

“INVOKE AT ANY TIME ...”

|| Apotropaic texts and belief in demons in the literature of the Qumran community

Ida Fröhlich

The title cites the text of 11Q11 V.4, a manuscript published earlier as an apocryphal psalm.¹ Republished later among scrolls of Cave 11 it has been reckoned now as a magical text.² The manuscript has a regular form with an average size and line numbers.³ The beginning of the scroll is very fragmentary. Words like *šbw'h* “oath” (11Q11 fig. 4, I:3); *mšb[y']* „exor[cis]ing” (11Q11 fig. 4, I:7), and “the demon” (*hšd*) (11Q11 fig. 4, I:10) in the fragmentary part refer to a magical content of the work.

The manuscript includes supposedly four compositions which are to be distinguished on the basis of the opening and closing formulae in the text.⁴ Frg. 2, fig. 3, fig. 4, and col. I. are too fragmentary to be interpreted. They may belong to a first composition. The beginning of the second composition is supposedly col. II.2 where Solomon is mentioned who “shall invoke” (*wyqr[]*). The end of the second psalm is in col. V.3, a closing formula reconstructed as [Amen, amen. Selah]. In col. V.4 a new unit is introduced by the formula “Of David” (*ldwyd*). The composition following this introduction is an apocryphal psalm. Its title is complemented with some words referring to the use of the text: “Against incantation (*lhš*) in the name of YHWH”. The composition ends in col. VI.3, with the partly reconstructed formula “[Amen, amen.] Selah”. The fourth composition is again introduced by the title “Of David” (*ldwyd*) (col. VI.3); the introduction is followed by the somewhat paraphrased text of Psalm 91.

Persons mentioned in the compositions are Solomon and David, both of them well-known from Psalm inscriptions. Both biblical figures are linked with psalms related to magic and healing. David is featured in a biblical narrative as a healer when playing the harp for Saul, who had been stricken by a demon causing a depressive illness (1Sam 16,14-23; 18,10-11). In later Jewish tradition

¹ Sanders, Psalms Scroll.

² García-Martínez / Tigchelaar et al., Qumran.

³ 11Q11 (11QapocrPs) trans. García Martínez / Tigchelaar / van der Woude.

⁴ For a classification of the magical texts and an overview of this text see: Eshel, Genres 395-415.

Solomon is referred to as one who has power over the demons.⁵ Other figures mentioned in the compositions are Raphael, referred to as a healer: “ [Ra]phael has healed [them]”, i.e. the possessed (*hpgw'ym*), preceding immediately the closing formulæ of the second composition (Amen, amen, Selah, col. V.3). Raphael is a healing angel in Jewish tradition, and has the same function as in the present text.⁶ The expression “has healed” (*šlmm*) in 11Q11 refers to the efficacy of his power. Because of the fragmentary nature of the text it can only be supposed that examples for his healing activities were also enumerated; in this case the formula could be paralleled with the closing formula of magic formulas “a formula of proof, tested for many times”.

Elements referring to the use of the text are: “And invo[ke]” (*wqr'*) (II.8); and the expression “A[gainst incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H. Invoke at an]y time” (*[qr' bkl] 'i*) (V.4) leads to suppose that these texts were recited on certain occasions, individually or commonly. The third composition refers to the situation when the incantation should be recited: “[when] he comes to you in the nig[ht], you will [s]ay to him”. The text to be recited is Psalm 91. The Psalm text ends in VI.13. At the bottom of the column there are two additional lines (VI.14-15).⁷ Line 15 is void, consequently line 14 must be the end of the composition. The text of line 14 sounds as “And [t]he[y] shall an[swer: Amen, amen.] Selah *va[cat v]aca[t]*”. The expression “they shall answer” (*wy'[nw]*) refers that the composition – the text of Psalm 91 – might have been recited loudly on some occasions in the community. The mode of use of the previous compositions is not known. The third composition (V.4-VI.3) might have been recited individually, probably in case of need.

Although certain parts speak openly of a situation of a demonic offense, the text is not an amulet. There are no traces of iteration, or any other trace of wearing the text on the body as an amulet. The extent and content of the text does not make probable its use as an object bestowed in the living place as an

⁵ The Greek Testament of Solomon presents him as a figure who has power over the demons by mean of his ring. The work presents a rich demonology. On the work and ancient traditions of Solomon's power see Duling, Solomon 117-119.

⁶ The meaning of the Raphael is „God heals”. In the book of Tobit he is the angel sent by God to restore Tobit's sight and to free Sarah from the dominance of the evil spirit, Ashmodai. In the book of Tobit Raphael is the angel who binds Asael and casts him into a pit (1En 10,4). Raphael is mentioned as the second in the angelic hierarchy in 1En 20,3.

⁷ Frg. 2 and frg. 3 holds only a few words. On the basis of cols. V (14 lines) and VI (15 lines) it can be supposed that the average length of the columns were 14-15 lines.

apotropaic object.⁸ The compositions are of different character: composition 2 is descriptive while composition 3 was written for individual and casual needs. Composition 4 (Psalm 91) seems to be used collectively.

The contents of the texts

The first composition is too fragmentary, and no structure or content of the text can be established. The second composition (II.2-V.3) bears a description on God's power and trust in God, who, as creator of the world is above all. “Lean [on YHWH, the God of gods, who made] the heavens [and the earth, and all that is in them, w]ho separated [light from darkness]” (11Q11 frg. 4, II.9-12). The expression “separated light from darkness” calls associations with Gen 1,6-7. At the same time light and darkness evoke the idea of an ethical dualism represented in the literature of the community by the symbols of light and darkness. This dualism is a relative one, subordinated to God's power. God is lord over the “wonders” (*hmwptym*) of the world (III.3), that is over the natural phenomena, the causes of which are hidden from the humans. Further heavenly beings, “an[gels and] all the [holy] see[d] to st[a]nd before [him] (i.e. God)” are mentioned in the following (11Q III.4-5). The ideas of a heavenly sanctuary and that of a heavenly court are well-known both from Qumran, and from late biblical texts.⁹ In 11Q11 the heavenly beings are called by God to be witnesses against some sinners “who committe[d] against [all me]n sin, and against all p[eople]” (11Q11 III.5-7). The sin was, to all probability, the desecration of heavenly secrets: “But] they know his [wonder]ful [secrets] which they do not []” (III.7-8). This act may be the cause for which they are to fear from punishment: “ [t]he[y] will fear tha[t] great [blow.]” (III.10). In Col. IV the situation is completely clear, and the fragmentary text can be completed with certitude: “YHWH will strike you with a [grea]t b[low] to destroy you [And in his fury [he will send] against you a powerful angel [to carry out] his [entire comm]and, who[will not show] you mercy” (IV.4-5). They are punished with being taken “to the great abyss” (*thwm rbh*) and to “the deepest Sheol” (*[š'w]l httyh*) (IV.7-8). In the following references are made to “your gift” (*mntnk*) (IV.12), and to the possessed (*hpgwym*) (V.2) whom Raphael has healed.

⁸ The length of the text is x + 6 columns. The sheet on which the text was written is the average size of the scrolls found in the Qumran caves; no special traits of the manuscript refer to its special use.

⁹ The idea of a heavenly sanctuary where angels recite the liturgy is reflected in the Qumran text the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-403, 4Q405). Dan 7,9-14 depicts a heavenly court and judgment in heaven. The scene where Satan asks the testing of Job is again a heavenly court, Job 2,1-6. The judgment scene of John's Revelation is in the heaven.

The third composition refers to a nocturnal assailant, a demonic being attacking at times: “[When] he comes to you in the nig[ht]” (V.5). The being is of mixed origin, an “[offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly one]”, it has mixed human and animal traits (horns) (V.5-6). Its nature is “darkness and not light, [injust]ice and not justice” (V.7-8), that is, it belongs to the sphere of physical and ethical evil. It will be punished by God, who will bring it down “[to the] deepest [Sheo]”. The reading Sheol is conformed by the following text which mentions bronze [gates], a motif generally known from texts dealing with themes of the netherworld. Similarly the attribute “dark” refers the reader to Sheol connected to darkness. The expression “[for]ever”, and the subsequent expression on “the sons of Bel[ial]” may refer again to the attacker (VI.2-3).

The fourth composition, Psalm 91, promises God’s protection in difficult situations like “[the net of the fow]ler”, “the calam[itous] pestilence” (VI.5).¹⁰ Further dangers are “the dread of night or the arrow that flies by day”, 6 “the plague that rages at [no]on or the pestilence that [in dark]ness proceeds” (VI.7-8), and “evil, and a plague” in a general meaning (VI.10). The “cobra [and viper shall you s]tep, you shall tramp[le lion] and dragon” mentioned at the end of the Psalm is, to all probability, a general reference to God’s general protection from every kind of dangers, and not a mention of concrete dangers.

Demons in the Old Testament

Psalm 91 cited in 11Q11 enumerates various plagues and afflictions: „pestilence”, (*qtb*) (91,6); „the arrow that flies by day” (*hš y’wp ywmh*) (91,5); „plague” (*dbr*) (91,6), and evil forces: „the net of the fowler” (*pḥ*) (91,3); „the dread of night” (*phd lylh*) (91,5) as causing harms to humans.

The rest of the compositions of 11Q11 mentions demonic beings as *šdym* and *rwḥwt* both in plural forms. Both terms are known from the Old Testament. A general name of a demonic being is *šēd* (*šd*), mentioned usually in plural form in the Old Testament (Deut 32,17, Ps 106,37).¹¹ As to the other term *rwḥwt*, Saul’s mysterious depressive illness is caused by a bad spirit (*rwḥ r’h*) (1Sam 16,14-23).¹² The spirit of the dead is meant in the story of the witch of En-Dor where Saul evokes the spirit (*’lthym*) of the dead Samuel with the help of a witch (1Sam 28; for the term see verse 13). Demonic beings are referred to in the Old Testament when mentioning Azazel (*’z’zl*, Lev 16,8.10.26), the

¹⁰ Reconstruction on the basis of Psalm 91.

