

# INFLUENCE OF THE ENOCHIC TRADITION ON QUMRAN: RECEPTION AND ADAPTATION OF THE WATCHERS AND GIANTS AS A CASE STUDY<sup>a</sup>

La influencia de la tradición henóquica en Qumrán: recepción y adaptación de los Vigilantes y los Gigantes como caso de estudio

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## Abstract

The confluence of different Jewish traditions in the Qumran library is evident. The Enochic traditions are not only counted as the oldest influences in Qumran, they also give it a certain theological unity. This is even more true in the case of demonology. Belial's figure brings together a rich lexicographic heritage in which different traditions are integrated under the characteristics of the Watchers and Giants of the Enochic tradition (1En 6—8). This study analyzes the theological characterization of the demonological figures found in Qumran to specify the Enochic influence on it.

## Keywords

1 Enoch; Belial; Demonology of Second Temple Judaism; Apocalyptic Literature; Magic and Exorcism at Qumran; Qumran Theology; Watchers and Giants.

## Resumen

Es evidente la confluencia de diferentes tradiciones judías en la biblioteca de Qumrán. Las tradiciones henóquicas no solo se cuentan como las influencias más antiguas en Qumrán, también le dan cierta unidad teológica. Esto es aún más cierto en el caso de la demonología. En la figura de Belial se reúne una rica tradición lexicográfica en la cual se integran diferentes tradiciones bajo las características de los vigilantes y gigantes de la tradición henóquica (1Hen 6—8). El presente estudio analiza la caracterización teológica de las figuras demonológicas presentes en Qumrán con el fin de precisar la influencia henóquica en dicha caracterización.

## Palabras clave

1 Henoc; Belial; Demonología del judaísmo del Segundo Templo; Literatura apocalíptica; Magia y exorcismo en Qumrán; Teología de Qumrán; Vigilantes; Gigantes.

## Introduction

From the first scholarly publications of the manuscripts, from the 1950s to the 1980s, two aspects led research: first, discovering the identity of the Jewish community that collected and hid the manuscript library; second, its relationship to the origins of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> Only from the 1990s, when free and universal access was granted to the *ca.* 900 mss.<sup>2</sup> from the eleven caves<sup>3</sup>, new lines and interests were opened for research into Qumran,<sup>4</sup> including the study of demonology in the Second Temple Judaism.

The history of demonology research in Qumran has two characteristics:

(1) it has had a slow emergence and evolution.

(2) it has always been associated to several related topics, such as the study of dualism (cosmological and theological), predestination, and theodicy (Sacchi, 2004, pp. 327-525), the reception and development of apocryphal and pseudoepigraphic literature, and the development of magic, apotropaic techniques, and mystical and esoteric worldviews in Second Temple Judaism (Alexander, 2000, pp. 502-504; 1999a, pp. 318-337; 1999b, pp. 331-353; 1986, pp. 342-379). It is not surprising that a researcher like Alexander (1999b, pp. 331-353) highlights the lack of attention paid to demonology in Qumran studies.

<sup>1</sup> The bibliography on the different phases of research and their topics is very extensive. Here, we only offer some bibliographic guidance texts. For starters, see Fitzmyer (2008); García Martínez and Parry (1996). On the development of the different phases of the history of research, the synthetic exposition by Dimant (2012, pp. 1-10, with an excellent status quaestionis) is very useful; likewise, those by Machiela (2022), Hempel (2010), Frey (2006, pp. 407-461) and Reed (2005).

<sup>2</sup> From here on, with the abbreviations ms. and mss., refer to the words "manuscript" and its plural "manuscripts", respectively.

<sup>3</sup> To indicate the exact number of mss. found, researchers range from 800 to more than 930 (unspecified). On this, see Brooke (2005, p. 15), who estimates the number of mss. between 850 and 900. See also Dimant (1994, pp. 51-159), who speaks of 800 mss.; and Tov (2010, p. 113), who speaks of more than 930 mss. For a list of mss., biblical and non-biblical, as well as bibliographic references of their editio princeps, see García Martínez (1989, pp. 149-232) for the list of biblical mss., and (1993, pp. 483-518) for the list of non-biblical mss.

<sup>4</sup> On the development of this phase of the research history, see Roitman et al. (2011), Carbullanca Núñez (2021, pp. 195-223; 2016, pp. 211-233), Stone (2018), Fröhlich (2010, pp. 101-129), Popović (2007), García Martínez & Tigchelaar (2007, pp. 245-266), García Martínez (2006, pp. 309-334), Vásquez Allegue (2001, pp. 59-92) and Dimant (1996, pp. 975-1003).

This deficiency in research has been accentuated by the assimilation of demonology into magic research in Qumran. The position of Weitzman is symptomatic of such a deficiency (1996, pp. 21-54); this author directly relates the development of magic and exorcisms in Qumran to the myth of the fall of the Watchers (*1En* 6—11).<sup>5</sup>

Likewise, studies such as that of Swartz (2001, pp. 182-193) link magic in Qumran directly with Jewish mystical and esoteric traditions of the rabbinic period, bypassing the study of Enochic demonology to the point of arguing that magic and mysticism are important parts of the worldview in Qumran. This assimilation phenomenon must be understood and differentiated.

Considering the theological characterization of the Watchers and the Giants in Qumran, its presentation and development in this corpus, 1QM XIII, 11-12 will be analyzed as representative texts of the presence and function of Belial in eschatological books. Likewise, 4QShir<sup>a</sup> 1,4-9 will be studied as an example of its presence and function in magical texts. However, footnotes will show, where relevant, the testimonies in other mss. from Qumran. Before moving on to the study of these texts, it is important to present a synthesis of the problem of the conception of magic in Qumran, its relationship with the Enochic tradition, and the issues of the classification method employed for this material, as well as a proposal to solve it.

<sup>5</sup> In this article, the first book of Enoch (or Ethiopic Enoch) will be quoted with the following abbreviation: 1 En. References to the Qumran literature will be cited following the indications for abbreviations in Fitzmyer (2008).

## Some considerations on how to approach the problem of magic and classification of material in Qumran

### *The problem of the concept of magic in Qumran*

It is understandable that the concept of magic in Qumran,<sup>6</sup> as well as apotropaic techniques, are grouped together with demonology because they share the same dualistic worldview (Penney and Wise, 1994, pp. 627-650). However, the phenomenon of magic does not share the same central position in Qumran theology nor the extent of its presence in the texts as demonology. To understand the evolution and influence of Enochic demonology on Qumran, it is necessary to clarify its relationship with magic.

If the concept of magic is defined as a series of exorcism techniques and protection against demons, as several critics do—Lyons and Reimer (1998, pp. 16-32), and Penney and Wise (1994, p. 627)—it would be related and included in demonology, and not the other way around. Thus, understanding the relationships between magic and demonology, we start from the hypothesis that the demonological worldview supports the magical techniques documented in Qumran.

Alexander's synthesis is helpful as a start point (2000, pp. 502-504; 1999a, pp. 318-337; 1999b, pp. 337-341). According to this author, Qumran demonology arises from Enochic demonology. Even before Alexander, Grelot (1958, pp. 113-131) had asserted that the Qumran worldview is founded on the Enochic demonology, soteriology, and eschatology of the biblical flood. The Qumran community perceives itself as a flood generation, and the texts 4Q510 and 4Q511 allow the community instructor (משכיל) to be seen as a new Enoch or a new Noah (Alexander, 1999a, pp. 318-324). Likewise, the struggle with the devil is assumed to have a psychological nature, in which משכיל reminds the devil of

<sup>6</sup> The concept of magic has been much discussed, especially with regard to the hermeneutical perspectives categorizing it and read in the Qumran texts. On this, see Lyons and Reimer (1998, pp. 16-32). In their study, the authors problematize the classical concept of the difference between magic and religion: magic being understood as a series of manipulative techniques, while religion is rogative (Frazer, 1962; Malinowski, 1994). This framework has led researchers to develop problematic predispositions and presuppositions, according to which magic would be related to lesser celestial beings (angels and demons), while religion is addressed to the gods. They also warn that in Qumran no rites, songs or magical texts are used to face the demonic threat, in the modern sense, but rites and prayers.

God's power and asks angels for help.<sup>7</sup> In fact, in Qumran, the Enochic etiology that explains the origin of demons and the hierarchical structures of evil based on the spirits of Giants was studied with great interest (1 En 7; 10; 15). Even the liturgy is conceived as a spiritual struggle against demons (Alexander, 1999a, p. 325). Altogether, Enochic demonology configures and unifies Qumran demonology and allows it to hold a dualistic view of the world as well as a classical monotheism.

