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Spirits or Angels?
A Study in the Book of Revelation and Its Background

Submitted by

Rosalyn F. Thomas Murphy

Ph.D. Thesis

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University of Durham
Department of Theology
June 2006

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Abstract

A review of previous studies on the role of 'spirit' in the Apocalypse of John has determined this to be a neglected topic in modern scholarly studies. Those few studies which have been conducted concentrate on three specific areas: (1) 'Spirit of prophecy,' (2) 'in the spirit,' and (3) 'the spirits of the prophets.' To date, no studies have examined the plural use of the term *πνεύματα* in order to gain insight into the seer's meaning of the 'seven spirits.'

Throughout this word study I employ a traditio-historical and exegetical methodology providing a detailed examination of references made to 'spirits' (Eth. *manāfest*, Heb. רוחות, Grk. *πνεύματα*) within apocalyptic writings from the 2nd Temple period, along with the literature preserved by communities with an apocalyptic worldview. The position of this study is that this literature may have influenced John's understanding of 'spirits' and how he makes use of the term *πνεύματα* in his Apocalypse.

This study is comprised of six chapters. In Chapter One, I provide a review of previous study on 'spirit(s)' in Revelation and consider potential linguistic and semantic challenges associated with a study of this nature. In Chapter Two, a brief historical review of Jewish concepts on 'spirit' in the Hebrew Bible is conducted, followed by an examination of the term רוחות in the OT. An extensive survey of the term 'spirits' in Jewish pseudepigraphic literature and the *Dead Sea Scrolls* is conducted in Chapter Three. In Chapter Four the historical and literary findings of the previous chapters are examined against how the term *πνεύματα* is to be interpreted in NT literature, specifically in those writings dated prior to John's *Apocalypse*. Chapter Five concentrates specifically on John's understanding of *πνεύματα* based on citations in the Book of Revelation. My conclusions and recommendations for future studies are formulated in Chapter Six.

From the onset and throughout, this study presumes that John and his literary peers were familiar with and dependent upon Jewish and Christian traditions present in oral, if not written form.

Spirits or Angels?
Table of Contents

	Page
Abstract	**i**
Chapter 1 – Introduction	**1**
Chapter 2 – Spirit(s) in the Old Testament	**28**
– Historical Review	28
– Concepts of 'spirit' and 'Spirit of God' in the Hebrew Bible	29
– 'Spirits' in the Torah	35
– Spirit(s) in the Apocalyptic Writings of the Prophets	38
Book of Isaiah 41	
Book of Ezekiel	49
Book of Zechariah	52
Book of Daniel	58
– Chapter Summary	66
Chapter 3 Spirit(s) in the Pseudepigrapha and Jewish Apocalyptic Writings of the 2nd Temple Period	**68**
– Spirit(s) in *1 Enoch*	70
Book of Astronomical Writings (*BAW*)	71
Book of Watchers (*BW*)	72
Book of Dream Visions (*BDV*)	84
Epistle of Enoch (*EE*)	85
Another Book of Enoch (*ABE*)	90
Book of Similitudes (*BS*)	91
– Spirit(s) in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*	104
– Spirits in *Jubilees*	125
– Spirits in *4 Ezra*	144
– Excursus 2A (*Philo, Josephus,* and *Pseudo-Philo*)	148
– Spirit(s) in the Dead Sea Scrolls (*DSS*)	150
Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385, 4Q386)	154
The Damascus Document	155
The Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH, 4Q426-432)	156
The War Scroll (1QM)	164
Rule of the Community (1QS)	171
Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Mas 1k, 4Q400-408, 11Q17)	175
Songs of the Sage	196
Isolated Texts	199
– Chapter Summary	203

– Chapter 3 Exhibits
  - Table 3A – Seven Enochic Spirits of Natural Phenomena 208
  - Table 3B – *1 Enoch* 60.11-21 209
  - Table 3C – *T.Levi* 3.1-8 210
  - Table 3D – *Jubilees* 2.2 211
  - Diagram 3.1 – Seven Heavenly Spirits (*1 Eno* 60.11-23) 212
  - Diagram 3.2 – *Twelve Patriarchs* (*T.Levi* 3.1-8) 213
  - Diagram 3.3 – Celestial Hierarchy (*Jub* 2.2) 214
  - Diagram 3.4 – Seventh Sabbath Song (4Q403 frg.1, 1.30-45) 215

Chapter 4 S/spirit(s) in the New Testament 216
– Pauline Corpus (First Corinthians) 217
– Pastoral Epistles (1 Timothy) 230
– Epistle to the Hebrews 233
– Synoptic Gospels and Acts of the Apostles 237
– Chapter Summary 238

Chapter 5 Spirit(s) in the Book of Revelation 243
– Epistolary Greeting (Rev 1.4) 244
– Message to Sardis (Rev 3.1-6) 248
– Heavenly Worship (Rev 4.1-5.14) 257
– The Scroll and the Lamb (Rev 5.1-14) 262
– The Final Vision (Rev 21.9-22.7) 269
– Chapter Summary 273
– Chapter 5 Exhibits
  - Diagram 5.1 – Spirits in the Apocalypse (Rev 1.4) 275

Chapter 6 Conclusion 276

Taxonomy 281

Bibliography 287
  - Reference Works 287
  - Primary Literature (including Translations) 287
  - Secondary Literature 289

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

The Mystery of Spirit

The role of 'spirit(s)' in the Apocalypse of John has been a neglected topic in scholarly studies, biblical commentaries and monographs. One need only peruse contemporary commentaries and theological journals to confirm the overwhelming absence of writings on 'spirit(s)' in Revelation. For example, in the recent edition of Word Biblical Commentary, David Aune devotes a single-page *Excursus* to 'spirit(s)'[1] and lists only a meagre three articles in its bibliography.[2] Further, in Robert Muse's bibliography on Revelation only five items are listed on 'spirit(s)' dating between 1942 and 1985.[3] This inattention to spirit theology occurs in spite of the fact that 19 verses make use of spirit language in John's Apocalypse.