¹¹ The term is etymologically related to Akkadain *šēdu*, „protecting spirit, esp. of bull-colossus”, Aram *šyd’*, „demon”, see Brown / Driver / Briggs, *Lexicon* 993-994.

¹² The word *rwḥ* can also designate ethical evil, like the „spirit of breach” in Judg 9,22-23, and „a lying spirit” in the mouth of prophets in 1Kgs 22,19-22.

rephaim (*rp'ym*), and the vampire-like *'alûqâ* (Prov 30,15). Names of illnesses and afflictions may comprise the meaning of demonic beings, like *maš'hit*, *deber*, *qeteb*, *rešep* or the “demonium meridianum” in Psalm 91,6.¹³ Illnesses and afflictions in the Old Testament narratives are always God’s agents for punishing sins, they never are sovereign entities.¹⁴

The Old Testament is acquainted with further demonic beings besides those mentioned above. Together with Lilith owls and jackals are mentioned as evil spirits dwelling at deserted ruins (Isa 34,14). Isaiah does not inform about Lilith’s characteristics. The amulet bearing her name from Arslan Tash (northern Syria), from the 8th or 7th century is probably a fake.¹⁵ On the other side Lilith is well known from Mesopotamian incantation texts and amulets as a night demon killing infant babies. The incantation series Maqlû mentions several times the group *lilû*, *lilîtu*, and (*w*)*ardat lilî*.¹⁶ The name Lilitu is to be identified here with that of Lilith as well as in the incantation texts written against the demons of the *lilû*-family.¹⁷ Lilith is dangerous, above all, for newborn babies, sucking their blood and eating their flesh. Her characteristics are very similar to those of the Mesopotamian female demon Lamaštu. She is shown on her numerous representations with a lion head, a female body, bird’s legs, holding snakes in her hands and suckling a dog and a swine. Jewish sources derive the name Lilith from the noun *lylh* “night”. However, its origin is the Sumerian word *lil* meaning “wind” (similarly the names *lilû* and (*w*)*ardat lilî*). Lilith and her companions are constantly mentioned in the texts of the Aramaic and Mandaean magic bowls from the late antiquity. The inscriptions in the bowls served for apotropaic purposes. The majority of the bowls originate from the Jewish community of Nippur.¹⁸ Lilith is well known in Talmudic and later Jewish tradition.¹⁹ Apotropaic texts called *segullah* written against Lilith’s harmful activity had been used in Jewish tradition until modern times. Printed

¹³ Caquot, *Démons* 58-59.

¹⁴ On the concept see Toorn, *Sin*.

¹⁵ Hutter, *Lilit* 520-21; Stol, *Birth* 229.

¹⁶ Meier, *Beschwörungssammlung*.

¹⁷ The members of the *lilû*-family are the *lilû*, a male demon, an incubus; the *lilîtu*, a female demon who strangles newborn children; the (*w*)*ardat lilî*, a female demon, a kind of succubus. For the texts see Farber, *Schlaf*.

¹⁸ *Montgomery Texts*; Geller, *Bowls*.

¹⁹ Mentioned in four tractates (*Niddah* 24b, *Baba Bathra* 73a, *Šabbat* 151b, *‘Erubin* 100b) as long-haired winged being. In midrashic tradition Lilith was Adam’s first wife. He gendered with her the *šēdim* who bring plagues and afflictions on humans. Lilith wanted to rule over Adam, therefore he dismissed her. Lilith became an evil spirit, the demon of the childbed fever and infant mortality. See Haas, *Magie* 224-225.

segulloth from Hungary from the beginning of the 20th century used Psalm texts and names of the biblical matriarchs as a shielding against Lilith.²⁰

Without mentioning Lilith's name Isa 13,21-22 lists owls and jackals, ostriches and "hairy ones" (*š 'yrym*), all of them as demonic beings dwelling among ruins.²¹ According to the general views in the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean owls are connected to death and demonic.²² The evil *utukku*-demons are called "owls hooting over the city" in a Mesopotamian incantation text. Similarly, the jackal is an animal related to death.²³ Besides the beliefs in demons the Old Testament literature bears traces of the belief in the "evil eye" (*'yn r'h*, *'yn hr'*) and its negative effects, too.²⁴ Later Jewish tradition shows a rich world of demons.²⁵

The use of amulets is also documented in the Old Testament. The "moonlets" (*šhrnym*) mentioned in historical and prophetic texts (Jud 8,21,26; Isa 3,18) probably served as amulets.

To all probability jewels (nose-rings, necklaces also worn as amulet) and make-up used for apotropaic purpose were meant when the prophet Hosea urged Israel "that she put away her whoring from her face (*pnym*), and her adultery from between her breasts" (Hos 2,2). Golden bells (*p'mnym*) hanging from the high priest's garment (Ex 28,33f; 39,25f), "were in the first instance amulets to frighten evil spirits away".²⁶

Amulets written with apotropaic purposes are known from Ketef Hinnom (Jerusalem) where two silver amulets were found in a burial cave. The objects are dated to the end of the First Temple period (circa 6th century B.C.E.).²⁷ According to the preamble of the amulet text the amulets protected their owners against "the Evil" qualified by the definite article (*hr'*). The amulet text is the blessing of the priests (Num 6,24).²⁸

The Old Testament has an attitude unfavorable to magic. The historical narratives of the corpus, possible witnesses of everyday practice, have been

²⁰ Fröhlich, Texts 295-303.

²¹ The term is mentioned in the Old Testament over 50 times. On the figure of the *se'irim* see Janowski, Satyrs 732-733.

²² Dunnigan, Owls 144.

²³ Gods and demons of death are usually represented in the form of various canines. The jackal-form god is the lord of the desert and the netherworld. See also Heerma van Voss, Anubis 330-331.

²⁴ Wazana, Case 685-702.

²⁵ For a survey see Hillers / Rainowitz / Scholem, Demons 1521-1533, esp. 1526-1533 for demons in the Talmud and Kabbalah.

²⁶ Davies, Magic 99.

²⁷ Yardeni, Remarks 176-185; Barkay et al, Amulets 41-71.

²⁸ For amulets and their use see Blau, Amulets 546-550; Blau, Zauberwesen.

bequeathed through the filter of the deuteronomistic editors whose opinion was adverse to the magic; accordingly they tried to eliminate any magical element. For this reason references on belief in demons are reticent. However, behind these laconic reports there might have been a living world of beliefs unrevealed. It is hard to believe that in pre-exilic Israel there was only a limited or temporary belief in demons, confined to the acquaintance only with some demons, in certain periods. Belief or disbelief in demons is a vital part of any worldview, and it never is partial or temporary. Ancient Near Eastern cultures attributed illnesses, anxiety and psychical disorders, afflictions, epidemics, and any kind of natural evil to the work of demons. This view is only natural, since at that time there was no knowledge about bacteria, viruses, and other biological causes of illnesses, neither of medical theories and concepts which are known to us. Consequently the realm of demons was a natural and basic element of the worldview of ancient Near Eastern cultures (including the Israelite culture) from the earliest times to the late antiquity.

In an article on Qumran demonology (published on the 50th anniversary of the finding of the Scrolls) P. Alexander remarked the growing interest for the coherent and sophisticated demonology which is presented in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and called the attention to the importance of the research of this phenomenon in the spiritual history of the Qumran community. He ascertained that the “belief in demons was central in their worldview, and some of the earliest Jewish demonological texts are to be found in the Scrolls”. However, he stated that no systematic demonology is presented in the texts, and he concluded that “the Qumran inventory of demons ... turns out to be somewhat vague”. He called again the attention to the contrast between the demonic world in the Dead Sea Scrolls and that of “envisaged in many of the later pagan Greek, Christian and Jewish magical texts which are much more precise and technical in their classification of demons”.²⁹

Was demonology really missing from Qumran tradition? The religious conditions of the Qumran community are derived from exilic experience and traditions of Judaism in the exilic-postexilic time.³⁰ Meeting with Mesopotamian culture, its variety of cults, literature, its overwhelming magical and interpretative traditions was a challenge for Jewish groups living in the exile. Intellectuals were highly represented among the exiled – this is clear not only because of the lists of the ‘first exile’ which show clearly that the Babylonians took the power and intellectual elite into exile, but also due to lists of the

²⁹ Alexander, *Demonology* 331.336.

³⁰ García-Martínez, *Qumran 113-135*, and García-Martínez / van der Woude, *Groningen* 521-541.

returnees which contain a good number of groups of priests.³¹ Jewish works written in an exilic milieu like Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, Daniel 2-6 reflect an excellent acquaintance of their authors with local culture, and political events. The method by which the elements of the foreign culture are presented is not direct borrowing but “elite emulation”, a method which “often appears in colonial or imperial contexts, when peripheral social groups are oppressed and threatened, or at least feel threatened, by a larger social core”.³² Jewish works born in exilic milieu resound Mesopotamian themes and motifs, and interpret them at the same time, according to the traditional culture of the authors (e.g. the interpretation of dreams, a well-known practice in Mesopotamian culture is presented in Dan 2,13-19 as a special practice revealed to Daniel by God). The Jewish authors living in Mesopotamia gave mimetic responses to the local tradition.

Phenomena and ideas are explained and categorized not at the time when they come into being but when a community feels for some reason needy to explain it. To remain within the circle of Mesopotamian culture and demonology, in various times various answers were given to the question of the origin of the demons.³³ For the Jews living in the Babylonian exile that period was a situation which demanded for the scattered people a restatement of their identity. A vital part of shaping their self-identity was their attitude to the new cultural heritage with which they were acquainted in the exile. Their restatement was at the same time distancing themselves from certain phenomena of the foreign culture. The framing of the origin of the demons was shown in an Aramaic work – the Enochic collection – the traditions which originated from an exilic milieu.

