover the relationship of Mark with the Second Temple Jewish literature and other ancient literature outside Judaism. No one has tried a comparative study of evil spirits to such an extent. The results of this study call for reconsidering the trending premises of the Enochic influence scholarship. Although the results are yet to be evaluated by the Second Temple Jewish and biblical scholarship, they are worthwhile because they

showed that reliance only on the historical background was indecisive. The final decision should come after seeing all the studies in different areas pointing in the same direction.

This study involved reading various ancient languages but had to limit itself to certain points in surveys; this study primarily relied on the translated texts in the study of the Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Ugaritic, and Ethiopic views of demonology. An advanced knowledge of the said ancient languages would have generated more benefits for this study, although some essential points this study purported to make were achieved.

Finally, this study selected to survey Mark only because of the limited scope of the study. It would be more contributory if the study expands itself to the survey of the rest of the Synoptic Gospels in future versions. Ascertaining their views outside the doctrinal box in dialogue with primary texts will be a worthwhile task. Not only that, but surveying their relationship with Mark within the Synoptics, the Second Temple Jewish literature within Judaism, and the other ancient cultures within the ancient Near Eastern religions will undoubtedly benefit the biblical and Second Temple Jewish scholarship.

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