Perhaps it is the allusive and ambiguous nature in which John makes use of the term that alienates scholarly enthusiasm. This seems plausible considering his diverse application of the word *πνεῦμα* in his writing. From this perspective, we can arrange the author's use of the term into four basic categories in the Book of Revelation: (1) *ἐν πνεύματι* (1.10; 4.2; 17.3; 21.10), (2) *τὸ πνεῦμα* (2.7, 11, 17, 29; 3.6, 13, 22; 11.11; 13.15; 14.13; 19.10; 22.17) as well as (3) *τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα* (1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6) and (4) *τὰ πνεύματα* (22.6).

The confusion surrounding 'spirit(s)' in John's prophecy (1.3) begins with his epistolary greeting (1.4) which places seven 'spirits' (*καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων ἃ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ*) between God and Christ. An *inclusio* is used (22.6) placing the term 'spirits' between God and the prophets (*καὶ ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν*). Some scholars have sought to interpret John's *inclusio* as an interpolation.[4] In contrast to this position, is it

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[1] David E. Aune, *Revelation: 1-5*, WBC:52A (Dallas: Word Books, 1997), p.36.

[2] Aune identifies the following: F. F. Bruce, 'The Spirit in the Apocalypse' in B. Lindars and S. Smalley, eds., *Christ and Spirit in the New Testament*, FS C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: CUP, 1973), pp.333-344; R. L. Jeske, 'Spirit and Community in the Johannine Apocalypse', *NTS* 31 (1985), pp.452-466; and J. C. de Smidt, 'The Holy Spirit in the Book of Revelation –Nomenclature', *Neot*28 (1994), pp.229-244.

[3] Robert L. Muse, *The Book of Revelation: An Annotated Bibliography* (London: Garland Publishing, 1996), pp.245-246.

[4] See R.H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, ICC (Edinburgh, 1920), p.11.

possible that John is implying a parallel relationship between Christ and prophets?[5] If so, this aspect of 'spirit(s)' remains a mystery.

Early Christian commentators appear to have started from the premise that spirit language in John's Apocalypse was simply the Holy Spirit. The seven 'spirits' in the letter's opening (1.4) were consistently interpreted as the 'sevenfold spirit'[6] of Yahweh promised to the future Davidic king in the book of Isaiah (11.2-3).[7] Writing in the mid-2nd century,[8] Justin Martyr associated these seven benefits or 'gifts' with God's Spirit present in Christ and imparted to all believers (through Christ).[9] Numerous contemporary commentators have followed this assumption by continuing to interpret the seven 'spirits' in Revelation (1.4) as the Holy Spirit.[10]

However, in the early 20th century New Testament scholars began to explore the possibility of alternative interpretations.[11] For example, it has been put forward that the 'seven spirits' represent the Holy Spirit manifested in the

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[5] Matthew uses a chiastic *inclusio* in the genealogy sequence that opens his gospel narrative. The *inclusio* (Matt 1.1, 17) has theological and Christological significance, namely to establish Jesus as the Davidic Messiah promised in Jewish prophetic traditions. See Reginald H. Fuller, 'Matthew,' *HBC*, James L. Mays, ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988), pp.951-982; Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, WBC:33A (Dallas: Word Books, 1993); Donald Senior, *The Gospel of Matthew* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1997), p.88; and Mitchell G. Reddish, *An Introduction to the Gospels* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1997), p.121.

[6] Victorinus, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of the Blessed John*, trans. Robert E. Wallis, ANF, Vol. 7 [1886], Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), p.344.

[7] The LXX version of the Isaiah text identifies the seven benefits of the Spirit of God as [1] wisdom, [2] understanding, [3] counsel, [4] might, [5] knowledge, [6] godliness, and [7] fear of the Lord. For arguments against see, J. Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development*, JSNT Supplement Series 93 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), pp.108-110; and A. Skrinjar, 'Les sept spirits (Rev 1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6),' *Biblica*16 (1935), pp.1-24.

[8] See Cyril C. Richardson, *Early Christian Fathers*, LCC, Vol. 1(New York: Touchstone, 1996), pp.225, 230. Richardson writes, 'The Dialogue with Trypho is placed dramatically at the time of the Jewish War of 132-135 C.E., which may well be the approximate period of Justin's conversion.' Also see Williston Walker, Richard A. Norris, David W. Lotz, and Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Christian Church* (New York: Scribner, 4th ed., 1985), pp.53, 54-55.

[9] Justin Martyr, *Dialogue With Trypho*, trans. M. Dods and G. Reith, ANF:1 [1885], Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds. (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995), pp.214, 243.

[10] See J.C. de Smidt, 'The Holy Spirit in the Book of Revelation', pp.229-244; Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), pp.25, 110; Pierre Prigent, *L'Apocalypse de Saint Jean*, CNT (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2nd ed., 1988), p.17; F. Contreras Molina, *El Espiritu en el libro del Apoclipsis*, Koinonia:28 (Salamanca: Secretariado Trinitario, 1987), p.27; Charles Brütsch, *Die Offenbarung Jesu Christi: Johannes-Apokalypse*, Vol:1 (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), p.46; G. B. Caird, *A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966), pp.14-15; Ronald H. Preston and Anthony T. Hanson, *The Revelation of Saint John the Divine*, TBC (London: SCM Press, [1949] 1962), p.54-55; William Barclay, *The Revelation of John*, Vol:1, DSB (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 2nd ed., 1960), pp.38-40; H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, p.233; I. T. Beckwith *The Apocalypse of John* (London, 1919), p.426; Irving F. Wood, *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature: A Study in the History of Religion* (New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1904), p.154.

[11] Brütsch provides a survey of those scholars holding different views. See C. Brütsch, *La Clarté de l'Apocalypse* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1955), p.27.

seven churches named in John's letter,[12] or symbolically represent God's eyes and activities in the world.[13]

Alternatively, others have attempted to explain John's understanding of *πνεῦμα* based on the phrases *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας*, the Spirit of prophecy (19.10), and *ἐν πνεύματι*, 'in (the) spirit' (1.10; 4.2; 17.3; 21.10). These last two have been the focal point of scholarly discussions. Accordingly, studies on the Book of Revelation have been approached from two positions – ecstatic experience and literary genre.