A postexilic rationale of the origin of the demonic: the story of the Watchers

The Book of Enoch was earlier known as a part of the pseudepigraphic tradition in Greek and Ethiopian translations. It had been supposed that its original language may have been Hebrew or Aramaic, and that the Greek translation was prepared from this, only a part of which has survived;³⁴ luckily the *ge'ez*

³¹ 2Kgs 24,13-16; Ezra 2,1-63; 8,1-36.

³² Sparks, *Enūma* 625. Sparks demonstrates that besides the well-known example of priestly mimesis in the Creation story (Genesis 1) the priestly material of the Pentateuch was widely influenced by Mesopotamian models, and several narratives and rites were shaped as mimetic responses to Mesopotamian tradition.

³³ On the phenomenon see Toorn, *Theology* 61-83.

³⁴ Its editions are Flemming / Radermacher, *Buch*; Black, *Apocalypsis*. About the Greek manuscripts see also Denis, *Introduction* 11-30.

(Ethiopian) translation has preserved a much longer text.³⁵ The work known only from earlier translations was uniformly dated to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.E. Some parts of it (ch. 37-70) were dated to a somewhat later time.

The finding of fragments of the Aramaic original of the work among the Qumran texts brought a veritable turning point in research.³⁶ The manuscript fragments found at Qumran – despite the fact that we are dealing with very minute fragments – not only answered certain questions about the history of the origin of the text, but also provided an insight into the kind of role the work played in the literary tradition of the group which left behind the library safeguarded in the caves.³⁷ Based on the number of fragments found³⁸ we may suppose that the work was not merely known at Qumran, but that it must have been an important work in the tradition of the community. This is also indicated by the fact that numerous other works found at Qumran are either already known from the pseudepigraphic literature earlier or not, contain a similar tradition to that known from 1Enoch, or mentioned in or used from 1Enoch.³⁹ No fragments of chapters 37-70 of the work appear among the Qumran fragments – it has already been supposed about these chapters that they are of later origin than the other parts of 1Enoch. The Qumran manuscripts, however, also contain texts – fragments of the parts called Astrological Book and Book of Giants by their editor – which were earlier not known from any of the translations.⁴⁰ The oldest Qumran manuscript of 1Enoch (4Q En.ar/a) may be dated to

³⁵ The Ethiopian manuscript tradition can be traced back to the 15th c. The first edition of the Ethiopian text is Charles, *The Ethiopic Version*; the new, critical edition of the Ethiopian text, which takes into consideration the Aramaic fragments, with translation and annotation: Knibb, *Book*.

³⁶ The edition Milik, *Books*; is a new edition of the Ethiopian text and was prepared in the light of the Aramaic fragments, with translation and commentary Knibb, *Book*.

³⁷ On the significance of the Aramaic fragments, see García-Martínez, *Contributions*.

³⁸ In his edition Milik identified seven manuscript copies on the basis of the fragments found in cave No. 4, four manuscripts from the Astronomical Book, on the basis of the fragments of the Book of Giants we may also suppose the existence of several copies from this part as well, see Milik, *Books* 139-317.

³⁹ To mention the most obvious examples: the Book of Jubilees uses and explicitly quotes the book (see Charles, *Apocrypha* 18-19.), and elements originating from 1Enoch play an important role in its entire narrative. The Damascus Document alludes to the Enochic tradition in its historical overview (CD II.2-III.12) similarly the historical schema outlined in 4Q180-181 is also based on the story of the Watchers.

⁴⁰ Milik, *Books* 273-317. The Book of Giants contains a rich tradition concerning the giants, the children of the Watchers, unfortunately in a very fragmentary form. The order of the fragments is very problematic. On this see García-Martínez, *Contri-*

the end of the 3rd century B.C.E., and already this manuscript contains the text of Chapters 1-12⁴¹ (but most likely the entire Book of Watchers, the material of Chapters 1-36, belongs to this layer).⁴² The later manuscripts contain further parts of the work; this indicates that the work was continually transmitted until the 1st century B.C.E., and that in the course of this transmission the collection was enriched by further pieces.⁴³ The manuscript tradition can be traced to the turn of the 3rd and 2nd century B.C.E. This means that the Book of Watchers was written at least during the 3rd century B.C.E., but it may have been written even earlier.

1 Enoch and Mesopotamian tradition

Enoch was written in Aramaic, the vernacular in Mesopotamia by the time of the Exile. Besides Enoch several works composed in Aramaic came to light from the Qumran library. They show several specific common characteristics concerning their literary genres and content, which are worthy of further examination.⁴⁴ Several Qumran Aramaic works are well acquainted with historical, literary, and other traditions of the eastern diaspora, and they contain Mesopotamian and Persian elements.⁴⁵ 1 Enoch reflects a good awareness with

butions 97-115 ('The Book of Giants'). A new edition of the fragments of the Book of Giants (BG): Stuckenbruck, Book.

⁴¹ Earlier works, (such as Beer, Buch 224; Martin, Livre lxxviii; Charles, Book 2-3) considered the material of Chapters 1-5 to be a subsequently written introduction to the whole work – in view of the Aramaic manuscript tradition, however, it seems certain that this part is contemporaneous with the narrative parts that follow, and that it represents a tradition predating the 2nd century B.C.E.

⁴² Milik, Books 140. Milik also supposes that the writer of the text followed the Northern Syrian or Mesopotamian scribal customs – and this may also indicate the origin of the tradition. The fragments also prove that Chapters 1-5 already belonged to the so far known earliest Enoch-tradition.

⁴³ Milik, Books 164, dates 4Q En/b to the mid-second century (this manuscript also only contains the Book of Watchers; the later manuscripts, designated by c, d, and e [c, d, e jelu] which can be dated to the 1st century B.C. – 1st century A.D., also contain parts of the Book of Dreams (1En 83-90) and of the Epistle of Enoch (1En 91-107), see Milik, Books 178.

⁴⁴ Wacholder, Literature.

⁴⁵ The most outstanding example is 4Q242, the Prayer of Nabunai which is well acquainted with historical legends on the last Neo-Babylonian king Nabunaid (555-539 B.C.E.). 4Q550 uses Persian names, the story reflects the influence of the pattern of the Ahiqar novel, see Fröhlich, Stories.

certain Mesopotamian traditions.⁴⁶ Revelations on the secrets of the cosmos given to Enoch during his heavenly voyage reflect an impact of Mesopotamian cosmological lore.⁴⁷ The figure of Enoch and the elements of the revelation-tradition associated with him originate in the figures of the Mesopotamian *apkallū* (“wise ones”), more exactly in the figure of the “Mesopotamian diviner-king Enmeduranki” and in the tradition about divine revelation given to him.⁴⁸ Thus it can be assumed that the kernel of the Enochic tradition (1En 1-36) had been shaped either in a Babylonian Jewish diaspora-community or perhaps in a community of returnees which maintained traditions from the Babylonian exile. This group of writings might have been added by later pieces.⁴⁹

The narrative on the Watchers (1En 6-11) belongs to the earliest textual layer of the manuscript and represents one of the earliest traditions of the collection. In chapters 6-11 two narratives can be set apart, the narrative on Shemihazah, and that on Asael.⁵⁰

The Shemihazah tradition

The bulk of the tradition is contained in the Shemihazah story (1En 6,1-7,62). According to the Shemihazah-story sons of heaven (6,2), whom the text similarly to the terminology of Dan 5 calls “watchers” (*ʾyrn*), glimpse the daughters of men, desire them, and decide to descend to them. Their leader Shemihazah (*šmyhzh*) considers the plan to be sinful, for which he does not want to bear the responsibility alone (6,3), therefore the Watchers, in order to fulfill their plan swear to unite on the Hermon-mountain (1En 6,6). Then the Watchers “...began [to go in to them, and to defile themselves with them and (they began) to teach them] sorcery and spellbinding [and the cutting of roots; and to show them plants...]” (7,1). The women become pregnant from them and bear children, who growing up become giants. The giants “were devouring [the

⁴⁶ Jansen, Henochegestalt, examined the figure of Enoch in the light of the Mesopotamian tradition years before the finding of the Qumran manuscripts.

⁴⁷ Grelot, Géographie; Grelot, Légende; Grelot, Eschatologie; Grelot, Hénoch, written before the publication of the Aramaic fragments.

⁴⁸ VanderKam, Enoch 116. On the Mesopotamian background of the Enoch figure and of the Son of Man figure see Kvanvig, Roots. See also Bhayro, Noah’s.

⁴⁹ A similar case is the Danielic collection the earliest pieces of which show a good knowledge of Mesopotamian lore.

⁵⁰ This fact has already been noted by earlier scholars dealing with the work: Dillmann, Pseudepigraphen 12.352; Beer, Buch 225; Charles, Book 13-14, all differentiated between two narratives in the text of 1En 6-11. More recently Hanson, Rebellion. Apocalyptic and Myth have analysed the constituents of the text and they too differentiated between two sources.

labour of all the children of men and men were unable to supply [them.]” (7,4). After this the giants begin to devour men, then “... they began to sin against all birds and beasts of the earth] and reptiles ... and the fish of the sea, and to devour the flesh of another; and they were] drinking blood. [Then the earth made the accusation against the wicked concerning everything] which was done upon it” (7,5-6).⁵¹ These then are the transgressions, which finally bring about the punishment of the Flood (1En 9,1ff), thus the story serves as a justification for the catastrophic punishment.

The Asa’el story (1En 8,1-2) reports about Asa’el⁵² who taught metal-working, making weapons and jewels for men, and the knowledge of eye-shadows, of precious gems and dyes of mineral origins for women.⁵³ The section on Asa’el’s teaching is followed by a report on the teachings of Shemihazah and his companions: they taught the interpretations of heavenly omina, each Watcher teaching the signs of that natural phenomenon which was included in his name (1En 8,3-4).

The whole section is closed by a report on the punishment of Asa’el and the Watchers. Asael was punished for the sin perpetrated by him by the angel Raphael: he was bound and cast in darkness, where the Watchers will stay until “the great day of judgment” (1En 10,4-7). On the other hand, the punishment belonging to the Shemihazah-story, is the binding of Shemihazah and his companions by Mikael “for seventy generations” after they had witnessed the annihilation of their children, the Giants (1En 10,11-12). The devastation of the Flood following these events means in addition the purification of the earth (1En 10,1-3; 20-22).