Alexander's (1999a) fundamental thesis has been accepted, albeit critiqued on several points.<sup>8</sup> Three of them stand out:

- 1) The Enochic Giants are identified as the demons that attack and torment men.
- 2) The "bastard spirits" (רוחות ממזרים) of 4Q510 are the Giants of the Enochic tradition.
- 3) This position surpasses the opinion of previous research, in which all demons were recognized as Watchers or fallen angels.<sup>9</sup>

These points are of great importance because they lead research towards a more specific and coherent theological characterization of demons in relation to the complexity offered by the texts and the different demonological traditions presented therein.

<sup>7</sup> It is worth reproducing Alexander's (1999a) comment: "Basically, the maskil warns the demons not to meddle with him and his Community, because they have got 'protection'. By reciting the power of God and his angels he confuses and terrifies them and prevents them from striking. In a word he engages in psychological warfare against the demons" (pp. 323-324).

<sup>8</sup> On this critical reception of Alexander's thesis, see Reimer (2000, pp. 334-353). He observes two concrete problematic points: (1) in his synthesis and state of the art about demonology in Qumran the Watchers disappear (p. 335). There is only one Watcher to whom the spirits of the giants are subordinate. This unification of characters from different demonological traditions does not help to clarify the development of mechanical demonology. (2) According to Alexander, Belial/Mastema is neither a watcher nor a giant, but a different entity with a divine mission (p. 342). However, this opinion does not seem useful for clarifying the texts. It would be better to identify the different demonological traditions in Qumran, their development, and unification in the theology of the texts. Reimer accepts the basic ideas presented by Alexander and proposes a coexistence of several etiologies for the origin of evil (pp. 347-348).

<sup>9</sup> Reimer (2000, pp. 334-353) discusses the positions of García Martínez (1999, pp. 167-168), Davidson (1992) and Kobelski (1981, pp. 17-18).

These ideas should be nuanced with the criticisms made by Reimer (2000, pp. 334-353). This article will propose a classification of the demonological material from Qumran to identify the adaptation patterns of the Enochic Watchers' theological characterization as accurately as possible (the biggest weakness of Alexander's work).

### ***The Problem of Manuscript Classification***

The richness and diversity of materials, genres, and traditions collected in the Qumran library alone pose a classification and grouping problem that affects the way in which texts are understood and read. This problem also affects the understanding of the different demonological traditions, as well as their theological development.

Currently, there are two classifications and groupings of the Qumran mss.: (1) a classification that differentiates between sectarian texts (or originally composed by the community) and non-sectarian texts (*i.e.*, texts and traditions received and adapted by the community); (2) a classification that differentiates and groups mss. according to their literary genres or the topics they elaborate on (poetic, halachic, para-biblical, apocalyptic, etc.).

The first classification was used at the beginning of Qumran research; it is diachronic and useful for perceiving and understanding the reception of texts and theological matters belonging to other movements and tendencies of Second Temple Judaism, but it does not allow us to understand or construct an overall theological vision.

The second classification began to be used from the 90s of the twentieth century, when it was possible to have an overview of the Qumran library. It highlights the literary genres used in the mss. It is a synchronous type of classification that enables a panoptic understanding of the interrelationship among the mss. However, paying so much attention to the literary and thematic unity of mss. does not allow us to notice the particular theological development of each text.<sup>10</sup>

Two observations emerge from the status of the classification study:

- 1) The problem of classifying mss. goes beyond a simple exercise in taxonomy: it presupposes a series of hermeneutical decisions that affect the theological understanding of texts' content. By taking this path, one enters into a series of circular hermeneutical reflections that always reach the presupposed theological conclusions.
- 2) Although it would be ideal to create a hermeneutical system that brings together the perspectives of both classification systems (diachronic and synchronic), it is impossible to classify the same mss. at the same time using both taxonomies criteria; these cannot be used simultaneously and on the same texts without creating ambiguities and contradictions.<sup>11</sup>

However, the appropriateness of both classification methods should be considered. First, a diachronic taxonomy that allows us to observe the evolution of theological stages and literary sources, while estimating the relevance of a synchronic taxonomy that records literary relations, influences, and theological links between the mss. It is best to use a hierarchization method in which, at methodological moments, a synchronic classification will first be applied to build groups of texts according to their literary, thematic, and theological relationships; then, apply a diachronic classification that allows analyzing the theological development and source(s) of each group of texts.

<sup>10</sup> For a broader reflection and critique on the classification and grouping problems of Qumran mss., see García Martínez (2015, pp. 455-481; 2008, pp. 383-394), Dimant (2009, pp. 7-18) and Zanella (2009, pp. 19-34).

<sup>11</sup> For instance, 1QS. It is classified as a rule (רָוּר) since the text is understood in those terms (cfr. 1QS I 1: ַרָוּר ַרָוּר). But it also presents halachic (1QS V 13-7:27) and liturgical sections (1QS I 16-III 12; X 5-XI 22), and different stages of drafting. Although, by themselves, these objections do not prevent understanding 1QS as a rule, a valid question arises: How to classify it? As a sectarian text? but the text also evidences non-sectarian traditions in those sections, i.e., Enochic demonology in its liturgical sections, which are supposed to be of exclusive Qumran writing (1QS III 13—IV 26).



Following this hierarchy, the textual material will be divided into two groups:

- 1) "Enochic" texts<sup>12</sup>
- 2) Texts that deal with magic and apotropaic techniques.

Both groups will then be classified according to sectarian and non-sectarian taxonomic criteria.

### ***Classification of the material***

When searching for demonological material among the ca. 900 mss. from Qumran,<sup>13</sup> we found texts that reproduce, partially or totally, the myth of the fall of the Watchers (*1 En* 6-11), as well as the Enochic story of the punishment of the Watchers and the Giants (*1 En* 14:1-7; 15—16). Likewise, mss. that show the influence, in different degrees of intertextuality, of literary and theological themes and motifs were identified, as well as characters from the Enochic tradition on the Watchers and the Giants.

Following the described synchronous criterion, the Enochic material (30 mss.) is classified into the following four groups: (1) copies of *1 En* and the *Book of Giants*; (2) reworking and expansion of literary and theological texts and motifs; (3) mss. with direct influence from the Enochic tradition; and (4) mss. whose influence and dubious identification of traditions, motifs, and Enochic characters is uncertain.

<sup>12</sup> Only when applied exclusively to Qumran material, this adjective will indicate those mss. in which the presence of literary and theological elements from the Enochic myth of the fall of the Watchers is perceived clearly (*1 En* 6—11).

<sup>13</sup> This search was carried out both in Parry and Tov (2004), García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999), and Beyer (1984), as well as in the English translation of the Qumran texts by García Martínez (1994).

**Table 1. Synchronous Classification of Enochic Material in Qumran**

(1) Copy	4Q201 III; IV; <sup>14</sup> 4Q202 II—IV; VI; <sup>15</sup> 4Q204 II; V; <sup>16</sup> 4Q204 5 II; <sup>17</sup> and XQpapEnoch. <sup>18</sup>
(2) Rework	1Q20 II,1-26; 4Q180 1,7-9; 4Q213 8,6; <sup>19</sup> 4Q396 IV,8-11; <sup>20</sup> 4Q510 1,4-6; 4Q530 II, <sup>21</sup> and 11Q13 II,11-13.
(3) Direct influence	CD-A II,18-21; <sup>22</sup> 4Q181 2,1-4; 4Q531 4-5; 4Q532 1; <sup>23</sup> and 11Q12 5. <sup>24</sup>
(4) Uncertain influence	1QH <sup>a</sup> XXV,6; <sup>25</sup> 1Q20 1,1-3; <sup>26</sup> 1Q27 11,5; <sup>27</sup> 4Q227 2; <sup>28</sup> 4Q370 1,2-3,6; <sup>29</sup> 4Q511 2 II,3; <sup>30</sup> 4Q531 17. <sup>31</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Column III is a copy of 1 En 6:4—8:1; while column IV is a copy of 1 En 8:3—9:3,6-8.

<sup>15</sup> Column II is a copy of 1 En 5:9—6:4 + 6:7—8:1; column III is a copy of 1 En 8:2—9:4; column IV is a copy of 1 En 10:8-12; and column VI is a copy of 1 En 14:4-6.

<sup>16</sup> Column II is a copy of 1 En 6:7; while column V is a copy of 1 En 10:13 -19 + 12:3.

<sup>17</sup> The fragment is a copy of 1 En 106:13—107:2. In this passage, the punishment due to union with women appears as in the Book of the Watchers, but this time it is applied to men, not to the Watchers.