Significance of Experience

Experience of the Holy Spirit (H.W. Robinson)

We can safely assert that in the early 20th century, New Testament scholars were being alerted to the importance of experience and angelology in the development of Christian theology and especially pneumatology. H. Wheeler Robinson advised scholars by writing the following:

> '...such a passage as Revelation 1.4f., where "the seven spirits that are before His (God's) throne" replace the reference to the Holy Spirit, shews us how far were the New Testament times in general from reaching a fixed Trinitarian formula, such as is outlined in the baptismal commission.'[14]

Robinson's monograph acknowledged the importance of Christian experience in the development of the Church's doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In his writing, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, he traces a historical trajectory of understanding spirit through human experience, beginning with the classical Hebrew identification of *ruach* as "wind" and culminating with the early Church's use of *pneuma*. He argues that the use of the term *ruach* evolved from its early depiction of supernatural energy within Nature, to an external force exerted by God in and through humans, into one that incorporates the idea of God's creative power – 'Spirit' or 'breath'. From the exile onwards the term *ruach* became synonymous with the Hebrew term *nephesh* (soul) as the term became part of a semantic cluster of words used to indicate the vital life

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[12] E. Allo, *L'Apokalypse* (Paris: Librirée Victor Lecoffre, 2nd ed., 1921), pp.8-9; Henry B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1909), pp.273-274.
[13] T. W. Crafter, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, NCHS (London: SPCK, 1928), pp.685-686.
[14] Robinson, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*, pp.233-234.

force within humans including the 'higher' psychical and intellectual functions which are potentially sensitive and responsive to God. [15]

However, Robinson argues that within the Christian experience the term was personalised by joining Greek philosophical ideas on divine immanence with the invasive energy of *ruach* in order to explain the association existing between the Spirit of God and the Person of Jesus Christ.[16] Robinson's study on the human experience of spirit emphasised the inescapably experiential aspect of 'spirit' talk.

The Spirit of Prophecy (F.F. Bruce, R. Bauckham)

In his essay 'The Spirit in the Apocalypse', F. F. Bruce provides a concise study on John's use of the term *pneuma*.[17] Bruce looks at 'spirit(s)' in Revelation in four aspects: (1) The Seven Spirits; (2) The Spirit of Prophecy; (3) What the Spirit Says to the Churches; and (4) The Responsive Spirit. In his opening discussion on the seven 'spirits', Bruce proposes that John portrays the 'Spirit(s)' in a very different perspective – not restricted by the symbolism of his 'religio-historical roots' or the writings of other New Testament authors, including those in the Johannine corpus. [18] Therefore, John's use of spirit terminology indicates that he wrote with 'sovereign freedom...to serve his special purpose'. Bruce clearly sees the central meaning of Spirit in Revelation as the Spirit of prophecy. His premise is based on the fact that there are no specific textual references in the Apocalypse in which the Spirit indwells any believers other than prophets. While this breaks with the workings of the Holy Spirit as depicted in other New Testament writings, Bruce argues that one key-passage lends insight to John's understanding of *pneuma* – Revelation 19.10 and its use of the phrase 'the testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy'.

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[15] Moisés Silva defines 'proper synonymy' as an overlapping relationship between two or more words having similar meaning, and the relationship between the senses of the words 'is of such a nature that the words may be used interchangeably in some contexts.' See *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Academie Books/Zondervan, 1983), pp.122; also see 118, 121-125, 159-169.

[16] E.F. Scott concurs, see *The Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), p.214.

[17] See Bruce, 'The Spirit in the Apocalypse,' pp.333-344.

[18] Bruce, 'Spirit', p.336. Also see Eduard Schweizer, *'πνεῦμά πνευματικός'* in Gerhard Friedrich, ed., *TDNT*:6, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968), pp.332-451, esp. p.450. Schweizer argues that 'from a religio-historical standpoint these are simply the seven archangels. In Revelation they stand between God and Christ; grace and peace go forth from them, 1.4.' In Note 825, Schweizer disputes Charles' suggestion that 1.4 is an interpolation. Also see Charles, *Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, p.11.

> 'The expression 'the Spirit of prophecy' is current in post-biblical Judaism: it is used, for example, in a Targumic circumlocution for the Spirit of Yahweh which comes upon this or that prophet. Thus, the Targum of Jonathan renders the opening words of Isa. 61:1 as 'The Spirit of prophecy *(rûaḥ nᵉbû'âh)* from before the Lord God is upon me'. The thought expressed in Rev. 19:10 is not dissimilar to that in 1 Pet. 1:11 where 'the Spirit of the Messiah' (meaning perhaps the Spirit of messianic prophecy) is said to have spoken in the Old Testament prophets who foretold 'the sufferings destined for the Messiah and the subsequent glories'.'[19]

Bruce then draws a parallel between John's language (17.3; 21.10) and that found in Ezekiel (Ezek 3.14; *cf.* 8.3) concluding that based on the details of their individual accounts, the prophets had a similar ecstatic experience. He suggests there is a direct association between the 'Spirit of prophecy' (Rev 19.10, 22.6) and John 'being in the spirit' (1.10, 4.2, 17.3, 21.10). Bruce draws the following conclusion: The 'Spirit of prophecy' used in post-biblical Jewish writings to indicate the 'Spirit of God', and the 'Spirit of the Messiah' (1 Pet 1.11) used in the New Testament writings to bear witness to Christ (1 Cor 12.3; 1 John 4.2; Rev 19.10, 22.16, 20) is the same prophetic Spirit that comes upon John (1.10; 4.2). The Spirit is the source of John's revelations (1.10; 4.2) and visionary transport (17.3; 21.10).

Further, Bruce also identifies the Spirit who speaks to the churches (Rev. 2.7, 11, 16, 29; 3.6; 13.22) as the Spirit of prophecy. He contends that John is breaking with the convention of other Christian writers. In this instance, the Spirit is not identical with the 'exalted Lord.' [20] Rather, the exalted Christ speaks by the 'Spirit of prophecy' (Matt 24.43/Luke 12.39; Rev 16.15) and John writes as a prophet to the churches by the Lord's command (1.10; 2.1, 8, 12, 18; 3.1, 7, 14). In each of the letters Christ addresses particular situations existing in the seven churches, in a manner similar to that of the prophets of ancient Israel. Bruce concludes that the instructions to 'hear what the Spirit says' (2.7, 11, 17, 29; 36, 13, 22) affirm that Christ is speaking by the Spirit of prophecy. Consequently, the seven 'spirits' are to be understood as the one Spirit of *Yahweh* (Isa 11.2), the Spirit of prophecy, and are 'accessories' of the lamb (Isa 42.1; 61.1; Rev 3.1; 5.6).