The narratives on Shemihazah, and that on Asael are separate traditions on the origin of the evil which were merged in the Book of the Watchers. As to the background and meaning of the story of the Watchers, earlier theories saw historical and mythological motifs behind the narrative. The motif of the relation of the heavenly and earthly beings would have exemplified the mixed marriages of the priests in the postexilic era objected by Ezra, and the motif of

⁵¹ Translated by J.T. Milik, based on the Aramaic text reconstructed by him; see Milik, *Books* 166-167.

⁵² The name occurs in the form of Azazel in the Qumran texts *Agnes of Creation* (4Q180), the *Enochic fragments* (4Q201, 4Q202, 4Q203, 4Q204), and the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19). The tradition on Asael may not have relation with the tradition of the Flood; it may be a tradition different from that of the Watchers about the origin of the evil.

⁵³ 1En 65:6 supplements the list of the teachings of Asael by adding that the Watchers also taught people to cast metal and to make cast metal statues. According to 1En 69a Watcher named Pinem’e taught people writing and the use of ink and papyrus – things that later could be the source several misunderstandings.

the bloodshed would have mirrored the wars of the Diadochi.⁵⁴ Other theories look for mythological models, seeing the motif of the teachings of the Watchers as modeled after the myth of Prometheus, Asael being a *protos heuretes*.⁵⁵ Of course, neither historical-sociological, nor mythological models can be ruled out. However, the observation of only one or two motifs of the narrative does not illuminate the background and meaning of the whole story. Some elements of the story like cannibalism and consuming blood, as well as the basically negative nature of the teachings of the Watchers (magic and interpretation of omnia) are left unexplained. In order to look into the background and to ascertain the exact meaning and message of the narrative, all major elements of the narrative must be examined and taken into consideration. The tradition of the Watchers was a relevant theme in Qumran literature. It was often cited and referred to in other works, certainly because the meaning of the story was of basic importance for the spiritual world of the community.⁵⁶ Supposedly the story had a specific meaning for them, and its motifs were of a consistent background related to basic ideas of the Essene tradition.⁵⁷ Notions which are related to each of the motifs of the story are those of *sin and impurity* and *magic and demonic*.

Sin and impurity: ethical (prohibited) impurities

The purity system of the Old Testament is acquainted not only with physical impurities, but also ethical ones.⁵⁸ This type of impurity grows out of situations which are controllable and are not natural or necessary, such as delaying purification from impurity, polluting specific sancta, sexual transgressions, idolatry, and murder. The locus of uncleanness may be the person, but prescriptions talk more of the pollution of the sanctuary or land.⁵⁹ Punishments of these sins are more severe than the consequences of physical impurities. Punishment of the

⁵⁴ Suter, Angel; Rubinkiewicz, Book; Nickelsburg, Apocalyptic.

⁵⁵ Nickelsburg, Apocalyptic.

⁵⁶ The afterlife and influence of the Watchers' story in the literature of Qumran requires a separate study.

⁵⁷ According to P. Sacchi the peculiar conception of evil based on 1En 6-11 was a distinct ideological tradition which was the catalyst of the schism between the group and Judaism in the 4th century B.C.E. M. Stone and D. Suter date the schism to the third century, see Boccaccini, Hypothesis 76-77.

⁵⁸ On distinction between types of purity based on nonbiblical anthropological evidence, see Rosen, Contagion.

⁵⁹ Davies, Dimension; Wright, Unclean 737-738.

sinner is usually the banishing / driving away from the land or the extinguishing of his family (*kārēt*).⁶⁰

The main list of ethical impurities is to be found in the Holiness Code (Lev 17-26):

1. Sins related to sexual relations are cases of the *zenūt* (usually translated as fornication), i.e. all kinds of illicit sex (sex among blood relatives, sex with another's wife, homosexual relation, sex with menstruating women, prostitution (see Lev 18,1-30; 19,29). A special case in the list is *kilayim*, the prohibition of mixing together different kinds of animals, plants and materials in human clothing (Lev 19,19; Deut 22,9-11). A special case of *zenūt* not listed in Lev 17-26 is remarriage with one's divorced wife, meanwhile remarried, and later on divorced or widowed (Deut 24,1-4; cf. Jer 3,1).

2. Sins related to blood: bloodshed (Deut 21,1-9; cf. Gen 4,10, Psalm 106,38f.).

3. Sins related to the dead: corpse left on the tree for the night (Deut 21,22-23), cf. also 11QTS (LXIV.11-12).

4. Sins related to magic: "Do not resort to ghosts and spirits or make yourselves unclean by seeking them out. I am the Lord your God" (Lev 19,31). Magical practice is sometimes conceived as *zenūt* (Lev 20,6), and those who practice it are to be killed (Ex 22,17).

Results of ethical impurities are summarized in Lev 18,27-30: "The people who were there before you did those abominable things and the land became unclean. So do not let the land spew you out for making it unclean as it spewed them out. Observe my charge, therefore".⁶¹

Qumran texts enrich the Biblical theory of impurities.⁶²

⁶⁰ E.g. the Assyrian exile of Israel is explained in 2Kgs 17,5-23 as a punishment resulting from 'the sin of Jerobeam', the improper cultic practice of the northern kingdom.

⁶¹ The citation is a summary of the Holiness Code in Lev 17-26. The land is the Land of Canaan where the people was about to enter.

⁶² The Temple Scroll (11QT) considers as impure the non-observance of the dietary laws (11QTS XLVIII.6-7), the bodily signs of mourning (tattooing) (11QTS XLVIII.10), covenant and marriage with the "inhabitants of the land" meant as idolatry (11Q II.1-15, cf. Ex. 34,10-16), burial-grounds not separated from surroundings (11QTS XLVIII.11-17), the non-separation of sufferers from bodily impurities (flux, leprosy, plague, scab, menstruating women, women after childbirth), and idolatry repeatedly mentioned as *zenūt* defiling the land. 4QMMT (4Q394-399) adds to the list of impurities the offering taken from the pagan corn, and highlights cases of forbidden marriages (priests' marriage with commoners' daughters) as cases of *kilayim*.

Sin and impurity in the story of the Watchers

The sins of the Watchers are their transgression of the cosmic order and mixing with earthly women, and their teaching of magic. They are told to become impure by this relation (1En 7:1, cf. 4Q531 5.1). The Book of Giants qualifies their relation as a case of *znwt* (4Q203 = 4QEnGiants/a 8,9), one of the main categories of ethical impurities.

The sins of the Giants, sons of the Watchers are: violence, bloodshed (cannibalism), sins against the animals, birds, and fishes, and drinking of blood (1En 7,4-5). Homicide is among the sins which make the land impure (Deut 21,9). Cannibalism is not known in the biblical system. The meaning of the sins committed against the animals is not clear; it can be a violation of the prohibitions concerning food. This presupposition is confirmed by the report on their consuming of blood, which is a violation of the biblical prohibition (Gen 9,3-4).

These are the sins of the Watchers and their offspring which made the earth impure. The Flood following this is not only a punishment of these sins but at the same time a purification of the earth.

The Giants in the Enochic tradition

1En 15,8 reports on the offspring of the giants saying that their offspring is called demons (Ethiopic *nafsat*, Aramaic *rwh*⁶³). These beings are spiritual in nature, following their fathers' characteristics: they do not eat, they are not thirsty and know no obstacles. Their destructiveness first and foremost affects children and women, as they were born of women.⁶³ The Giants are the protagonists of the Book of Giants, Aramaic fragments belonging to the Enochic manuscripts from Qumran are not contained in the Greek and Ethiopic translations. According to the narrative of a fragment one of the Giants took to the air “as whirlwinds, and he flew with his hands / wings as [an] eagle”.⁶⁴ According to these giants were imagined as human shape figures which were able to fly like whirlwinds.

The story of the Watchers and demonology

Although the story of the Watchers does not mention any demons, the motifs of the story are related to the realm of the demonic. The characteristics of

⁶³ This part of the tradition is known only from the Greek and the Ethiopic translations. 4QEnar/c, the fragment which supposedly contains this part of the text is not legible at this place. It is to be supposed that this part was also contained by the Aramaic tradition of the Enochic collection.

⁶⁴ 4Q530 = 4QEnGiants/b III.4, see Stuckenbruck, Book 128-134.

the Giants evoke the Mesopotamian tradition about the *utukku*-s, a term generally used for demonic beings.

The Enochic Giants have characteristics similar to those of certain Mesopotamian demons: they are tall and obtrusive beings, roaming in bands, attacking their victims indiscriminately. They ravage the work of humans,⁶⁵ devour the flesh of animals and humans, and consume their blood. They are born from the relation of heavenly and earthly beings (which is considered in the story as impure).

It is to be noted here that the name and figure of Gilgamesh, one of the giants of the Book of Giants can also be interpreted in the magical tradition of the Near East (the name which is known also in Greek magical papyri is referred to until today in magical incantations).

Binding the Watchers: The punishment of the sins of the Watchers is binding and casting them to darkness. Asa'el is bound by the angel Raphael, Shemihazah is bound by Mikael. Demonological texts regularly mention that the demon is binding his victim. The witch, a constant figure of the Mesopotamian incantation series Maqlû binds her victim by her practices. Binding effect of the witchcraft is referred to in the title of a series of incantation entitled "The pregnant woman who was bound".⁶⁶ The bonds made by the witches can be solved by another kind of magic, healing incantations.