<sup>18</sup> The fragment consists of five lines presenting the Hebrew text 1 En 8:4—9:3. Since the source cave has not been identified, the X abbreviation is used. The fragment contrasts with the Aramaic copies of the same passage found in the fourth cave: 4Q201, 4Q202; and with echoes of the cry of men in 1Q19, 4Q203 and 4Q531. On this, see Eshel and Eshel (2005, pp. 134-157). A publication of the photograph, reconstruction and commentary of the fragment are available on Eshel and Eshel (2004, pp. 171-179).

<sup>19</sup> Although somewhat fragmentary, the text mentions the accusation that Enoch makes against the Watchers.

<sup>20</sup> In the text, the sons of Aaron are called the holiest (קדושי קדושים; lit. the saints of the saints), while "a part of the priests and of the [people mingle]..." (הכהנים והעם...) is criticized by calling them unclean. The reworked theme is that of fornication and impurity associated with the Watchers and adapted to the criticism of the impurity of the priests. On this, see the parallel between 4Q513 10 (4QOrdb), although the latter is in a very fragmentary state.

<sup>21</sup> The text elaborates on 1 En. In it, their own destruction is revealed in dreams to the children of Šemihazah. They look for someone to interpret their visions and they ask one of them, Mahawai, to look for Enoch to interpret their dreams.

<sup>22</sup> In the literary framework that describes the history of the community, and in the theological context of the history of salvation, the characters adverse to said plan are numbered, starting with the Giants. Although the topic also appears in Gen 6:1-4, the reference is most likely to 1 En 6—11.

<sup>23</sup> These fragments (4Q531 4-5; 4Q532 1) refer to the destruction of the Giants (1 En 6—8).

<sup>24</sup> The fragment recounts the myth of the fall of the Watchers. Due to the fragmentary nature of the reading, it is not possible to know if the Watchers or the Giants are called "fallen". Since Jub 5:1-2 (of which the fragment is a copy) mentions the Watchers, it is most likely that the text refers to them.

<sup>25</sup> The fragment refers to the spirits of iniquity (רוחות עולה) and the mourning that oppresses them. It is not possible to identify whether this reference points to the Watchers; although it is possible to assume it given their mourning for the death of their children in 1 En 12:6. On this text and its reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 200).

<sup>26</sup> The fragment presents many gaps, two epithets that may refer to the Watchers are visible: "[...] of your anger is poured out and is established and who is he [...] the fury of your anger. Blank. [...] and those who have been wiped out (וכביא) and who have fallen (ושפליא), bereft and...". On this reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 26).

<sup>27</sup> The epithet of the wicked can be associated with the Watchers, but the text seems to refer to the Giants: "And this will be for you the sign /that this will happen./ When those born of sin (בהסגור מולדי) are locked up." On this text, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 66).

<sup>28</sup> The text is very fragmentary. However, the testimony of Enoch against the watchers is visible: "and he (Enoch) gave witness against them all [...] and also against the Watchers (וגם על העירים)". On this reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 482).

<sup>29</sup> In the text, YHWH intervenes, in direct speech, referring to the actions of some who "opposed God with their d[ee]ds" (ויאמרו אל בנת'על'ליהם). But the reference is uncertain: the Watchers? Men? The rest of the text refers to the flood (line 3) and it is said (line 6) that "the Gi[ant]s did not escape" (והג[י]בורים לא נמלטו). This reading would also suggest a reference to the Giants. On this reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 732).

<sup>30</sup> The brief reference to "the congregation of all the bastards" (ועדת ממזרים כולל) does not allow defining whether it is a reference to the Giants. Similar references are made in 4Q511 35,7: רוחי ממזרים (spirits of the bastards) and in 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 II,2-3: כולל רוחי ממזרים (all spirits of the bastards). On this reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, pp. 1030, 1032, 1034).

<sup>31</sup> Given the fragmentary nature of the text, it is not possible to determine the subject of the actions described in line 6: "[...] they reside in the [heavens]" (בשמיא יתבין); "and live in the holy abodes" (ובקדשיא אנון שרין). On this reconstruction, see García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 1066), Stuckenbruck (1997, p. 163) and Milik (1972, p. 307; 1971, p. 124).

From these four groups, and following the diachronic criterion, 6 mss. are obtained and divided into two categories:

**Table 2.** *Diachronic classification of Enochic material in Qumran*

(1) Mss. reworked by the community	11Q13 II,11-13; 1Q20 II,1-26; and 4Q510 1,4-6.
(2) "non-sectarian" mss.	4Q180 1,7-10; 11Q12 5; and 4Q201 III-IV.

The study of the rest of the article will be based on these 6 mss. Before starting their analysis, it is necessary to add the classification of the texts that deal with magic and apotropaic techniques.

Following the synchronous criterion, the material related to magic and exorcisms (fourteen mss.) is classified into the following four groups: (1) divination and omens; (2) exorcisms; (3) diseases treated with exorcist techniques; and (4) texts describing the teachings of the Watchers on magic and divination.

**Table 3. Groups of texts related to magic and apotropaic techniques**

(1) Divination and omens	4Q186; 4Q561; 4Q318. <sup>32</sup>
(2) Exorcisms	4Q286 7 II,1-13; <sup>33</sup> 4Q510 1,4-6; <sup>34</sup> 4Q511 8,4; 10; 35,6-7; 48-59 II,2-3; 4Q560 II,5-6; <sup>35</sup> 11Q5 XVII 9-10; <sup>36</sup> 11Q11 II,4-6; III-IV. <sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Alexander has classified 4Q186 and 4Q561 as physiognomic texts, while 4Q318 is identified as a zodiacological and brontological text. Likewise, in addition to the previous classifications, Alexander also considers that 4Q186 and 4Q318 present astrological aspects. Following this taxonomy, it can be seen that divination is a common component of these texts, as well as the prediction of the future by means of physical (physiognomy), meteorological (brontology) and astrological traits. On this classification, in addition to Alexander (2000, pp. 502-504), see also Jacobus (2010, pp. 365-395), Popović (2007, pp. 18-20 and 54-55); Greenfield and Sokoloff (1995, pp. 507-525); Pingree (1995, pp. 517-519) and Yardeni (1995, pp. 520-525).

<sup>33</sup> The verb *זעזע* appears in several parts of the text, it means rebuking, threatening, cursing, execrating. See, for example, in line 4: "and execrated be they in their designs of unclean impurity" (וְזַעְזְעוּם בְּחַשְׁבוֹת נְדָתָם). On the lexeme, see Clines (1996, pp. 125-126). On this text, see García Martínez and Tigheleaar (1999, p. 646).

<sup>34</sup> This text is of great importance for three reasons:

- (1) It evidences one of the functions of the community instructor, namely: to protect, by means of exorcisms, the members of Qumran against the attacks of demons. In this regard, note the appearance of the words "to frighten" (פחד) and "to terrify" (בהל) in line 4: "and I, the instructor, proclaim the majesty of his splendor, in order to frighten and terrify" (וְאֲנִי מְשִׁיכֵל מְשִׁמֵּעַ הוֹד תְּפָאֲרוֹתָ לְפָחַד וּלְבִהָל). (ואני משכיל משימע הוד תפארותו לפחד ולבהל).
- (2) It presents the appearance of a new demonological lexicon, which is integrated into the Enochic lexicon and in synonymous relation. On this, see line 5: "to all the spirits of the destroying angels (כול רוחי מלאכי חבל) and bastard spirits" (רוחות מזרחים), demons (שדאים), Lilitis (לילית), owls and jackals (אחים וצייים). This same lexicon is found in 11Q11 II,4-6.
- (3) 4Q510, together with 4Q560 and 4Q511, demonstrate (against Carr, 1981, pp. 42-43) that, in Qumran, demons are given names. For an analysis of 4Q510, see Nitzan (2004, pp. 83-96; 1985, pp. 19-46), Ta-Shema (1985, pp. 440-442) and Baumgarten (1986, pp. 442-445). On the Hebrew text of 4Q510, see García Martínez and Tigheleaar (1999, p. 1028).

<sup>35</sup> The classification of the text as a proverb is inadequate. It is best to follow Penney and Wise (1994, pp. 627-650), and identify the text as magical and apotropaic. They explain this identification based on five aspects: (1) mention of the formula of the demon's name; (2) enumerate the diseases typical in such texts; (3) mention the technical formula of possession; (4) mention of the verb *ימא* (in the text, it appears in the participle tense *מומה*): "conjure", basic lexicon of expulsion of the demon and; (5) the short quotation of a biblical text (although it is not exclusive to magical texts, it is typical of them). 4Q560 is a relevant text for two reasons: first, the mss. is a proof of the relationship between magic and defending against demon attacks; Second, in column II, lines 6-7, it seems that the location of the demons is indicated: "and I, oh spirit, adjure thee [that... ] on the earth, in the clouds" (אומיתך). This geographical location coincides with that of the watchers and the spirits of the giants in the Enochic tradition (cfr. 1 En 15:8-10).