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[19] Bruce, 'Spirit', p.337.
[20] Schweizer posits, 'But this Spirit – and this is the decisive point – is no other than the exalted Lord Himself, 2.1-7, 8-11, etc. He is the exalted Lord as the One who speaks to the community.' See, *'πνεῦμα,'* p.449.

While Bruce does not claim that John wrote in isolation, he too readily dismisses earlier arguments put forward by scholars who suggest a 'religio-historical' influence on John's use of *pneuma.* He fails to carefully explore Eduard Schweizer's earlier suppositions that the seven 'spirits' may reflect an influence of Jewish angelology on John's writing, and in this instance, the seven 'spirits' might also be interpreted as the seven archangels. Nor, does Bruce consider G. H. Dix's proposals that suggest the possibility of Babylonian influence on the use of the number seven in Jewish and Christian religious writings.[21] Instead, his focus is on function – John's role as a prophet and the Spirit's role as the source of prophetic utterances, which limits him in considering other possible meanings associated with the term *pneuma.*

Bruce's discussion on 'Spirit(s)' is furthered by the subsequent analysis of Richard Bauckham, a scholar of apocalyptic literature, who builds on Bruce's earlier effort. In his monograph, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation,* Bauckham devotes an entire chapter to the role of 'Spirit(s).'[22] He too focuses on function, rather than meaning, as he discusses the four aspects of the Spirit(s) in Revelation: (1) The Spirit of Vision; (2) The Spirit of Prophecy; (3) The Seven Spirits; and (4) The Spirit and the Eschatological Perspective. Bauckham concurs with Bruce, arguing that Spirit(s) in Revelation is the 'Spirit of prophecy' adding that John's experience of *ἐν πνεύματι* as 'rapture' or an 'out of body' translation[23] is similar to that presented in biblical literature, as well as pseudepigraphal apocalyptic writings (Acts 2.17, 7.55-56; 2 Cor 12.2-4, *Asc. Isa* 6.110-15; *1 Eno* 71.1, 5; *T.Levi* 2.6). He also agrees with other biblical scholars[24] who argue that John's use of the phrase *ἐν πνεύματι* may be also be understood to highlight John's distinctive experience.

From this perspective Bauckham examines the Spirit's role as an agent of prophetic speech, visionary experience and transport. He concludes that John's use of *ἐν πνεύματι* is strategically placed for literary effect and

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[21] See G.H. Dix, 'The Seven Archangels and the Seven Spirits', *JThSt*28 (1927), p.233.
[22] See Richard Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1993), pp.150-173.
[23] For the purposes of this study the term 'translation' refers to the (physical or spiritual) removal or transference of one person, place or thing to another.
[24] See Jeske, 'Spirit and Community', pp.452-466; and James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1975), pp.177-179, 213-216.

theological significance rather than to demonstrate the Spirit's role. For Bauckham, the phrase holds pedagogical and ecclesial significance. Being 'in the spirit' was John's way of using a rhetorical device to make a theological claim to the Christian community: that the ultimate source of his entire revelation was Jesus.

Bauckham limits his examination on the topic of the 'Spirit of prophecy' to three areas: (a) The words of the Spirit (Rev 14.13*b*; 22.17*a*); (b) What the Spirit says to the churches (2.7, 11, 17, 29; 3.6, 13, 22), and (c) The responsive Spirit (14.13*b*, 20.20, 22.17*a*). While he agrees with Bruce that the primary role of the Spirit is the 'Spirit of prophecy,' he parts with Bruce and draws support from Schweizer when arguing that the roles of the two witnesses in John's Revelation (11.13) extend the prophetic witness to the world through the church.[25] This is exemplified through the Spirit's prophetic call to the church towards its eschatological future, not as prophetic words that predict, but as those generating creative power through their utterance.

The messages to the seven churches are the words of the exalted Christ, yet they are 'what the Spirit says to the churches.' Central to Bauckham's argument is the subjective genitive form of *'Ιησοῦ* (1.2, 5, 9; 12.17; 19.10; 20.4) and its relationship to *μαρτυρία* throughout John's letter. The phrase *μαρτυρία 'Ιησοῦ*, translated as the 'witness Jesus bore,' speaks to the content of Spirit-inspired prophecy declared by Christian prophets in oracles, prayers, or responsive endorsements (14.13*b*). The witness Jesus bore in his earthly life is that which his prophets and followers continue to bear in the world. What Bauckham does not explain is the nature of the fluid relationship that appears to exist between the plural form of the term 'spirit(s)' and Christ in the Apocalypse (3.1; 5.6).

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[25] Bauckham qualifies his support of Schweizer with, 'Probably a distinction is to be drawn between the special vocation of the Christian prophets to declare the word of God within the Christian community, and the general vocation of the Christian community as a whole to declare the word of God in the world. The former will then subserve the latter'. See *The Climax of Prophecy*, p.163. In Schweizer, '*πνεῦμα*', p.449, note 816: 'It seems to me, however, that according to Rev 19.10 all members of the community (at least potentially, Loh. Apk. on 19.10) are prophets.' Also see H. Strathman, '*μάρτυς*', in Gerhard Friedrich, ed.,*TDNT*:4 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1967), pp. 474-514, see esp. p.501.

Instead, Bauckham's analysis of the seven 'spirits' is based on the supposition that John's use (1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6) reflects his interpretation of Zechariah 4.1-14.[26]

> 'The seven Spirits are a symbol for the divine Spirit, which John has chosen on the basis of his exegesis of Zechariah 4:1-14, a passage which lies behind not only the four references to the seven Spirits but also the description of the two witnesses in 11:4. It seems to have been the key Old Testament passage for John's understanding of the role of the Spirit in the Divine activity in the world.'[27]

He concludes that the seven lamps which are the seven 'spirits' (Rev 4.5) also 'belong to the divine being' based on their placement between God and Christ in John's epistolary greeting (1.4-5a). He contends that although the term 'spirits' occurs in the Dead Sea Scrolls (*DSS*) referring to angelic beings, it is rarely used with this meaning in early Christian literature and never in Revelation. But, can this position be taken so emphatically, without examining how the term is applied in other apocalyptic literature?