Binding is a constant motif in the Mesopotamian creation myth *Enūma elīš* where the triumph of the gods over their demonic enemies is marked by binding the enemy. Triumphant Ea binds Apsu (the primeval ocean) and builds his house over his breast. He also binds Apsu's helper, Mummu. Marduk binds Tiamat, then, splitting Tiamat in two, he forms the netherworld in the monster's inner part.⁶⁷

Sorcery: The Watchers teach to humans in the Shemihazah-story magical practices, "sorcery (*hršh*) and spellbinding (*kšph*) [and the cutting of roots (Gr. *ridzotomia*); and to show them plants..." (1En 7,1)]. The first two nouns are general terms for magical practices. The "cutting of roots" means, to all probability, the making of herbal ingredients to magic, and making amulets containing herbs and roots.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ 4Q531 5,1 speaks in more concrete terms than the Shemihazah story, and mentions that the Giants were devastating fruit, wheat, trees, sheep, and cattle.

⁶⁶ Haas, *Magie* 170.

⁶⁷ Haas, *Magie* 92.

⁶⁸ The Talmud is acquainted with two sorts of *kemi'ot* (amulets): a written one (a parchment with quotations from various sources, including the Scriptures), and the *kame'a šel iqrin*, an amulet made from roots of a certain plant (Shab 61b).

Metallurgy: Asa’el and his companions teach for men metallurgy, the making of weapons and jewels. For women they make known the making up the eyes and cosmetics, and the most precious and choice stones, and all kinds of coloured dyes (1En 8,1). Metallurgy and smithing are very closely related to the notion of magic. Ironsmiths are considered as sorcerers in the belief system of the ancient and modern Near East⁶⁹ Weapons made by forgers were attributed to magical power. Jewels served originally as amulets with apotropaic function.⁷⁰

Cosmetics: The magical (and ancient) origin of make-up, especially the painting of eyes and lips, is well-known, similarly to the magic origin of jewels.⁷¹ In *Enūma eliš*, the Mesopotamian creation myth all of the gods fighting between them wear amulets, using their magic power against their enemies. According to the myth of *Inanna’s (Ištar) descent into the nether world* the fertility goddess going to the netherworld must in each gate of the netherworld to part with one piece of her seven magical powers represented by her garment and jewels. At the end of her journey she arrives naked, and delivered, without any magical power to Ereškigal, the lady of the netherworld. In the Sumerian variant of the myth two pieces of Ištar’s cosmetics and jewels are mentioned as having specific power of sexual attraction: her mascara called “Let a man come, let him come”, and her pectoral called “come, man, come”.⁷²

Interpretation of omina: The holistic worldview of the Mesopotamian man considered everything as an omen for future events, and interpretation of omina was generally practiced. Interpretative tradition was collected and systematized in series of interpretation. A collection of interpretations on heavenly phenomena and meteorological omina was the series *Enūma Anu*

⁶⁹ On the general idea see Eliade, Forgerons. In Ethiopian ironsmith and magician are denoted by the same word (*duban-ansa*), see Leslau, Dictionary 181; similarly the descendants of Cain – who are ironsmiths in the Bible (Gen 4,16-24) – in the later tradition related to them are associated with magical motifs (Syriac ‘Cave of Treasures’). In the Ethiopian tradition the belief that ironsmiths have magic capabilities and knowledge is alive to this day, they are considered to be sorcerers and therefore members of other groups do not marry their daughters to them. In an incantation of the series Maqlû (II.128) the witch (*kaššaptu*) is called silversmith, whose spells are to be solved by the incantation, see Meier, Beschwörungssammlung.

⁷⁰ Haas, Magie 197-198.

⁷¹ Haas, Magie 197-198.

⁷² Inana’s descent to the nether world lines 22-23. For the text and translation see ETCSL (The electronic text corpus of the Sumerian Literature, Oxford) <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=t.1.4.1#>.

Enlil (“When Anu and Enlil”) from the Neo-Babylonian era.⁷³ Its content shows a similarity with the teachings of Shemihazah and his companions, referred to in the Enochic story.

The story of the Watchers as a myth of the origin of evil

The story of the Watchers is a myth on the origin of the evil in the world.⁷⁴ According to the narrative of the Enochic collection this is the first event following the creation (the material of Gen 2-5 is not figuring in the Enochic collection). The first stage of the birth of the evil is the disfunction of the cosmic order, the mixing of the heavenly and earthly beings. Sins of heavenly beings call ethical impurities. Initiators of the sins are the heavenly beings who descend to the earthly women on effect of their desire. The Watchers are conscious of the nature of their deed, they even ally to commit the sin collectively. The narrative does not mention human responsibility, the authors and agents of the deeds are the Watchers. The deeds of the Watchers are considered in the narrative as ethical impurities. The Giants, the beings born from the cosmic disfunction start further anomalies in the world. The anomalies are further ethical sins resulting in the defilement of the earth. Impurity of the earth calls on the punishment of the Flood.

The story of the Watchers is an independent story. It is a parallel to the narrative of Gen 6,1-4, about the angels and the daughters of men, and not an interpretation of Gen 6,1-4.⁷⁵ The story of the Watchers bears a (distinctive) message which cannot be found in Gen 6,1-4. It is a determinist myth, and an alternate tradition to the message of the primeval history of Genesis. In the Enochic collection evil originates from the deeds of the Watchers, following the creation. In Genesis the origin of the evil is the Fall (Gen 2-3). The tradition of the Watchers is often referred to in Qumran texts, with the meaning of the origin of evil. On the other side, the biblical story of the Fall (Gen 2-3) is almost never mentioned.

⁷³ van Soldt, Omens.

⁷⁴ On the problem see Boccaccini, Hypothesis 72-73.

⁷⁵ There is no room here to go into the problems of the relation of the two texts. Although Wellhausenian text criticism defined Gen 6,1-4 as belonging to the Yahwistic source, there is no evidence for an early provenience of the short and disjointed text which can even be a series of reflections of a priestly redactor (4th century B.C.E.). The Enochic story of the Watchers is backgrounded by a tradition not dependent from Gen 6,1-4, which was formed prior to the end of the 3rd century, date of the manuscripts of the Book of the Watchers known to us. The Enochic story is meant in the research an interpretation of Gen 6,1-4, latest Dimant, *Enoch* 6-11. Similarly Bhayro, Daniel's; Wright, Origin. For a different view see Davies, *Enoch*.

1Enoch is a theoretical work. The origin of evil means the origin of the demons, causes of the natural evil. It seems that the author of the Enochic story uses Mesopotamian lore in a conscious manner. Evil in 1Enoch is equal to sin and impurity. The bearers of evil and impurity are demonic beings, the offspring of the Watchers. Demons are working in world history.

The story of the Watchers (1En 6-11) was written following the Babylonian exile. The terminus ad quem is the end of the 3rd century B.C.E. Its language is Aramean, the vernacular of Mesopotamia and the lingua franca for the exiled Judaeans from the 6th century B.C.E. The figure of Enoch and the revelations given to him witness a good knowledge of the Mesopotamian traditions about the *apkallū*, the antediluvian wise, a priestly tradition from the city of Eridu.⁷⁶ Mesopotamian elements in the Enochic literature are not simple borrowing. Mesopotamian lore was adapted and built in a Jewish system of thought. The message of the story of the Watchers is determined by a monotheistic worldview, based on the biblical system of ritual purity.

Beliefs concerning demons may not have been unknown for the exiled. However, everyday practice of the interpretation of omnia and magical healing rituals were new for them, and might have effected a kind of cultural shock.⁷⁷ The Enochic narrative interprets the existence of demons as the origin of the natural evil. However, the existence of the demons is not disclaimed, they are simply regarded as the evil part of the world. The phenomenon which is considered in Enoch absolutely negatively is magic and its various forms, the interpretation of omnia and the “bad” teachings of the Watchers – methods known from everyday Mesopotamian practice.

The Book of Jubilees

The Enochic myth of the origin of the evil is reworked and referred to not only in later pieces of the Enochic collection but in several works survived in Qumran written tradition, like the Book of Jubilees.⁷⁸ Fragments of some 14 Hebrew copies of the book in the Qumran library show that Jubilees was well known in Qumran. The correspondence of certain traditions found in Jubilees with those of other Qumran writings (first of all the 364-day calendrical system documented from 11QT, and 4QMMT) show that the work played an important

⁷⁶ See VanderKam, Enoch; Kvanvig, Roots.

⁷⁷ Cf. Theophrastos’ consternation of Babylonian superstition, *Characteres* 16.

⁷⁸ 1En 85-90, the Animal Apocalypse is a historical overview based on the Biblical tradition. The Watchers are mentioned here in the antediluvian period as stars which fall to earth upon seeing the black cows symbolizing the earthly women, and begetting with them elephants, camels, and donkeys.

role in Qumran spiritual tradition.⁷⁹ Jubilees is one of the earliest examples of the genre of “rewritten Bibles”, a retelling of narratives of the Genesis and the first half of Exodus, with skips and additions. The work is framed in an overall chronological scheme based on a 364-day calendar. Jubilees is a composite work, merging various traditions and expanding the narrative of Genesis according to various aspects as calendar, genealogies, land division etc. Behind some themes (e.g. heavenly tablets) there lie various traditions.⁸⁰

Enochic tradition on the Watchers is systematically merged in the narrative of Jubilees and harmonized with it. The work is introduced by the presentment of a comprehensive angelological system. Angels are created by God before the creation of the world. They function over the works of the cosmos and natural phenomena. They form a hierarchical order headed by the Angel of the divine Presence, and the Angel of the Holiness. No Watchers or any separate group of angels is mentioned in the introductory part of Jubilees.

1. They are first mentioned in Jared’s time, when “the angels of the Lord, who were called Watchers, came down⁸¹ to the earth in order to teach the sons of man, and perform judgment and uprightness upon the earth” (Jub 4,15).

2. In Jub 5,1-11 the lettering of Gen 6,1-4 is complemented with elements from 1En 6-11. Common elements of Genesis and Enochic tradition are that the angels saw that the earthly women, “were beautiful to look at. So they married of them whoever they chose”. Enochic elements: the women bore giants (Jub 5,1); one of the sins spreading upon the earth was cannibalism (Jub 5,2); the angels and the giants were punished by binding and sword; the words about the “great day of judgment” on the angels (Jub 5,6-11). Monstrous births and the corruption of the earthly beings results in Jubilees from the deed of the angels whose positive mission was broken when they infringed their teaching obligation, and married earthly women. (Jub 5,1-2). The passage does not speak about further offspring of the angels and giants.