<sup>36</sup> This text offers valuable testimony about apotropaic practices in Qumran. It speaks, in the context of a list of texts attributed to David, of the existence of a collection of exorcist texts: "and chants (ושיר) to sing to the possessed (הפגועים): four". Which texts does it talk about? The presence of the word *שיר* indicates the poetic nature of these four texts, perhaps Psalms? In this regard, Sanders (1965) has pointed out that in several passages of the Talmud it appears as superscriptio of Ps 91: שיר הפגועים. It is curious that Wilson, in his article on this subject (1997, p. 454), does not expressly indicate this fact. On this, see Sanders (1965, p. 93) and Wilson (1997, pp. 448-464). On the Hebrew text, in addition to the Sanders edition already cited, see García Martínez and Tigheleaar (1999, p. 1178).

<sup>37</sup> In column II, 4-6 the same lexicon as in 4Q510 1,4-6 is used referring to the demons as "Lilihts", "owls" and "jackals". Columns III-IV describe the exorcist rite. On this text, see Van der Ploeg (1971, pp. 128-139). This author numbered as column A and Column I what García Martínez and Tigheleaar have called column I and II, respectively. The numbering of the latter is followed.

(3) Illness/exorcisms	1Q20 XX,16.26; <sup>38</sup> 4Q242 1-3; <sup>39</sup> 4Q560 I,3-6; 11Q5 XIX,15-16. <sup>40</sup>
(4) Teachings of the Watchers	4Q201 III,15; IV,1-4; <sup>41</sup> 4Q202 II,19; III,1-5. <sup>42</sup>

Of these four groups, and following the diachronic criterion, the fourteen mss. (eleven mss. on magic, two Enochic mss., and one apocryphal mss. related to the *Jubilees*)<sup>43</sup> are reorganized and divided into two categories:

**Table 4. Group of Texts according the diachronic criterion**

(1) Community owned mss.	4Q242 1-3; 4Q286 7 II,1-13; 4Q186; 4Q318; 4Q510 1,4-6; 4Q511 8,4; 10; 35,6-7; 48-59 II,2-3; 4Q560 I,3-6; II,5-6; 4Q561; 11Q5 XVII 9-10; XIX,15-16; 11Q11 II,4-6; III-IV.
(2) "non-sectarian" mss.	1Q20 XX,16.26; <sup>44</sup> 4Q201 III,15; IV,1-4; 4Q202 II,19; III,1-5.

Out of these fourteen mss., seven are especially significant, community owned, and on magic: 4Q186, 4Q318, 4Q510, 4Q511, 4Q560, 4Q561, and 11Q11. The rest of the article will be based on the analysis of these mss., plus the six mss. of the Enochic tradition selected above, namely: 1Q20, 4Q180, 4Q201, 4Q510, 11Q12, and 11Q13. In total, there are 13 different mss. that will be studied.

<sup>38</sup> The text relates punishment to sickness: the instrumental agent is a spirit sent by God. In the narrative context of reading again the story of Sarah and the pharaoh, called Zoan, as punishment for having taken Abraham's wife, God sends him a spirit called "punishing spirit" (רוח מנדש), "evil spirit" (רוח באישיא), in lines 16-17 (and in two phrases in membrorum parallelism); and "purulent spirit of evil" (רוח שחלניא), in line 26. On this text, in addition to Machiela (2009, pp. 75-76), see García Martínez and Tigheleaar (1999, pp. 40-42).

<sup>39</sup> In the text, the expression "evil inflammation" (בשחונא באישיא; line 2) appears, which may be associated with the expression "evil spirit" (רוח באישיא) in 1QapGn ar XX,16. The idea of relating evil to disease appears in 11QPSa XIX, 15-16, and is a recurring idea in the OT (cf. Job 2:7; Deut 29:35). In the quoted text, the disease is treated as a demon, to be exorcised. Note that line 4 reads: "and an exorcist (גור) forgave my sins". The idea that an exorcist could forgive sins has suggested to Dupont-Sommer the possible relationship between 4Q242 and Mark 2:1-12. However, the basic Christological image in the Marcan account is the thaumaturge Jesus, not an exorcist. Closer to Qumran text, it can be pointed out that in the light of lines 5-7-8, the possible cause of the evil inflammation would be idolatry. On this, see the studies by Díez Merino (2009, pp. 441-442) and García Martínez (1992, pp. 116-136). On the Aramaic text, in addition to the cited study by García Martínez, see García Martínez and Tigheleaar (1999, p. 486).

<sup>40</sup> The text shows the association of the idea of Satan's dominion with the appearance of diseases and pain: "that Satan (שטן) does not dominate over me, nor an impure spirit (רוח טמאה); that neither pain nor evil inclination (ויצר רע) take possession over my bones". Note the synonymous parallelism between "Satan", "impure spirit" and "evil inclination". This junction appears again in 11QPSb a + b. On the text, see García Martínez and Tigheleaar (1999, p. 1174).

<sup>41</sup> III, 15 describes the chiefs of the watchers teaching magic to women. In IV,1-4, these chiefs have specific names and actions: Shemi'azah and Hermoni (magic), Baraq'el, Zeq'el and 'Ar' teqof (brontology), Kokab'el, Shamsi'el and Sahari'el (astrology).

<sup>42</sup> In II,19 the information from 4Q201 III,5 is repeated. In III,1-5 the information from 4Q201 IV,1-4 is repeated.

<sup>43</sup> Usually, only seven magic texts are identified: 4Q186, 4Q318, 4Q510, 4Q511, 4Q560, 4Q561, and 11Q11. Alexander (2000, pp. 502-504) classified them into two groups: (1) exorcisms, healing and protection against demons (4Q510, 4Q511, 4Q560, 11Q11); (2) divination, omens and vision of the future, through physiognomy (4Q186, 4Q561), zodiacology and brontology (4Q318), and astrology (4Q186, 4Q318).

<sup>44</sup> We follow the criterion of Fitzmyer (2000, p. 303), who classifies this text as non-sectarian. However, this aspect is much debated, and some researchers (such as Dupont-Sommer, 1959, p. 293; and de Vaux, 1967, p. 101) consider the work to be Qumran's. On this debate, see Machiela (2009, pp. 7-8).

When considering the number of mss. reworked by the community and those in which the influence of the Enochic tradition is observed, a fundamental fact stands out: the great importance of Enochic etiology in the literature of Qumran. The diversity in the developed demonological lexicon speaks of it.

## Influence of Enochic Demonology on Qumran Texts

The Enochic influence on Qumran is most notorious in the study of the demonological lexicon. In this field, it is common to notice the union of different traditions of the literature of Second Temple Judaism, as well as the mixture between words that are used interchangeably to personify specific demons and to represent generic characterizations (Stuckenbruck, 2014, pp. 78-102).

One of these terms is מלאך, a generic word that, accompanied by certain qualifiers, serves to represent one or more evil figures.<sup>45</sup> The proper names from the Enochic tradition are very frequent, for instance: Watchers (עיריִם),<sup>46</sup> Giants (גבורים), 'Asa'el (עסאל; 4QEn<sup>c</sup> II,26),<sup>47</sup> and Šemihazah (שמיחזה; 4QEn<sup>a</sup> III,6; 4QEn<sup>b</sup> III,1; IV,1.9; 4QEn<sup>c</sup> II,24). Even the proper names of some Giants only known before the findings of Manichaean sources have been found in Qumran.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Among them “Angels of destruction” (מלאכי חבל; 1QM XIII,12; 4QPsMoses<sup>c</sup>); “spirits of destroying angels” (רוחי חבל; מלאכי חבל; 4QShir<sup>a</sup>); “angel of darkness” (מלאך חושך; 1QS III,20.21-22); “angel of the pit” (מלאך השחת); 4QBerakot<sup>a</sup> 10 II,7); and “angel of hostility” (מלאך משפטה); 1QM XIII,11). On this topic, in addition to the voice מלאך in Clines (2011, pp. 284-288), see Michalak (2012, pp. 149-191).

<sup>46</sup> Other words related to עיריִם in Qumran are its Aramaic equivalent עיריא, עירין, and the words נפיליִם and קדישין. The word עירין only appears six times, עיריא only twice, and the Hebrew עיריִם only once. They are also in other expressions, as “Watchers of the heavens” (עירי השמים); CD-A II,18-21). On these statistics, see Kuhn (1960, p. 163).

<sup>47</sup> עשאל is a spelling variant found on 4QEnb II 26.