Bauckham further argues that 'spirits' (Rev 1.4-5, 4.5) represent the divine Spirit depicted in Zechariah's oracle (4.2) as a candlestick with seven lamps (נר; *λύχνος*), which are later interpreted as the 'eyes of the Lord' (4.10). He identifies several biblical texts (2 Chr 16.9; Job 34.21; Ps 14.2, 66.7; Pro 15.3) to support his thesis. However, while each of these texts refers in some way to the 'eyes' of God, none specifically mention the number seven. In this instance, Bauckham's study does not go far enough to prove the direct correlation he makes between the number seven, the all-seeing 'eyes of the Lord,' and the divine Spirit as John's seven 'spirits.'[28] I note this particularly as the seven lamps (*λύχνος*) present in John's vision (Rev 1:12, 13) are clearly identified to represent the seven churches (v.20).

It can be no mere coincidence that the sacred number seven appears more than 50 times in John's Apocalypse referencing churches, 'spirits', stars, seals, horns, eyes, thunders, trumpets, heads, diadems, plagues, bowls,

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[26] Bauckham argues against scholars who identify the seven spirits as the seven principal angels identified in Jewish angelology (Tob 12.15; *1 En* 20; 1Qshir Shabb). For arguments supporting this concept see Schweizer, '*πνεῦμα*,' p.450. Most recent support for this interpretation has been provided by Aune, *Revelation: 1-5*, p.34-35.

[27] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, pp.162-163.

[28] Works that lend support to Bauckham's position are J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation*, (London: Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 1975), p.377, and G.B. Caird, *The Revelation of Saint John*, p.15. However,

mountains, kings, and angels. Without investigating the symbolic significance of the number seven and its use in conjunction with the plural form of the terms *ruach* and *pneuma* in Jewish and Christian apocalyptic literature, drawing such a conclusion might be premature.

Literary Perspective

The question as to whether the Book of Revelation should be studied as apocalyptic literature or prophecy has attracted ongoing discussion among biblical scholars and social scientists alike. The fact that Revelation displays characteristics of both literary genres has made the dialogue much more intriguing. During the past century, Revelation has been described as an apocalyptic vision,[29] prophecy, [30] a circular (letter) in narrative form,[31] an apocalypse in letterform,[32] an apocalypse as an autobiographical prose narration,[33] and simply as 'revelation'.[34]

From a social scientific perspective John's Apocalypse reflects the socio-historical forces present during the period of his writing.[35] Consequently, John's writing provides the viewpoint of a minority group in Asia Minor regarding its experiences of social conflict, as well as political and religious crises set against the so-called majority community.[36] This experience is then related through symbolic codes unique to the language of the minority group. In this instance, a synchronic or static understanding of the words and symbols are shared between the writer - John - and the communities to whom he

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see Josephus, *Ant.*, 6.7; 7.7; and *J.W.* v 5.5, where the seven lamps are interpreted to refer to seven planets and the sun.

[29] See Robinson, *The Christian Experience*, p.156.

[30] E. Schüssler Fiorenza, 'Composition and Structure of the Book of Revelation', *CBQ*.39 (1968), pp.344-366.

[31] See W.S. Vorster, '1 Enoch and the Jewish Literary setting of the New Testament: A Study in Text Type', *Neot*.17 (1983), pp.1-14.

[32] J. J. Collins, 'Pseudonimity, Historical Reviews and Genre', *CBQ*.39 (1977), pp.329-343. Also see, D. Hellholm, 'The Problem of Apocalyptic genre and the Apocalypse of John', *Semeia*.36 (1986), pp.13-64.

[33] David Aune, 'The Apocalypse of John and the Problem of Genre', *Semeia*.36 (1986), pp.66-96.

[34] Philipp Vielhauer and Georg Strecker, 'Apocalypses and Related Subjects,' in William Schneemelcher, ed., New Testament Apocrypha, Vol:2 (Cambridge: James Clarke & Company/Westminster/John Knox Press, *rev. ed.*, 1989), pp.542-568, see esp. p.544.

[35] See Leonard L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation – Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: OUP, 1990), pp.25-34.

[36] Jan A. du Rand, *Johannine Perspectives: Introduction to the Johannine Writings – Part 1* (Doornfontein: Orion, 1991), pp.193-195.

writes.[37] Are the meanings of these words then unique to apocalyptic literature? Or, have the codes and meanings been borrowed and incorporated into John's present tradition and writing?

Literary Genre or More? (J. du Rand)

Jan du Rand, in her analysis of Johannine literature, discusses the generic structure of Christian apocalypses with respect to apocalyptic writings.[38] She suggests that the cohesive factor that relates all apocalypses to this particular literary genre is the framework of understanding and meaning presented by the author – this is the apocalyptic eschatological perspective from which they are written.[39]

Rand discusses several characteristics peculiar to this literary form that are significant to this study. For example, apocalyptic writings disclose revelatory knowledge regarding cosmology, uranography, numerology, and angelology. This certainly appears in John's Apocalypse. Nonetheless, does this suggest that the writer is simply telling a story using a particular literary form? If so, are meanings of terms consistent with former traditions? Or, is John simply relaying the accounts of his revelatory experience?

Also, traditionally apocalyptic authors write pseudonymously. The message, while claiming to be authoritative due to its divine origin, also draws on the credibility of the name attributed to the writing – hence pseudonymity. Yet, John clearly identifies himself as the recipient (Rev 1.1; 21.2; 22.8) and author (1.4) of the revelation. In this instance, it appears that John was a real person relaying a revelatory experience to congregations who knew and considered him a member of their community (1.9).

Rand also points out that typically the messages in apocalyptic literature are communicated through symbolic language. The visions are not

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[37] See Moisés Silva's discussion on diachronic and synchronic linguistics in *Biblical Words and Their Meaning*, pp.35-38.