3. Following the Flood “impure demons began to mislead Noah’s grandchildren and to make them act foolishly, and to destroy them” (Jub 10,1). The demons were also blinding and killing Noah’s grandchildren. It is here that is definitely stated that the demons originate from the Watchers (Jub 10,5). Beside the destroyer’s nature of the demons the binding of the Watchers is mentioned (Jub 10,6-7). On the effect of Noah’s prayer the Lord has binded nine tenth of

⁷⁹ For Jubilees and Qumran thought see VanderKam, Book 145-146.

⁸⁰ García-Martínez, Tablets 243-260.

⁸¹ Association of Jared’s name and the Hebrew verb *yrd* “to descend”, “to go down”.

the demons; one tenth are allowed to work in the world under Mastema’s leadership (Jub 10:8-14).⁸²

4. The time of Noah’s sons was characterized by fighting, bloodshed, and idolatry. This was the time of the building of “Ur of Chaldees”. Mastema mislead humans by means of the spirits “to commit every (kind of) error and sin, and every (kind of) transgression: to corrupt, to destroy, and to shed blood on the earth” (Jub 11,2-6).

5. In Terah’s days ravens and birds sent by Mastema ravaged the crop of the fields for years. Abraham drove away the birds; the source of his power over the demonic beings was his righteousness (Jub 11,11-24).

6. Idols are, too, connected to demonic functions in so far as “they are an error of the mind” (Jub 12,3). Abraham was not only unwilling to sacrifice to them while living in the city of Ur but he burned the temple of the idols (Jub 12,12).⁸³

7. In his night vigil prayer Abraham asked God to save him “from the power of evil spirits who rule the thoughts of people’s minds” (Jub 12,19-20).

8. Israel is God’s chosen people, and God is Israel’s ruler; for other peoples “He made spirits rule over all in order to lead them astray from following him” (Jub 15,31-32).

9. Beliar’s function is leading astray the Israelites, since “all of the sons of Beliar will leave their sons uncircumcised” (Jub 15,33).

10. The Biblical story of the *‘aqedah* is again reformulated in Jubilees: the attempt at sacrifice is here upon the request of Mastema. Mastema sees that Abraham prefers Isaac to all others. Accordingly he asks God to test Abraham’s faith (Jub17,16).⁸⁴ In Jubilees’ tradition this is not the only test in Abraham’s life. It is here mentioned that God tested Abraham through his land and the famine, the wealth of the kings, the taking of his wife, circumcision, and the repudiation of Ishmael and Hagar. Abraham was faithful in every difficulty (Jub 17,17-18). These were followed by the test of the *aqedah* where the prince of Mastema was ashamed (Jub 18,12). Subsequent tests in Abraham’s life were Sarah’s death and the buying of the cave of Makpelah mentioned as the tenth

⁸² The name originates from the Hebrew verb *štm* “bear a grudge, cherish animosity, against” (Ar. *štm*). Hosea 9,7.8 mentions as a common noun meaning “enmity”.

⁸³ In the Book of Judith, in Achior’s speech (5,6-9) Abraham has to leave Mesopotamia because he refuses to worship the local deities. The core of this legend most likely came into being at the end of the 2nd century B.C.E.

⁸⁴ Similarly in Pseudo-Jubilees, 4Q225 frg. 2, II.6-7. The fragment preserved a tradition similar to that of the Book of Jubilees, but the text is not identical with that of Jubilees.

test in (Jub 19,8).⁸⁵ Nevertheless it seems that only the aqedah is on Mastema's request, other tests are mentioned as effectuated by angels (Jub 19,3).

11. The spirits of Mastema are mentioned as ruling on humans and turning them from following God (Jub 19,28).

12. Ham's sin punished in Canaan is mentioned by Abraham before his death. It is paralleled by the destruction of the Giants and that of the Sodomites. All these punishments were brought by sexual impurity, uncleanness, and corruption (Jub 20,4-5).

13. The period from Abraham "until the great day of judgment" is depicted as a time of misfortunes, a parallel to the Enochic scene of the antediluvian mankind. Short-living humans will grow old quickly, smitten by diseases and natural disasters. The wicked humanity corrupts the earth and animals. Their deeds are characterized by sins and impurity. Following a long period of wars and bloodshed "the Lord's servants" will rise, and a peaceful period of the righteous will follow (Jub 23,11-31).

14. The Giants are mentioned under the name Rephaim who were destroyed by God "because the evil things they did". The Amorites lived in their place (Jub 29,9).

15. During Joseph's time "the land of Egypt lived in harmony ... because of Joseph for the Lord was with him". "Pharaoh's rule was just, and there was no Satan or any evil one" (Jub 40,9-10).

16. The prince of Mastema, on Moses' way back to Egypt, wanted to kill him in order to save the Egyptians from Moses' power (Jub 48,2-3).⁸⁶ The prince of Mastema was present at the scene of the contention of Moses and the Egyptian magicians, and helped the latter (Jub 48,9). He was again the helper of the Egyptians when they pursued Israel (Jub 48,12). Prior to the exodus from Egypt "the prince of Mastema was bound and locked up behind the Israelites" for some days "so that he could not accuse them" (Jub 48,15,18). On the 19th day the angels released Mastema and his host "so that they could help the Egyptians and pursue the Israelites" (Jub 48,16). On the night of the passover Mastema's forces were sent to kill Egyptian firstborns (Jub 49,2).

17. At the end of the jubilees Israel will be "pure of every sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin, and error. Then they will live confidently in the entire land. They will no longer have any satan or any evil person. The land will be pure from that time until eternity" (Jub 50,5).

⁸⁵ "Abraham's ten temptations" is a well-known topic in Jewish tradition, see Ginzberg, Legends I, 217.221.421, II, 225-26.347, III, 133.206, IV, 425, V, 218.383.426.

⁸⁶ The story is treated in Eshel, Mastema's 359-364.

Demons in Jubilees

Jubilees present a hierarchized world of supernatural beings, angels and demons. Angels are vehicles of functioning of natural phenomena, and mediators of the divine will for men. They are bounding the fallen angels (Jub 5,6-11), bounding and releasing Mastema (Jub 48,15-18),⁸⁷ and testing humans (Jub 19,3).⁸⁸ Demons are hierarchized under Mastema's leadership. They have various functions. In some passages they are reported to cause diseases, afflictions and death (Jub 10,1, 49,2). The demons attacking Noah's grandchildren as well as Mastema's forces killing the Egyptian firstborns evoke the figures of the Lilith-type baby-killer demons. In the Noah scene they are reported at the same time as beings causing blindness and error. Blindness is meant here with a figurative, and not with a literal meaning. Blindness mentioned together with error is a metaphor of spiritual error and improper religious practice (a common metaphor in Qumran literature).⁸⁹ Mastema, the leader of the spirits mentioned first time in the Noah scene is again a character different from that of the demons causing illness. According to his name he is “the instigator”, a being “raising animosity”. The figure is akin with Satan of the book of Job, the *bn 'llym* who initiates at God Job's testing (Job 1,6-12).

Demons – with or without Mastema – are several times mentioned besides the above passages. They originate from the Watchers as it is referred to several times. The pericopa of the Watchers, Ham's sin and its punishment, and the sin of the Sodomites and their doom are paralleled in Jubilees as examples of sexual transgression and impurity leading to annihilation (Jub 20,4-5). The doom of the Giants is again referred to in Jub 29,9. Demons are controlled and directed by God and His angels. God diminishes the number of the demons following the Flood (Jub 10,7-14). Demonic beings appear in various shapes in the narrative. Crows and birds sent by Mastema are impending to cause starvation (Jub 11,11-24). Starvation, diseases and natural disasters referred to in Jub 23,11-31 are afflictions contributed generally to demons. The killing of children (Noah's grandsons, the Egyptian firstborns) is again a general function

⁸⁷ In Jub 10,8-14 it is the Lord who binds the demons.

⁸⁸ Jub 17,17-18 speaks on God's tests on Abraham.

⁸⁹ The historical survey of 1En 85-90 represent Israel as a herd. In the period preceding the Maccabean revolt many of the sheep become blind and fall victims to prey birds. Finally white lambs appear among the herd and begin to open the eyes of the blind and lost sheep. The Damascus Document refers to a group of the exiled who “perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way. And God observed their deeds, ... and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart”, CD I.7-11 Uncovering of ears and eyes is a metaphor for religious teaching, CD II.3, 14.

of demons in folk belief (Jub 10,1; 49,2).⁹⁰ Jubilees mentions the binding of the Watchers, of Mastema, and of Mastema's forces (Jub 5,6-11; 10,8-14; 48,15-18). The motif of binding, in order to make demons powerless, is again a well-known motif from literature related to magic and demonology.

Demons are representatives of both physical (children's death, war, famine, bloodshed) and ethical (sexual evil, impurity, contamination, sin, transgression and error) evil in Jubilees. Idols – unclean images – are their vehicles (Jub 11,2-6; 12,12). Demons are connected uniquely with ethical evil in Abraham's prayer mentioning "evil spirits ... which rule over the thought of the heart of man" (Jub 12,2-5). Spirits ordered by God over foreign peoples to rule them and to lead them astray represent a special kind of ethical evil (Jub 15,32). The originator of ethical evil is sometimes named Beliar (Jub 15,33).

Mastema appears with relation of Noah, Abraham, and Moses as an enemy of the patriarchs.⁹¹ His multiple functions are:

1. The instigator, accordingly to the etymology of his name. One of Abraham's tests (the *aqedah*) is on Mastema's request (Jub 17,16). The spirits of Mastemah as misleading spirits (Jub 19,28).

2. Mastema appears as the leader of the demons in Noah's age (Jub 10,8-14). His epithet "Prince" and the expression "host of Mastema", generally used in Jubilees, express the same status.