<sup>48</sup> The names of seven Giants have been found in 1QGiant; 4QEnc; 4QGianta; 4QGiantb; 4QGiantc; and 6QGiant. Among them, Mahaway and Ohyah have a preponderant role. On the meaning and importance of these proper names, see Stuckenbruck (2003, pp. 318-338). On Mahaway and Ohyah, see Milič (1971, pp. 119-127).

Undoubtedly, the most interesting elements to study the influence of Enochic traditions on Qumran are the words *spirits* (רוחות),<sup>49</sup> *Belial* (בליעל),<sup>50</sup> *Satan* (11; שטן QPs<sup>b</sup> frags. 4-5; 15; 11Q11 IV,12), and *Mastema* (משטמה).<sup>51</sup> The latter are a mixture of biblical and other particular traditions (Jubilee), it seems that both names are even used to refer to the same evil agent (*cf.* Jub 1:20; 15:33; 1QM XIII,11). Michalak (2012, p. 173), Wright (2005, p. 160, note 85), and Jenks (1991, p. 132) also suggest that. This reception and adaptation of Enochic traditions can be more accurately noted if we look in detail at the cited texts, starting with 1QM XIII, 11-12. There, we will observe how the figure of Belial was developed under and received Enochic demonology.

### ***The figure of Belial in eschatological texts***

To analyze the figure of Belial, we chose 1QM XIII, 11-12. There is a copy of this text in 4QM<sup>e</sup> 1. It presents the creation of Belial and offers a summary of its most significant theological characteristics.

1QM is one of the most representative community compositions of the Qumran apocalypse.<sup>52</sup> Its demonological lexicon is very rich and collects figures that are present in the OT.<sup>53</sup> The text structure can be divided into two main parts: (1) an introduction with general indications, addressed to the instructor,

<sup>49</sup> The word רוח, as a verb and noun, appears 145 times in Qumran. In its concordance, Kuhn only differentiates between verb and noun, and between רוח understood as spiritus and as spatium (v.g. 1QM V,17; VII,6), but not between the many meanings of the plural. The conceptualization of רוח is so broad and versatile, used as an anthropological, psychological, and metaphysical lexicon (angelology and demonology), that it almost always must be determined by an adjective to explain its meaning. On this, see Sekki (1989), Tengström and Fabry (2003, pp. 365-402) and Clines (2011, pp. 431-439).

<sup>50</sup> In Qumran, the word בליעל appears fifteen times as a noun (v.g. 1QS X,21), and twenty-eight times (or 26, depending on how 1Q40 9,3; and 4Q175 23 are understood) as a personal name (perhaps derived from the Hebrew Bible, *cf.* 1 Sam 30:22; 2 Sam 22:5-6; and Ps 18:5-6; 41:9; *cf.*; also, Joüon, 1924, pp. 178-183): eleven times in 1QM; 4 times in 1QS; six times in CD; four times in 4QFlor; and once in 4QMa. On these statistics, see Kuhn (1960, p. 33).

<sup>51</sup> The word משטמה seems to derive from the root שטם (abhor, have animosity), close to the root שטן (persecute, oppose, accuse). In the Hebrew Bible, the word appears as a noun, in Os. 9:7-8. The figure of Mastema comes from the tradition of the book of Jubilees (Jub 10:8). The phrase מלאך המשטמה (Mastema angel; CD-A XVI, 6), suggests an individual entity, although many critics understand the figure of Mastema more as a generic concept, like בליעל and שטן. On this, see Hamilton (1992, pp. 985-989). On שטן, see Clines (2011, pp. 122-123).

<sup>52</sup> Due to multiple factors, its dating ranges from the Maccabean era to the Roman presence in Palestine (mid-2nd century to mid-1st century BC). The text narrates in detail the final confrontation between the powers commanded by Belial and the children of light. The dualistic and apocalyptic tone are its most outstanding features. Communion between community members and angels requires to elaborate on purity as a key aspect of the text and its theology (*cf.* 1QM VII,6). See the discussion of this topic in Michalak (2012, 154-155). On the difficulties in specifying historical references, military tactics, described weaponry, and the relationship between 1QM and Dan 11—12, see Duhaime (2004, pp. 64-101). For a different, and earlier dating (between 209 and 104 BCE), see Gmirkin (1996, pp. 89-129).

<sup>53</sup> For example: בגדוד אדום ומואב (troops of Edom and Moab; 1QM I,1); בני עמון (sons of Ammon; 1QM I,1); and בגדודי כתי אשור (troops of the Kitim of Assur; 1QM I,2.4.6.9.12; IX,11; XVI,3).

on the preparation for the final war (column I); (2) detailed instructions for war against human and demonic powers (columns II-XIX).<sup>54</sup> At the end of this second part, there is a subdivision that presents the battle praises (columns X-XV).

In the middle of the praises section, there is a description of the origin and basic function of Belial (XIII, 11-12):

11 עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משפטה ובחוש[ך ממשל]תו ובעצתו  
להרשיע ולהאשים וכול רוחי 12 גורלו מלאכי חבל בחוקי חושך יתהלכו  
ואליו [תש]וקתמה

(García Martínez and Tigchelaar, 1999, p. 134).

11 You created Belial for the pit, angel of enmity; his [dom]ain is darkness, his counsel is for evil and wickedness. 12 All the spirits of his lot angels of destruction walk in the laws of darkness; towards them goes his only desire. (García Martínez, 1994, p. 108)<sup>55</sup>

These two lines are delimited, at the beginning, by *line* 10, which speaks of the prince of light, who is antithetically opposed to Belial (*line* 11).<sup>56</sup> At the end, it is delimited with the last part of *line* 12, where a series of blessings corresponding to the tone of column XIII begin.<sup>57</sup> At the beginning of *line* 11, there are aspects that can be called ontological, since they specify the origin and nature of Belial.

<sup>54</sup> For other divisions, see Duhaime (2004, pp. 13-20); and García Martínez (1996, p. 67).

<sup>55</sup> The Hebrew text by García Martínez and Tigchelaar has been contrasted with the one presented by Parry and Tov (2004, p. 232) and the translation of García Martínez (1994) is reproduced, although with a slight difference at the beginning. In general, and following a criterion of style unification, his translation will be used, with modifications where appropriate.

<sup>56</sup> For the sake of clarity, we offer the translation of line 10: "in accordance with your truth. From of old you appointed the Prince of light to assist us, and in [...] and all the spirits of truth are under his dominion" (García Martínez, 1994, p. 107)."

<sup>57</sup> For clarity, we present the translation of the last part of line 12, along with line 13: We, instead, in the lot of your truth, rejoice in your mighty hand 13 we exult in your salvation, we are happy with your aid and your peace. Who is like you in strength, God of Israel?" (García Martínez, 1994, p. 108).



In the sentence *ואתה עשיתה בליעל לשחת* (and you created Belial for the pit), the root *עשה* (make, manufacture, use), enunciates the theological motif of Yahweh's creative force.<sup>58</sup> In Qumran, the presence of this theological motif related to the origin of Belial is developed through modified (or dualistic) monotheism, which is characteristic of the community (Duhaime, 2000, pp. 215-220).<sup>59</sup> There, space is opened for cosmological and ontological dualism, which allows us to speak of the creation of Belial and its predestination: to be made "for the pit" (*לשחת*).

In the phrase *מלאך משפטה* (angel of hostility) the fundamental activity of Belial is preached through the objective genitive of the phrase in its constructed state: to be hostile, to oppose.<sup>60</sup> The rest of the content in the line describes Belial's actions. *Line 12* describes Belial's lot in some order parallel to Belial's description and his actions on *line 11*. This parallel is evidenced by the presence of the phrase *מלאך משפטה* in *line 11b*, and its corresponding *חבלי מלאכי* in *line 12b*, as well as the inclusion of the figure of Belial in *line 12a* using the pronominal suffix in oblique case *גורלו* (of its lot).

In this text, Belial is presented with four basic characteristics that determine his nature: being hostile, being the ruler of darkness, ruling according to the laws of darkness, and being predestined to the pit. Likewise, in this text, the figure of Belial shows a mixture of the characteristics of the Giants and the Watchers, which are separated in the Enochic tradition. While the Watchers are seductive and rebellious, the Giants are hostile and destroy men.

<sup>58</sup> Ringgren (2001, pp. 390-391) explains the relationship that exists in Hebrew between the most used two terms to express Yahweh's creative action, namely, between *עשה* and *ברא*. Such a relationship is more than evident in Gen 1–5. On the semantic field covered by the root *עשה*, see in Clines (2011, pp. 569-602).

<sup>59</sup> The attenuated dualism in Qumran theology, also called attenuated dualism or, even more graphically, an "under God" dualism by specialists like Ugo Bianchi enables explaining the origin of evil and its agents without compromising the basic statement of Jewish monotheism. On this subject, see Duhaime (2000, pp. 215-220).