[38] Rand builds on the findings of previous studies: Also see P.D. Hanson, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic: The Historical and Sociological Roots of Jewish Apocalyptic Eschatology* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); W.S. Vorster, 'Tekste met 'n apokaliptiese perspektief', in F. Deist and W. S. Vorster, eds., *Woorde wat ver kom: Die literatuur van die Ou Testament*, Vol.1 (Cape Town: Tafelberg,1986), pp.158-76; J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984); and P.G.R. de Villiers, *Leviatan aan 'n lintjie. Woord en wêreld van die sieners* (Cape Town: Lux Verbi, 1987).

[39] Indeed, Philipp Vielhauer suggests that 'this form of literature (apocalyptic) appears originally to have had no common designation at all.' See P. Vielhauer, 'Apocalypses', p.545.

intelligible and must be interpreted, typically through an interpreting angel or heavenly being. This too occurs in Revelation. However, how are we to break the code, *per sé* without first examining a significant number of occurrences in which the symbolic code, or in this instance word, occurs in order to determine its meaning? It is possible that peculiarities associated with apocalyptic literature, particular its language, words and their meanings may also be typical of apocalyptic revelatory experiences.

At this point, we can acknowledge that characteristics of apocalyptic genre are present in John's writing and are used by him to communicate a divine message to a believing community. However, is John simply making use of a known literary format to relate his experience? The attempt to standardise apocalyptic literature based on specific characteristics has sparked reinterpretation and analysis of John's writing. Two scholars have recently taken on the task of explaining Revelation from a literary perspective.

In (the) Spirit (R. Jeske, J.C. de Smidt)

Richard Jeske's article centres on John's use of *ἐν πνεύματι* (Rev 1.10; 4.2; 17.3; 21.10).[40] He argues against scholars who contend that Revelation originated as John experienced a state of revelatory ecstasy.[41] Jeske builds on Bauckham's theory that being 'in (the) spirit' has both literary and theological significance, more so than psychological. He notes that these four textual references (Rev 1.10; 4.2; 17.3; 21.10) characterize a departure from John's overall depiction of the Spirit as a power at work in the community.[42] Instead, Jeske suggests the phrase refers to a state of theological inspiration and has a wide range of associations in both Old and New Testament writings.

He notes the phrase is not used in Hellenistic texts to describe mantic inspiration. Further, examples of ecstatic activities induced by the Spirit of God diminish in Jewish texts among the classical pre-Exilic prophets. He identifies

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[40] 'Spirit and Community,' pp.452-466.
[41] See F.C. Baur, *Vorlesungen über neutestamentliche Theologie* (Leipzig, 1864), p.207; W. Bousset, *Die Offenbarung Johannis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1906), p.192; R.H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John* Vols.1-2, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, *repr.* 2000, 1920), p1.22; G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John*, pp.19, 59, 211, 268; and Mounce, *Revelation*, p.308. Mounce writes, '*ἐν πνεύματι*' refers to the Seer's ecstatic state rather than the instrumentality by which he was carried away (in which case the reference would probably be to the Holy Spirit).'
[42] Jeske agrees with A. Satake, *Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse* (Neukirchen, 1966), p.81.

Hosea 9.7, Amos 7.14-15, and Micah 3.8 as examples of criticisms against ecstatic behaviour among prophets. However, Jeske offers no support for this position, and a closer look at these textual examples does not substantiate his argument. The Hosea text is typically interpreted as a prophetic indictment against Israel for her mockery of prophets,[43] and the Amos text can be seen as an apologetic that serves to authenticate rather than ridicule his true prophetic call.[44] Moreover, when Jeske notes that the Micah passage is located within a section where the prophet criticises ecstatic prophets, visionaries, diviners and seers, he fails to mention that the passage is frequently interpreted as an indictment against economic expediency (Micah 3.5) rather than against ecstasy.[45] Nor does Jeske consider other phrases such as 'hand of the Lord' (Isa 25.10; 41.20; 51.17; 62.3; 66.14; Ezek 1.3; 3.14; 3.22; 8.1; 33.22; 37.1; 40.1) and 'Spirit of the Lord' (Isa 11.2; 40.13; 61.1; 63.14; Ezek 11.5; 37.1; Micah 3.8), which could also be understood to indicate divine inspiration.

Jeske goes on to propose that John might have understood being *ἐν πνέματι* as being 'empowered for prophetic preaching' (Mark 12.36; Luke 2.26-27; *Bar* 9.7; *Did* 11.7-12). In this instance, John's banishment to Patmos exacerbates internal calamities existing within his churches and necessitates John's use of a new approach in teaching his congregations (Rev 13.10; 14.12). Consequently, the seer draws upon Pauline literature to inform his model of paraenesis and paraclesis, stimulating his theology and literary style.

> 'But it is the traumatic event of John's banishment which leads most directly to the production of the book. The trauma rests in the interruption and prevention of John's immediate physical access to the churches. As long as he is able to maintain direct contact with his congregations, John is able personally to deal, as prophets should, with the various other traumas affecting the life of the congregation. Because that direct contact has been forcibly broken off, John is forced to write, the prophetic speaker becoming a writer and his hearers readers.'[46]

Jeske suggests that John attempts to influence his congregations through solidarity – the letters are to be read corporately and in the worship assembly –

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[43] See Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC:31 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), pp.145-146; and Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Hosea*, trans., Gary Stansell (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), pp.156-157.
[44] See Francis I. Andersen and David Noel Freedman, *Amos* (London: The Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 1989), pp.775-794; and Douglas Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, pp.375-378.
[45] The following commentators concur. See Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC:32 (Waco: Word Books, 1984), pp.32-34; Dilbert R. Hillers, *Micah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Micah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), pp.44-46; and W. Eugene March, *Micah*, HBC (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988), p.733.
[46] Jeske, 'Spirit and Community', p.457.

thus, John's writing reflects the communal setting. His language and form is liturgical including salutations, doxologies, benedictions, beatitudes, prayers, and hymns.