3. His function as a mediator of the natural evil shows up in Jub 11,11-24 when he sends crows and birds to ravage the crop. Egyptian firstborns are killed by Mastema's forces (Jub 49,2).

4. Mastema appears as a tigerish demon jumping at Moses on his way back to Egypt (Jub 48,2-3).

5. Mastema is a helper of Israel's enemies in the Egyptian scene. Aiding the Egyptian magicians against Moses he seems to be a master of magical arts (Jub 48,9). Mastema called the Egyptians so that they might pursue Moses with all the army of the Egyptians (Jub 48,12).

6. Eschatological passages in Jubilees often refer to Mastema and the demons.⁹² Jubilees' eschatological basis is the story of the judgment on the

⁹⁰ It is to be noted that Mastema is the Egyptians' helper in Jubilees. Here he appears with the primordial function of the baby-killer demon (a function generally attributed to female demons).

⁹¹ The name figure in the DSS at 19 places: CD XVI.5; 1QS III.23; 1Q33 (1Qmilhamah XIII.4; 4Q177 (4QCatena A) 9.5; 4Q225 (4QpsJub-a) 1.8, 2.9; 2ii.6, 2ii.13-14; 4Q270 (4QD-e 6ii:18; 4Q271 (4QD-f) 4ii:6; 4Q286 (4QBer-a) 7 a ii, b-d:2; 4Q387 (4QapocrJer C-b) 2iii:4; 4Q390 (4QapocrJer C-e) 1:11, 2i:7; 4Q525 (4Qbeatitudes) 19:4; 6Q18 (6QpapHymn) 9:1; 11Q11 (11QapocrPs) II.4.

⁹² There is an overall eschatology in Jubilees. From this point Davenport, Eschatology discerns three types of references: passages intending to teach eschatology (Jub 1,4b-

Watchers which serves as a prototype of the judgment to come. Eschatological references mentioning demons are Jub 5,1-19; 15,1-34; 10,1-17. The working of Mastema and the demons is connected to certain historical periods, the ages of Noah, Abraham, and Moses. They are not mentioned during the lifetimes of Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. As to Joseph’s time, there is an explicit reference to the peaceful character of this period when neither Satan, nor any evil one were working (Jub 40,9-10). This situation will be repeated at the end of the jubilees when Israel will live on the promised land, and will be purified from all the sins, especially sexual transgression and error (Jub 50,5).

Jubilees presents several examples for the figure of the righteous who has power over the demons and Mastema. Outstanding figures in the book are Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses who are persevering in their faith to God. In addition most of them are holders and transmitters of special knowledge. Enoch’s name is connected with the invention of the writing (Jub 4,17), Noah’s knowledge about medical herbs originates from the angels (Jub 10,10-15). Abraham is the first human who speaks Hebrew (Jub 12,23-27). Jacob studies the Law before it was revealed (Jub 19,14). Moses receives the Torah from God, jointly with a revelation about the past (i.e. the content of Jubilees’ narrative, a secret interpretation of Genesis revealed to an elected group). Noah, Abraham, and Moses meet personally with the demonic, and they overpower it. Their authority results from divine help deserved by their righteousness.

Demons in Jubilees represent both natural and ethical evil. The idea of demons as agents of the natural evil originates from the Enochic tradition of the Watchers, and from popular beliefs. Mastema as agent of the ethical evil is a theological construction. Mastema’s figure is not a consistent character in Jubilees. In some passages he is representing natural evil, while in others he stands for the instigator. Besides Mastema other agents of ethical evil (Satan, Beliar) appear in the work. The eschatology of Jubilees is connected with the tradition of the Watchers. Enochic tradition, folk belief, scholarly explications, and traditions about Satan and Beliar – these traditions of various origin are merged and presented in the figures of the demons in the book of Jubilees, in a hierarchy and in a historical perspective.

26; 1,27-28.29c; 23,14-31); non-eschatological passages that contain significant eschatological elements (Jub 5:1-19; 8:10-9:15; 15:1-34; 16:1-9; 22:11b-23; 24,8-33; 31,1-32; 36,1-18; 1:1-5), and non-eschatological passages containing incidental eschatological terminology (4,17-26; 10,1-17; 10,18-26).

The “practical texts” in the light of the “theoretical texts”

(Enoch, Jubilees)

E. Eshel, in her article written on the literary genres in the magical texts in Qumran, defines four texts as “apotropaic hymns”:⁹³ 4Q510, 4Q511, 4Q444 (4QIncanation), and 6Q18. The first of them, **4Q510-11**, (Songs of the Wise)⁹⁴ is a collection of fragments of two manuscripts. 4Q510 has only one major fragment and eleven minor ones; 4Q511 represents a much longer copy of the same work. On paleographical basis both manuscripts are dated to the end of the 1st century B.C. The work is said to be sectarian, i.e. a work composed in the community, and representing vocabulary and ruling ideas of the community. The songs are authored by the *maškil*, the sage. The songs are hymnal poems of wisdom reflecting on the world order and the role of human being. Their main themes are: the glory of God, the activity of the righteous, and the works of the evil demons in the world. The songs reflect a dichotomic worldview. God is called the King of Glory (4Q510 fig. 1.1); God of knowledge (4Q510 fig. 1.2); Lord of the divine beings (*ʾl ʾlym*), and Lord of all the holy ones (*ʾl qdwsym*) (4Q510 fig. 1.2). His realm is above the powerful mighty (4Q510 fig. 1.3). However, God is once called El Shaddai (4Q 511 fig. 8.6), a name used especially in magical texts. Divine beings are also mentioned several times in the hymns.

The Sage (*maškil*) is characterized by the knowledge he received from God. He loathes all deeds of impurity (i.e. practice resulting in impurity) (4Q511 fig. 18, II.). There is a group mentioned in the Songs as the associates of the Sage: “those who follow the path of God”, (4Q511, fig. 2, I.6) – this means in Qumran vocabulary the right interpretation and practice of the Mosaic Law, i.e. interpretation according to the tradition of the community. Other names for this group are: “those who know justice”, (4Q511 fig. 2, I.2), the holy ones, (4Q511 fig. 35.2-3). Thus, the group is characterized by knowledge, purity, and holiness (the two latter owed to the right practice of the Law). They receive their knowledge from God.

The third element of the system are the demons. They are listed in both exemplary of the work (4Q510, fig. 1, 5-8; 4Q511 fig. 10, 1-5). According to the list they are: spirits of the ravaging⁹⁵ angels (*ml ky hbl*); the bastard spirits (*rwḥwt mmzrym*); demons (*šdym*), Lilith, (*lylyt*); owls and jackals, (*ʾhym wšym*);

⁹³ Eshel, Genres 395-415.

⁹⁴ Edited by Baillet (DJD VII 215-62).

⁹⁵ *hebel* ‘destruction’ from the root *hbl* II. act corruptly; Pi. ruin, destroy. Pun possible the root *hbl* I. bind, pledge (bind by taking a pledge).

those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge (*hṗwg ʿym ptʿ ptʿwm ltʿwt rwḥ bynh*).

The activity of the demons is, according to the Songs, not forever, only for the period of the rule of wickedness and in the periods of humiliation of the sons of light. Periods (called *qs*, pl. *qsym*) of human history are often mentioned in several Qumran works (e.g. Peshier *ʿal ha-qšsym*, 4Q180-181 which is a ‘theoretical’ work on these periods in human history). The various periods are characterized by the activity of various groups, the righteous, or the evil. According to this they are labelled as periods of righteousness, or periods of sin (which mean, of course, periods of oppression for the righteous). So, the demons mentioned in the Songs of the Sage are subject to God’s power, and they are mediators of divine plans.

4Q444 – is a philosophical poem written in the first person of singular. The speaker is characterized by a “spirit of controversy” (*rwḥy ryb*), “spirit of knowledge” (*rwḥ dʿt*), “understanding, truth and righteousness” (*bynh*, *ʿmt wšdq*), all originating from “God’s holy spirit” (*mrwḥ qdwsḥw*) (fig. 1-4, I.2-3). Opposed to him are the “spirits of wickedness” (*rwḥy ršʿh*) (4Q444 (4QIncantation) 1-4i+5:4), “the [ba]stards” (*mmzrym*) and „the spirits of impurity” (*rwḥy ḥṯmʿh*) (4Q444 (4QIncantation) 1-4i+5:8). God’s laws (*ḥwq yʿl*) fortify the author in the battle against the unclean spirits. His God-fearing (*yrʿy ʿl*) empower him. The terms “bastards” and “spirit of impurity” refer to the Enochic tradition of the Watchers. The spirits represent in 4Q444 the moral evil, against whom God’s law and God-fearing offer efficient weapons. This notion recalls the ideas concerning the demons and the means against them featured in the book of Jubilees.

6Q18, survived in 27 small fragments and was called by its first editor ‘composition hymnique’.⁹⁶ The name Belial (fig. 3, 3), the spirit of knowledge (*rwḥ dʿt*) (fig. 5, 3) is mentioned in the composition, and a reference to the final act, the divine judgement which will make an end to the destructive activity of the demons: “For eternity, they shall not destroy” (*[lw]lmym lwʿ yklw*) (6Q18 (6QpapHymn) 5:4). Demons are presented here again according to the tradition of Jubilees.

Other hymnic texts like **11Q5 (11QPs-a)** refer again to Satan, demons and unclean spirits: “Let Satan have no dominion over me, nor an unclean spirit (*rwḥ ṯmʿh*); let neither pain nor the will to evil rule in me. Surely You, O Lord, are my praise; in You I place my hope all the day” (11Q5 (11QPs-a) XIX:15-17). “Cleanse me, O Lord, from evil’s affliction” (*mngʿ rʿ*) (11Q5 (11QPs-a)

⁹⁶ Edited by Baillet / Milik / de Vaux (DJD III 133-136; III. Grotte 6, D. Texte hymnique, 18. Composition hymnique; Pl. XXVII).