<sup>60</sup> On the objective genitive, see Joüon (1991, p. 466). The root *משפ* in *Po* (*משפט*) denotes the opposite. On this, see Clines (2011, p. 536). Could the term *משפטה* in *line 12a* also be related to the word *משפט* ("judgment, guilt, crime")? In this case, Belial's function would not only be to oppose, but also the forensic execution, bringing his figure closer to that *שטן* of the book of Job (cfr. Job 1:6-12; 2:1-7).

In the first feature of Belial analyzed from the text, the influence of the Enochic tradition on the Giants is noted (*cfr.* 1 En 6:4; 15:11-12). Characteristics 3 and 4 show the influence of the Enochic tradition on the Watchers.

1 En 6:3-8 tells the covenant made by the Watchers to go down to Mount Hermon and take the daughters of men. That covenant is led by Šemiḥazah and can be seen as a law that opposes the law of God. Perhaps this motif influences the figure of the “laws of darkness”, with which Belial leads the angels of destruction.

Finally, it should be noted that 1 En 21:7 describes the place intended for these Watchers: the pit. This motif may influence the destiny of Belial and their own (*cfr.* line 11a).

In two other passages, the figure of Belial is represented as the head of the rebellious spirits: 11QMelch II, 11b-13 and 4QFlor 1-2 I, 7-9.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, in two other passages there are dubious and arguable references on the influence of characters and Enochic figures on Qumran: 4QMMT<sup>c</sup> IV,8-11 and 11QTemple<sup>a</sup> XXVI 3-4.10-13.

### ***The figure of Belial in magic texts***

In the magic texts of Qumran there are, in addition to divination and omens, texts that seem to refer to exorcist practices.<sup>62</sup> Among them, 4QShir<sup>a</sup> 1,4-9 stands out. Two aspects of the passage are noticeable: first, the diversity of its demonological lexicon; second, the appearance of the figure of the community instructor and his apparent exorcist function.

<sup>61</sup> In this exegetical midrash, 2 Sam 7:11b is quoted (on line 7), and its meaning is interpreted through an eschatological reading in which the figure of Belial is pointed out as representing the hostile enemy of the community. For a general interpretation of the text, see Brooke (1985, p. 97ss) and Allegro (1958, pp. 350-354).

<sup>62</sup> Usually only seven magic texts are identified, namely: 4Q186, 4Q318, 4QShira, 4QShirb, 4Q560, 4Q561 y 11QApPsa. Alexander classified them into two groups: (1) exorcisms, healing and protection against demons (4QShira, 4QShirb, 4Q560, 11QApPsa); (2) divination, omens and vision of the future through physiognomy (4Q186, 4Q561), zodiacology and brontology (4Q318), and astrology (4Q186, 4Q318). On this, see Alexander (2000, pp. 502-504).

vacat 4b ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולב[הל]  
 5 כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שדאים לילית אחים ו[ציים ...]  
 6 והפוגעים פתע פתאום לתעות רוח בינה ולהשם לבבם ונתתם בקץ ממשל[ת]  
 7 רשעה ותעודות תעניות בני און[ר] באשמת קצי נגוע[י] עוונות ולוא לכלת עולם  
 8 [כי א]ם לקץ תעניות פשע [vacat] רננו צדיקים באלוהי פלא  
 9 ולישרים תהלי vacat ול[... י]רוממו[ה]ו כ[ו]ל תמימי דרך  
 (García Martínez y Tigchelaar, 1999, p. 1028).

4b *Blank*. And I, the Sage, declare the grandeur of his radiance in order to frighten and terrify 5 all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Liliths, owls and [jackals...] 6 and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn and . . . in the era of the rule of wickedness 7 and in the periods of humiliation of the sons of light, in the guilty periods of those defiled by sins not for an everlasting destruction 8 but rather for the era of the humiliation of sin [ . . . ] Rejoice, righteous ones, in the God of wonders. 9 My psalms are for the upright. *Blank*. May all those of perfect path praise you. (García Martínez, 1994, pp. 371) <sup>63</sup>

This passage is preceded by a section of praise (*lines 1-4b*), where a blessing and a doxology to 'ēlōhîm are sung. Then, there are *lines 4b-6*, where the theme is the object of the instructor's proclamation: "to frighten and terrify" (*line 4b*). The subjects on whom these actions fall are the demons, named with a rich lexicon (*line 5*). The actions of these demons are specified in *line 6*, and the time of their action is described in *lines 7-8a*. The praise ends by resuming the tone of alliance and exultation to a 'ēlōhîm which it began with (*line 9*).<sup>64</sup>

The rich demonological lexicon of *line 5* comes from different sources. The spirits of the destroying angels (רוחי מלאכי חבל) are characters typical of the demonology of the community (*cfr.* 1QM XIII, 12); bastard spirits (ממזרים ורוחות) come from the Enochic tradition (*cfr.* 1 En 10:9; 4QShir<sup>b</sup> 2 II,3); while

<sup>63</sup> The first sentence of line 4: כבוד מלכותו (of his glory and majesty) is not included, because it is the final part of what has been said since line 3: "His rea[lm] is above the powerful mighty before the might of his power all are terrified, they scatter and flee before the radiance of his dwelli[ng]" (García Martínez, 1994, p. 371); therefore, it is not part of the narrative logic of the section we are currently analyzing.

<sup>64</sup> On this text, as well as 4Q511, see the studies by Nitzan (1985, pp. 19-46; 2004, pp. 83-96); Ta-Shema (1985, pp. 440-442) and Baumgarten (1986, pp. 442-445).

the demons (שדאים), Liliths (לילית), owls (אחים), and jackals (ציים) come from different traditions of the Hebrew Bible (*cfr.* Lev 16:9-10; Isa 13:21; 34:14) and have been received in other Qumran collections (*cfr.* 11Flor XXVI 3-4.10-13; and 11QApPs<sup>a</sup> 1 II,4-5).<sup>65</sup>

The appearance of the instructor and his central role in the passage are evident in *line* 4b. He speaks of himself in the first person: (...) ואני משכיל (and I, the instructor...). Its function is to direct praise to 'ēlōhīm.

The express object of this praise is explicit in the same line: לפחד ולבהל (to frighten and terrify). In this light it is possible to ask: in the context of the passage, are the verb פחד (to frighten) and the root בהל (to terrorize) referring to apotropaic practices? Was exorcising a function of the instructor?<sup>66</sup> A positive answer to these questions seems to exceed the interpretive possibilities of the passage, since it can be understood that, from a theological point of view, the mere presence of God is sufficient to frighten and expel the presence of evil agents and figures (*cfr.* Exod 15:16; Deut 2:25; Jer 48:43).

From an exegetical point of view, in this passage, there is only one praise structured with the typical biblical scheme of curse/blessing (Nitzan, 2000, pp. 95-100). However, in the light of other Qumran texts, these questions may be more precise.

<sup>65</sup> On these figures, the analysis of 4QShira,b is very interesting, it presents a demonological catalog with six categories of demons. The specific texts are 4Q510 1,5 and 4Q511 10,1-2. Alexander (1999b, 331-353) also proposes 11Q11 2,3-4, but with doubts. The list presents the following categories: (1) spirits of the angels of destruction (רוח'י חבל מלאכי חבל); (2) spirits of the bastards (רוחות ממזרים); (3) demons (שדאים); (4) Lilith (לילית); (5) howlers (אחים); and (6) screamers (ציים), although this is conjectural (*cfr.* Isa 13:21). These six categories become four. The first two are considered synonymous, identified with the spirits of the Giants in Enochic literature, and Jub 10:5 is cited for their identification. According to Alexander, in the demonology of Qumran, the demons are not identified with the Watchers since they cease to be active agents in the most primitive traditions. The last two are also understood as synonymous, referring to a type of demon. The words אחים and ציים are taken from Isa 13:21 where, together with two others that do not appear in Qumran (שעירים and בנות יענה), they designate inhabitants of desolate places. Although אחים has been identified as eagles or hyenas and ציים as wild cats, Alexander thinks that they refer to a single demon that gives away its presence by howling or screaming; אחים וציים, where אחים, which has no identifiable verbal root, it is undoubtedly an onomatopoeia. Alexander has difficulties with the word מלאכי, due to his thesis on the strict division between angels and demons, and solves it by arguing that it is used in its basic lexical sense, as "sent", "agent", and as an apposition to רוחות, citing 1QM 13,10-12; 1QS 4,12; and CD 2,6, where the expression חבל מלאכי, also appears, although the precise sense and identification (angels, demons?) must be inferred from context, since the language is ambiguous. Likewise, the names שדאים (twice referring to false gods: Deut 32:17; Ps 106:37) and לילית (only once: Isa 34:14) have a biblical origin. Despite this categorization, Alexander must recognize that Qumran also offers a vague demonology.