Further, Jeske argues that John's community is a liminal one, in contrast with the prevailing social culture.[47] John effectively communicates by transforming traditional apocalyptic forms into familiar signs, terms, and symbols that are emblematic of their community life. Accordingly, *ἐν πνεύματι* is a symbolic code used by the author to communicate with his audience. John uses the phrase as a relational symbol similar to its use in the writings of the Pauline corpus (Rom 8.9; Col 1.8, Eph 2.18, 22; 3.3-5; 4.3, 4, 30; 5.18, 19; 6.18; 1 Tim 3.16; 2. Tim 1.14). This symbol allows John to (1) identify with his communities during his absence, (2) identify himself as a recipient who hears and sees, (3) acknowledge his responsibility as a prophet, (4) establish himself in *κοινωνία* with his churches on the Lord's day, and (5) to give literary structure to his writing overall.

Jeske's attempt to interpret *ἐν πνεύματι* as symbolic terminology is an interesting approach, particularly as his analysis includes a review on use of the phrase in Pauline literature. However, he chooses to ignore other apocalyptic literature in his analyses. This is a common occurrence among studies on the Book of Revelation! Jeske's argument that several pre-Christian Jewish apocalypses depict the occurrence of revelations without ecstasy may be accurate, but is an insufficient premise on its own particularly when psychical experience, rapture, ecstatic visions of paradise, and heavenly activities are noted characteristics of apocalyptic literature.[48] Jeske also disregards the one canonical Jewish writing (Ezek 11.24; 37.1) that makes use of the phrase *ἐν πνεύματι* (ברוח). By avoiding an analysis of this critical text, Jeske fails to examine fully his own argument.

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[47] Jeske cites J. Gager's study on Christian congregations in early Christian literature for characteristics of liminal communities depicted in Revelation: equality (19.10; 22.9), sexual continence (14.14), sacred instruction (1.1), silence (8.1), suspension of kinship rights (1.9; 10.10; 22.9), acceptance of pain and suffering (6.11), and mystical powers (1.10; 4.2; 17.3; 21.10). See Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: University Press, 1960), pp.20-21; and V. Turner, *The Ritual Process* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), p.106ff. Also see Jan A. du Rand, *Johannine Perspectives: Introduction to the Johannine Writings, Part 1* (Doornfontein: Orion, 1991), pp.197-198.

[48] J.H. Charlesworth, 'Introduction for the General Reader,' in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp.xxxiii-xxxiv.

J. C. de Smidt provides another study on John's use of *ἐν πνεύματι*. The greater portion of his article[49] reviews the research of six scholars (Bauckham, Jeske, Boring, du Rand, Thompson, and Pilch)[50] in an historical survey on the interpretation of the phrase *ἐν πνεύματι*. He discusses four contemporary interpretations: The phrase (1) signals a unique state of personal visionary consciousness; (2) describes an actual ecstatic revelatory experience; (3) refers to a state of continuous spiritual exaltation that is best described as a trance; and (4) is a form of partial ecstasy whereby the individual is yet able to maintain a sober knowledge of self and the existing world situation.

Smidt distinguishes the phrase within eschatological, liturgical, theological, literary and psycho-physiological perspectives. John's experience at Patmos was both psychological and phenomenological. He experienced a state of psychological ecstasy where he was 'in the Spirit's control'. From a literary perspective the phrase is a symbolic code for communal participation; [51] it is a literary device that provides structure to the overall revelation,[52] and it is a rhetorical device used to legitimate the author and his message.[53] Theologically, *ἐν πνεύματι* has Christological, ecclesiological, and soteriological significance as the sufferings of the writer and his readers are associated with similar afflictions experienced by Christ. The liturgical aspect of the phrase can be found in the context of worship in which the message is received and proclaimed.

Unlike Bruce and Bauckham, Smidt regards *pneuma* in Revelation as the Holy Spirit, although he acknowledges John does not specifically identify it as such. Instead, the seven 'spirits' (Rev 3.1; 4.5; 5.6) are used to represent the 'fullness of the one Spirit of God' and symbolise the various manifestations of God's Spirit in the seven churches.[54] Thus, Smidt concludes that John's use of

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[49] See de Smidt, 'The Holy Spirit in the Book of Revelation' pp.233-241.
[50] Smidt identifies those given by Aune's bibliography in his Excursus – see Note 2, but adds M.E. Böring, 'The Theology of Revelation,' *Interpretation*:40 (1987), pp.257-269; J. A. du Rand, 'A "Baddo ostinato" in the structuring of the Apocalypse of John?' *Neot*:27 (1993), pp.299-311; L.L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation* (New York: OUP, 1990); and J.J. Pilch, 'Visions in Revelation and Alternate Consciousness: A Perspective from Cultural Anthropology,' *Listening: Journal of Religion Culture*, Vol:28 (1993), pp.231-244.
[51] Jeske, 'Spirit and Community,' pp.458, 462.
[52] Jeskle, 'Spirit and Community,' p.463.
[53] Smidt cites Bauckham, 'The Role of the Spirit,' p.72; J.A. Du Rand, *Johannine Perspectives*, p.582; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), p.181.
[54] Support for the number seven as a symbol of fullness and/or completeness can be found in J. du Preez, 'Die sewe oë van die sewe Geeste,' *Sendingblad*, Augustus (1991), pp.4-6; J.J. Engelbrecht,

seven 'spirits' is not in conflict with the doctrine on the Trinity. Smidt proposes that early Christian writers depicted the initial outpourings of the Holy Spirit in Acts as a 'personal power' that filled believers in a dynamic way. However, in later writings, including Revelation, a reduced awareness of the Spirit's involvement is detected indicating a more 'formalised,' 'institutionalised' portrayal of the Spirit evident in daily life. John accomplishes this by constructing an encompassing vision, which provides a realistic portrayal of the social realties of life in Asia Minor and yet serves to offer hope and comfort to his audience.[55]

> 'In order to create this symbolic universe, the author *inter alia* uses the concept ἐν πνεύματι (*cf.* par 3.1.4.2). It is through the Spirit that readers are enabled to enter God's alternative world, the New Jerusalem. Through the Spirit the readers in Asia Minor are enabled to anticipate eternal life.'[56]

Unlike his predecessors, Smidt suggests the activity of the Spirit in Revelation goes beyond that of mere prophecy or preaching. The Spirit mediates the revelation to John, is the Paraclete to the seven churches, and has ecclesial and soterial roles in John's eschatology. Regarding the 'Spirit of prophecy', Smidt prefers what he contends to be a 'dynamic translation' of the phrase *πνεῦμα τῆς προφητείας* (Rev 19.10) – 'it is the Spirit that gave the prophecy' – meaning the Spirit conveyed the message (to John) which Jesus revealed. Thus, the entire Apocalypse, or prophecy (22.18) is the Spirit speaking (14.13).