XXIV:12). The text refers to the “four songs for charming the demon-possessed with music” (*šyr lngd hpgw’yym*) (11Q5 (11QPs-a) XXVII:10). The weapon against the evil is again a forgiveness of the sins by God, and “a constant and knowing spirit” which makes impossible Satan to domine over the suppliant (11Q6 (11QPs-b) 4-5:14-16).

The Aramaic manuscript **4Q560** holds an incantation. A list of demons and illnesses (fever, chill, chest pain) caused by demonic possession is enumerated in the text. Demons are male and female (*dkr’, nqbt’*) (4Q560 (4QExorcism ar) 1i:3, 5). The exorciser compels the demons to leave the body of the sick adjuring () the name of YHWH (4Q560 (4QExorcism ar) 1i:4).

8Q5 may have been again an incantation,⁹⁷ judging from the beginning of the text: “in Your name” (*bšmk*) (8Q5 (8QHymn) 1:1). The text mentions also spirits standing in front of God (8Q5 (8QHymn) 2:6).

In the light of the demonology and known magical texts from Qumran two categories of texts deserve further interest and research:

The blessings and curses in the Qumran texts, which usually refer to Belial and demonic beings, recalling even Enochic tradition or that of the Jubilees. To present just a few examples: in IQS II.1-18 the Levites curse Belial’s lot (*gwrl*) saying: “May you be damned in return for all your wicked, guilty deeds ... licked by eternal flame, surrounded by utter darkness” (IQS II:5-8). In IQM XIII.1-7a Israel’s God is blessed, while Belial, together with all spirits (*rwh*) of his lot (*gwrl*) is cursed. The examples could be continued.

The other field is that of the objects used for apotropaic purposes called **Phylacteries (tefillin) and mezuzoth**. They were found in various Qumran caves, the majority of them found in Cave 11. Both tefillin and mezuzot contained short scriptural citations written on parchment and put in leather capsules. Tefillin were fixed on the forehead and hand on the occasion of prayer, mezuzoth were fixed on the doorframes of the entrances of houses and dwelling places. Furthermore texts straps and leather capsules were found in the caves. On the basis of the relatively high number of the texts and objects it is to be supposed that tefillin and mezuzot were written and made on the Qumran site, also for the use of members living outside of the site.⁹⁸

Scriptural texts cited in Qumran tefillin and mezuzot are practically identical with those used in later practice (usually Ex 13,9,16, Deut 6,8; 11,18).⁹⁹ No demonic beings are mentioned in them; however, they have a special relation to

⁹⁷ Edited by Baillet / Milik / de Vaux (DJD III. 161-162; V. Grotte 8. Textes non-bibliques 5. Passage hymnique; Pl. XXXV).

⁹⁸ The Damascus Document, a rule written for the members living in families was found in several copies in the Qumran library, see Baumgarten et al. (DJD XVIII).

⁹⁹ Vermes, *Worship*; Yadin, *Tefillin*.

demonic literature. The rationale of their use is the idea behind 11Q11: the holy texts have an effective power against any harmful influence, demon or tempting spirit. The Biblical verses cited in tefillin prescribe that “You shall put these words of mine in your heart and soul, and you shall bind them as a sign on your hand, and fix them as an emblem on your forehead” (Deut 11,18). The objects were for everyday use. They serve as a shield in two important situations and scenes in human life: the prayer and the inner part of the dwelling place. Besides tefillin and mezuzot no other apotropaic objects were found on the Qumran site. Qumran findings of tefillin and mezuzot represent their oldest occurrence.

The importance of keeping away demons from human community: cultures being acquainted with an impurity system demonic presence is related to impurity, and demons are called impure beings. In the previous part of the article it has been demonstrated that the topic of 1En 6-11 is built around the question of impurity, and the rationale of the origin of the demons in the work is impurity.¹⁰⁰ Impurity in the Jewish impurity system is human centered. Basic impurities are bodily (physical) impurities of humans. Physical impurities result from vegetative states of humans like death or menstruation. The Old Testament system considered death, blood, leper, and bodily emissions as impure. A theoretical system of impurities in ancient Israel is given in the Priestly codex of the Leviticus.¹⁰¹ The common characteristic of **physical impurities** is: whatever has to do with the disintegration of the body is considered as physically impure.¹⁰² Belief in demons and the impurity system are related to each other.¹⁰³ Impurity is receptive to demonic and is delivered to it. Humans aim to exclude

¹⁰⁰ Other Qumran works also associate demons with impurity, see Lange, Considerations 254-268.

¹⁰¹ P does not discuss excrement, urine, sweat, and saliva. It can be supposed that the first two were considered as impure, see Wright, Unclean 735-736.

¹⁰² Douglas, Couvade, calls impurity “what is not whole or normal”. Wenham, *Inter-course*, associates purity and impurity with the ideas of life and death. The best definition of the system of physical impurities is that of Mary Boyce’s for the Zoroastrian system (very similar to the biblical one): “apart from the corpse, the chief cause of pollution is all that leaves the living body, whether in sickness or in health, the bodily functions and malfunctions being alike regarded, it seems, as daevic (demonic) in origin, perhaps since they are associated with change and mortality rather than with the static state of perfection”, Boyce, *History* 306-7.

¹⁰³ Magical practices raising demonic power are always connected with the unclean while solving the charm and healing mean at the same time a process of purification. For Babylonian examples see Haas, *Magie* 155-196. According to D.P. Wright the biblical system lacks the demonic character of other impurity systems, arguing that the Bible’s monotheistic ideal rejects any demonic impurity, see Wright, *Unclean* 739. However, the existence of spirits and demonic beings is never disclaimed in biblical sources; on the opposite, the belief is positively attested in a number of cases.

demonic influence and to impend the spread of the impure, and to defend humans from demonic harms.

The members of the Qumran community aimed to live in a priestly purity. This aim may give an explanation on several specific phenomena connected with the community. They had a sophisticated and rigorous halakhic system which remained to us in several works, preserved often in a fragmentary form, e.g. the Damascus Document and its halakhic fragments from Cave 4, and the halakhic letter 4QMMT. These works intended to regulate every fields of human life in order to keep purity in human communities. Ethical impurities were considered with a similar rigorousness. Keeping away from the living place everything impure, especially in special states of human life considered as impure, and in special situations like the time of the prayer was only a natural endeavour. In our notion of magic apotropaic texts they are considered as examples of magical practice, a practice repeatedly forbidden in the Old Testament. However, the Old Testament ban relates to the alien forms of the harmful magical practice called wizardry (*kšph*). It does not concern the belief in demons and evil forces, and the resorts of keeping away their harmful influence. One of these resorts in the antiquity was the use of the force of holy written texts. Belief in the demonic was deeply embedded in Quman spiritual world. Its further research will enrich and help to draw a more accurate picture on the spiritual world of Jewish communities in the Second Temple era.

Summary

Apocryphal psalms and 'sectarian' apotropaic compositions from Qumran refer regularly to traditions about the origin and characteristic of evil spirits. A systematic elaboration of these traditions can be found in twocomprehensive pseudepigraphic works, in the so-called Ethiopic book of Enoch (1En 6-11) and in the book of Jubilees, both known in extenso in Ethiopian translations. Copies of the original Aramaic version of 1Enoch and the original Hebrew version Jubilees were found in Qumran. 1Enoch and Jubilees were not only known in the community, but belonged to its core tradition and inspired many 'sectarian' works. 1En 6-11, the story of the Watchers, is a narrative on the origin of the evil. Both, the originators (the Watchers) and the representatives of evil (the Giants) show demonic features. The rationale of the demons is impurity. 1En 6-11 is an alternative to the theology of the origin of evil in Genesis. Jubilees merges the traditions of Genesis and that of 1Enoch, adding new motives to the figure of the demonic evil who is called Mastema in Jubilees. Mastema is the head of a demonic hierarchy and a representative of both cosmic and ethical evil. Jubilees gives examples of persons who have power over evil demons. Persons who can obtain divine power and angelic help against evil are the righteous, which are owners of special knowledge. Apotropaic texts using the power of writing against demons hold the same ideas as 1Enoch and Jubilees.

Zusammenfassung

Apokryphe Psalmen aus Qumran und apotropäische Texte der Gemeinschaft von Qumran verweisen regelmäßig auf den Ursprung und die Charakteristika böser Geister. Systematische Behandlungen dieser Traditionen finden sich im sogenannten äthiopischen Henochbuch (1Hen 6-11) und im Jubiläenbuch. Beide Texte sind vollständig nur in äthiopischer Übersetzung erhalten aber fragmentarische Kopien des aramäischen Originals von 1Henoch und des hebräischen Originals von Jubiläen fanden sich in der Bibliothek von Qumran. 1Henoch und Jubiläen waren aber nicht nur Teil der Bibliothek von Qumran, sondern gehörten zur Kernüberlieferung der Gemeinschaft von Qumran und haben viele ihrer Texte beeinflusst. 1Hen 6-11, die Geschichte vom Fall der Wächterengel, ist eine Erzählung über den Ursprung des Bösen. Die Wächterengel als die Verursacher des Bösen und die Giganten als die Vertreter des Bösen tragen dämonische Züge. Ihr Seinsprinzip ist Unreinheit. Während 1Hen 6-11 ein alternatives Modell zur Sündenfallerzählung der Genesis darstellt, verschmilzt das Jubiläenbuch die Traditionen von Genesis und 1Henoch miteinander und erweitert die Figur Mastemas als den Repräsentanten des dämonisch Bösen um neue Motive. Mastema steht an der Spitze der dämonischen Hierarchie und repräsentiert sowohl das kosmische als auch das ethische Böse. Jubiläen beschreibt aber auch Personen, die Macht über Dämonen haben. Es handelt sich um Gerechte mit außerordentlichem Wissen, denen göttliche Macht und himmlische Hilfe gegen das Böse zur Verfügung stehen. Apotropäische Texte, die sich der Macht des Schreibens gegen die Dämonen bedienen, sind in ihrer Dämonologie mit 1Henoch und Jubiläen vergleichbar.

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