<sup>66</sup> See Clines (2011, pp. 674-675) on the verb פחד and (1995, pp. 97-98) on the root בהל.

Other texts describing the fight against Belial or other agents of evil are 4QBerakot<sup>a</sup> 7 II,<sup>67</sup> 4Q' Amram<sup>b</sup> 1,10-15; and 1QS III,17-24. Although the lexicon is not constant and the figures also vary, the theological basis (*i.e.*, dualism) and the liturgical function of 4QShir<sup>a</sup> 1,4-9 are sufficient to observe the apotropaic function played by the instructor in the community, thus allowing to respond positively to the questions asked, while being cautious about the lexicon. But before drawing general conclusions about the passage, it is worth mentioning certain details of 4Q' Amram<sup>b</sup> 1,10-15.

It is the only text in Qumran that offers a physical description of an evil being. The other two physiognomic texts (4Q186, 4Q561) do not present a similar description. Although the text does not specify the identity or nature of the two beings who dispute the dominion over the children of Adam (בני אדם; *line* 12), due to their physical description (*lines* 13-14) and their dualistic tone (*lines* 1-2 *cfr.*; also, 4Q545 and 4Q548), they could be Melchi-resha' (*cfr.* 4Q544 2,2-3) or Belial (*cfr.* 11Q13 II-III) and Melchisedek.<sup>68</sup>

This text does not present the destruction of human beings caused by spiritual beings, and the subsequent judgment and vindication of angels, as in the Enochic tradition (*cfr.* 1 *En* 9), but the struggle between an angelic leader and a demonic leader to influence and dominate men.

Returning to 4QShir<sup>a</sup> 1,4-9, the theological characterization of Qumran's texts can be summarized, in a general way, in three aspects:

- 1) The reception of the Enochic demonological traditions is evident. These have been adapted and developed according to the genres, uses, and theologies of each Qumran collection. In this process of reception, adaptation, and development, certain characteristics of Enochic demonology have been lost, such as the difference between Watchers and Giants: the

<sup>67</sup> In the text, the synonymous use of the verbs ארר (curse) and זעם (execrate) is noticeable. The latter also denotes rebuke and threat, although it is not part of the apotropaic vocabulary of Qumran (*cfr.* 4Q560 II, 5-6), nor of the biblical one (*cfr.* Zech 3:2), the state resulting from his action, described in lines 4b-5a, allows us to assume that the verb זעם expresses a certain desire to expel or drive out Belial and his demons (*cfr.* 4Q280 1). See Clines (2011, pp. 397-398) on the verb ארר and (1996, pp. 125-126) on the verb זעם.

<sup>68</sup> On physiognomic texts, as well as passages with physiognomic descriptions (as in 4Q534 I,1-3; or also in 1QapGn XX,2-8), see Alexander (2000, pp. 503-504).

first, seducers; the last, voracious and violent. However, others endure: rebellion, opposition to men, and their incorporeal nature (Stuckenbruck, 2014, pp. 55–56).

- 2) Belial and its lot unite the demonological features of various figures and biblical and apocryphal currents.
- 3) It highlights the central role of the Enochic traditions in the formation of the theological characterization of Belial. He is the leader of the lot of impure spirits, fornicators, and bastards (4QMMT<sup>c</sup> IV,8-11; 4Q513 10), rebel, opponent and apart from the laws of God (11QMelch II,11-13), who makes the children of light fall (4QFlor 1-2 I,7-9).

Also, in Qumran, Enochic traditions have been transmitted through copies. These will be analyzed below seeking to perceive whether the characterization of the Watchers and the Giants coincides with the adaptation patterns and theological development that have already been perceived in the mss. *corpus* of the community.

## The Enochic tradition in the fragments from the fourth cave

Out of the more than five hundred and fifty mss. found in this cave,<sup>69</sup> eleven mss. partially reproduce sections of the Ethiopic Enoch. The best represented collection is the *Book of Watchers* (1 En 6–36), as well as the *Introduction* (1 En 1–5); while very little is found of the *Book of Dreams* (1 En 83–90) and the *Epistle of Enoch* (1 En 91–105). No mss. reproduces the *Book of Parables* (1 En 37–71), and the four mss. of the astronomical Enoch are so different from the *Astronomical Book* (1 En 72–82) that some authors define it as a new work.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>69</sup> The publication of ca. 15,000 fragments was distributed among various scholars (Baillet, Milik and Starcky, among others). On this, see Patrich (2000, pp. 57-63).

<sup>70</sup> The four mss. representing 4QEnastra, b, c, d present a different narrative and calendar. On this, see Milik (1976, pp. 7–8).

Likewise, the great novelty that cave 4 offers to Enochic studies is the finding of three of the five mss. of the *Book of Giants*,<sup>71</sup> which are not part of the Ethiopic Enoch collection, and were only known from Manichaean sources (Milik, 1971, pp. 117-127; Henning, 1943, pp. 52-74).

After the entire story of the fall of the Watchers was found in Qumran (1 *En* 6—8), it was possible to note that the theological characterization of the Watchers and the Giants in the mss. of cave 4 coincides with that of the Ethiopic Enoch. Due to text length, it is not possible to present the results of the corresponding analysis of those texts *in extenso*. However, the main results of the study on the Enochic material can be presented in the following summary.

### **Summary on Watchers**

In the Ethiopic Enoch, the traditional figure of the Watchers is represented as celestial beings who accepted seduction, contracted sexual impurity, and rebelled against YHWH. However, an important feature of the Watchers in Qumran is the description of their teachings on magic. In this regard, there is a certain continuity with the Enochic tradition.<sup>72</sup>

In 1 *En* 8:1, 'Asa'el ('Aśa'el in 4QEn<sup>b</sup> II,26)<sup>73</sup> is presented as the master of metallurgy for the manufacture of weapons, female adornments and makeup, that is, the master of war and the art of seduction. This same tradition that points to 'Asa'el as the only master of magic is presented in 1 *En* 9:6. This data is absent from the Aramaic copies in Qumran.

In 4QEn<sup>a</sup> IV, 4QEn<sup>b</sup> III and 1 *En* 8:3, a tradition diverges from the previous one. It contains the names of eight Watchers responsible for teaching secrets related to brontology (*Baraq'el* and *Zeq'el*), astrology and prognosis (*Kokab'el*,

<sup>71</sup> The three mss. from cave 4 (i.e., 4Q203, 4Q530 and 4Q531). The other two mss. come from caves 1 and 6 (i.e., 1Q23 and 6Q8).

<sup>72</sup> On this subject, the author of this article is conducting a study that will be presented in an upcoming publication and that will deal with the meaning of the names of the Watchers and their role in the Enochic tradition in general. For now, and according to the specific problem raised in this article (i.e., the influence of the Enochic tradition in Qumran) and the space available, it will be sufficient to offer a brief summary.

<sup>73</sup> 'Azaz'el in E, and Ἀζαζήλ in GP and GS. The codex Panopolitanus, from the fifth or sixth century C.E. is identified with the acronym GP (it contains 1 *En* 1:1-32,6). The Chronography of Gregory Syncellus, from the eighth century CE, is identified with GS, but its text could be traced back to the fifth century (it contains 1 *En* 6—9:4; 8:4—10:14; 15:8—16:1). E identifies the Ethiopic version.

Šamsi'el, Šahari'el and 'Ar'eqof), and magic (Šemiḥazah and Ḥermoni). In 4QEn<sup>a</sup> IV,1-4 and 4QEn<sup>b</sup> III,1-5 the etymology of the names of these Watchers coincides with the purpose of their teachings.

The etymologies of *Baraq'el* (God's lightning) and *Zeq'el* (God's meteorite [or storm])<sup>74</sup> are related to brontology.<sup>75</sup> Likewise, the names *Kokab 'el* (star of God), *Šamsi'el* (sun of God), *Šahari'el* (moon of God), and *'Ar'eqof* (land of the almighty) are related to astrology and prognosis. The etymologies of *Šemiḥazah* (the name has been seen) and *Ḥermoni* (Hermon's) are not directly related to magic, but their function is directly related to these practices in the text.<sup>76</sup>

This precision and detail in the list of Watchers and their correspondence with their teachings would imply a greater influence of this motif on the texts on magic. However, neither the lexical richness nor the presence of its tradition is developed in Qumran demonology.

Enochic demonology contributes to Qumran by offering the basis of its theological characterization, presenting them as beings of a different nature from the human, rebels and seducers,<sup>77</sup> whose leader is Šemi azah, the one destined for the pit.

In Qumran's own texts, there is no consistent and clear difference between Watchers and Giants, as is the case in Ethiopian Enoch. However, of all the literature of Second Temple Judaism, only Qumran's texts directly referring to the Giants have been preserved. For this reason, it is surprising that the theological figure of these characters is not further developed and expanded.

<sup>74</sup> The Aramaic word ܩܝܬܐ is defined as "meteorite" as well as "storm" (Cook, 2015, p. 71). This explains why in the Qumran tradition (and in GS) it is linked to meteorology, while in E and GP it is related to astrology.

<sup>75</sup> By its etymology, Ra'ma'el (God's thunder) could also be related to Brontology. The following Watchers would also be related to atmospheric phenomena: Ram'el (God's sunset), Maḥar'el (God's rain), 'Anan'el (God's cloud) and Yomi'el (God's day).

<sup>76</sup> On these etymologies, see Knibb (1978, v. II, pp. 70-75). On the quoted text of 4QEna IV,1-2, see Milik (1976, p. 157), and García Martínez and Tigchelaar (1999, p. 402).

<sup>77</sup> The characterization of the Watchers as seducers and transgressors of the law of sexual purity is presented in 4QEnc 5 II; that text reproduces the narrative of 1 En 106:13—107:2.



The work of Philo of Alexandria could be an exceptional case. But it is debatable and worth noting a few brief comments on this that serve as an introduction to the next section, where the Enochic Giants in Qumran will be discussed.

Despite what its name suggests, Philo's treatise *De gigantibus* is more a Platonizing dissertation on Gen 6: 1-4 than a reflection on the Giants. Stroumsa (1984, pp. 27-28) argues that this Philo's treatise demythologizes the exegesis of Gen 6:1-4, while *1En* 6—12 actually remythologizes it. Wright (2005, pp. 205-219) states that Philo knows the Enochic tradition and polemicizes against its theodicy. These positions are debatable since no Philo's work references or shows a direct and clear contact between Philo and the Enochic traditions.

Nevertheless, Philo is not interested in creating a giantology. In fact, the central theme of this treatise is developed by commenting on Gen 6:3 (*Gig.* 19-57), where he discusses the nature of God's spirit.

Regarding the Watchers and the Giants, only two aspects of his treatise stand out. First, in *Gig.* 16, he disaggregates about the angels (ἄγγελοι), the demons (δαίμονια) and the spirits (ψυχαί), which he considers as three different names that Moses uses to speak of the same thing: the angels of God (ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ). Second, in *Gig.* 58-59, he raises a protest regarding the mythical treatment of Gen 6:1-4.<sup>78</sup>

### ***Book of Giants***

Prior to Milik's publication on the *Book of Giants* (1971, pp. 117-127), it was only known as a Manichaean text with possible Jewish sources. In his study of the material, Stuckenbruck (1997) definitively ruled out the possibility of finding parts of this work or influence of its traditions on seven Qumran mss.<sup>79</sup> This selection leaves five fragmentary mss. in which the work is found.

<sup>78</sup> On Philo's text, see Colson and Whitaker (1992, pp. 446-479).

<sup>79</sup> The discarded mss. are 1Q19, 4Q533, 4Q534, 4Q535, 4Q536, 4Q537 y 6Q14. See Stuckenbruck's discussion and negative assessment (1997, pp. 214-224). For the study of each text, see 4Q534 (pp. 225-228), 4Q535 (pp. 228-229), 4Q536 (pp. 229-231), 6Q14 (p. 231), 1Q19 (p. 232), 4Q533 (pp. 233-237) and 4Q537 (pp. 237-242).

In a continuous reading of the *Book of Giants* (*BG*) through these fragments, it is possible to find the story of the crime of the Giants and their punishment, as well as the intercession of Enoch in their favor.<sup>80</sup>

In general, the *BG* develops and expands the myth of the fall of the Watchers narrated in *1En* 6–8 (Milik 1971, p. 117). The theological characterization of the Giants offered in these fragments is no different from that of the Ethiopic Enoch. Only one detail catches the eye: 4QGiants<sup>c</sup> 17 reads on *lines* 5-7:

5 [ולא מ]השכח אנה עמן לאשתררה דבעלי דיני  
6 [בשמ]א יתבין ובקדשיא אנון שרין ולא  
7 [דאנון] תקיפין מני vacat  
(Stuckenbruck, 1997, p. 162).

5 And ]I [am not] able to prevail together with ourselves because my adversaries 6 and in t]he[ heavens] are seated, and among the holy places they dwell. And not 7 the]y are more powerful than I." vacat. (Stuckenbruck, 1997, p. 164).

Who is speaking in these lines? Milik (1976, p. 307), Stuckenbruck (1997, pp. 166-167) and Reeves (1992, p. 118) assume that it is a Giant. If read from *line* 3, the narrative logic of the text seems to favor this hypothesis.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> For the sake of expository clarity, we offer the following summary of the content:

*1QGiants*: fragmentary and unintelligible reading.

*4QGiants<sup>c</sup>*: conversation between 'Ohyah and Hahayah about the punishment of the Giants, and content of the second table of the epistle of Enoch, which narrates the condemnation of the Watchers and the destruction of their children.

*4QGiants<sup>b</sup>*: Visions of 'Ohyah and Hahayah (his brother) about the destruction of the Giants. They look for someone to interpret their visions. They ask Mahawai to look for Enoch to interpret and explain the visions.

*4QGiants<sup>c</sup>*: narrates the destruction of the Giants.

*6QGiants*: fragmentary reading; narrates a dialogue between 'Ohyah and Mahawai.

<sup>81</sup> In favor of the argumentation, the reading of lines 3-4 is presented: "

3 ] giant/became strong, and by the power of the might of my arms and by the force of my strength 4 a]ll flesh, and I waged war with them, but (did) not" (Stuckenbruck, 1997, p. 164). In the same argumentative line, Stuckenbruck (1997, p. 165) summarizes its content with the following description: "a figure tells of a conflict between himself and those with him, on the one hand, and heavenly forces, on the other".

If this reading is accepted, it could be said that the *BG* from Qumran supports the location that *1 En* 15:8-10 gives of the Giants: a place substantially different from the divine sphere, precisely, on the plane of the human sphere. Only in this way is it understood that a Giant indicates heaven (בִּקְדֻשֵׁי אֵל; *i.e.*, on holy heights) as the place of residence of their accusers.

In these fragments, in addition to the characterization of the Giants as voracious and destructive beings, condemned to punitive judgment,<sup>82</sup> they are also represented as penitents, concerned with crying out for the forgiveness of their faults. This aspect contrasts with its characterization in the Ethiopian Enoch; there, the Watchers look for Enoch to ask him to intercede for them.

## Conclusions

The influence of Enochic literature on Qumran demonology is evident, but not only its influence is observed, also the development, mixing and adaptation of its figures (Watchers and Giants), its theological characterization, and its subjects. Belial and his lot merge not only traditions, but also diverse theological characterizations.

Belial and his lot are presented as rebels (11QMelch II, 11-13), hostile (4QFlor 1-2 I, 7-9), seducers, impure spirits, bastards, beings who seek to dominate men (1QS III, 17-24; 4Q<sup>a</sup> Amram<sup>b</sup> 1,10-15). In 1QM, Belial and its lot encompass theological characterizations of the Giants and the Watchers presented in *1 Enoch*: hostile, rebellious beings destined for punishment. These characteristics are brought to an ontological plane that does not exist in *1 Enoch*. This is a remarkable development with respect to the Enochic tradition.

<sup>82</sup> 4QEnb IV (reproducing 1 En 10:8-12), 4QEnb VI (reproducing 1 En 14:4-6), and 4QEnc V (reproducing 1 En 10:13-19 + 12.3) present the judgment pronouncement against the Giants.

Likewise, the type of dominance that Belial and his lot claim over men represents a considerable development with respect to the Enochic tradition. In *1 Enoch*, the Giants seek to subdue man sociologically: to subjugate him, dominate him, and destroy him. In Qumran, the domain is inner (psychological and spiritual).

Taking the fight against Belial to the psychological and liturgical dimensions, there is a great development with respect to Enochic demonology, which presents this fight in a mythical dimension. In *1 Enoch*, the struggle takes place in a past chronology and a mythical plane, while in Qumran the struggle is current, it occurs in the historical time of the devoted community, and its effects are current in their psychological experiences taken to the liturgical plane.

## Conflict of Interest

The author declares no conflict of interest with an institution or association of any kind. Likewise, the Luis Amigó Catholic University is not responsible for the handling of the copyright that the authors make in their articles; therefore, the veracity and completeness of the citations and references are responsibility of the authors.

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