J. C. de Smidt's article serves as a useful survey of contemporary studies conducted on the phrase *ἐν πνεύματι*, which represents the bulk of the article. Only marginal attention is given to his assessment of the seven 'spirits' (a single paragraph). Can we confidently continue to interpret John's use of *πνεύματα* within the confines of the later doctrine of the Trinity?[57] Or, does John use *πνεύματα* intentionally to introduce a trinitarian trajectory?

'The Holy Spirit in Revelation 1-3,' Paper delivered at the NTSSA Congress (1987), pp.1-21, esp. p.11, and G.K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, NIGTC (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), pp.58-59, 186-190. For arguments against see Aune, *Revelation 1-5*, p.29; and A. Yarbro Collins, 'Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature,' in *ANRW* II, Vol:21 (1984), pp.1221-1287; see esp. pp.1276-1278.

[55] Smidt quotes L.L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation*, p.74.

[56] Smidt 'The Holy Spirit in the Book of Revelation', pp.231-232.

[57] Smidt 'The Holy Spirit in the Book of Revelation', pp.231-232. Also see Bauckham, 'The Role of the Spirit', p.522; and R.W. Wall, *Revelation* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), p.57.

Boundaries of Previous Exploration

Bruce's study successfully breaches the long silence on the topic of *pneuma* in the Apocalypse based on John's spirit language, and Bauckham's research certainly stimulates that dialogue. However, neither scholar gives sufficient treatment to the earlier proposals offered by Schweizer and Dix, both of which identify the potential significance of angelology, numerology, and the religio-historical understanding of *pneuma* particularly during the 2nd temple period. Further, the broader meaning of *pneuma* is neglected for the most part, in that both Bruce and Bauckham link John's portrayal of 'spirit(s)' solely to prophetic activity. Nor do they provide any clarification on the relationship between *pneuma* and Spirit of God, Spirit of prophecy, and Holy Spirit especially depicted when the author's makes use the plural form of the term.

Indeed, if we are to adhere to Bruce's earlier argument, the Christian experience of the relationship between Christ and Spirit or 'spirit(s),' is breached by John's literary and 'sovereign freedom'. Further, Bruce proposes that the 'Spirit of prophecy' (Spirit of God) is not identical with the exalted Christ in the Apocalypse. Nor is any light shed on this conundrum by Bauckham's study. None of the scholars discussed above consider this aspect, particularly outside the Christian context of experience. It is possible that this component is missing due to the scholars' strong emphasis on the primacy of prophecy or ecstasy.

While Jeske and Smidt explore John's use of the phrase *ἐν πνεύματι*, their arguments primarily concentrate on ecstatic experience to inform their interpretation of his use of the phrase. Is this to suggest that John's only understanding of the term *pneuma* is through ecstatic experience, prophecy, preaching, or religious worship? What of other traditions present in apocalyptic writings and teachings? Is it possible that John's prophetic experience and function speak to only a portion of his use of the term *πνεῦμα* in his writing? In fact, John's varied use of the word in the Apocalypse suggests there is much for us to explore regarding his understanding of *pneuma*.

How then are we to understand the spirit language in the Apocalypse? Of course, if John had simply provided a qualifying phrase that clearly indicated the identity of the seven 'spirits' (1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6) or the unlimited number of 'spirits' (22.6), further discussions on the text and his use of spirit

language might well be considered unnecessary. Even so, it is John's use of *τὰ πνεύματα* (1.4, 22.6) and the phrase *ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ* (3.1, 4.5, 5.6) which suggests that initially a question must be asked and answered regarding John's meaning of 'spirits' in order to determine his understanding of the association between Spirit and 'spirits.'

The Possibility of External Influence? (W. Bousset, R.H. Charles)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Wilhelm Bousset, an early scholar of apocalyptic literature proposed that the seven 'spirits' in John's apocalypse represented the appropriation of 'polytheistic mythology' that was neither Jewish nor Christian.[58] In fact Bousset argued[59] the possibility that the seven 'spirits' derived from the cult of the seven planet gods in Babylonian religion. In his commentary, he also proposed that aspects of the Persian religious cult surrounding the god Ahura Mazda, the highest god from among the 'Ameshas-Spaentas' might have influenced Jewish angelology. In order to accommodate monotheism, Bousset argued that Jewish angelology was adapted to incorporate the Persian and Babylonian mythological traditions of the seven planetary spirits-gods, resulting in the seven archangels.

R.H. Charles, another scholar of apocalyptic literature, argues as much in his commentary, while also acknowledging similarities with the seven 'Amshaspands,' which in turn were also derived from the Babylonian cult of the seven star deities.[60] Charles proposes that the Jewish tradition degrades these foreign deities by relegating them to the status of angels, subject beings in the service of Yahweh. Further, Charles argues that the seer would have been unfamiliar with the origin of this tradition, and its historical development. According to Charles, John would have understood God and the seven 'spirits' as a Jewish formula, which he in turn would have amended by giving it a distinctively Christian element.

While Bousset proposes that John's seven 'spirits' (1.4) represent an early Christian trinity formula (*cf.* Justin, *Apol.*, i.6), Charles argues that the

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[58] Bousset, *Die Offenbärung Johännis*, pp.185-187.
[59] As does H. Gunkel in *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12* (Göttingen: Vändenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921) pp.294-302.
[60] Charles, *Revelation*, Vol:1, pp.11-12.

'spirits' in 1.4 represent a scribal interpolation. He draws support from the seer's emphatic opposition to angel worship (Rev 19.10; 22.9), and passages that emphasise worship of God throughout the Apocalypse (*cf.* Rev 7.15; 11.1; 14.7; 15.4; 19.10; 22.3; 22.9). How then do we explain John's use of the term 'spirits'?

'Spirit(s)' or Holy Spirit? (H. Kraft)

In the last quarter of the 20th century Heinrich Kraft[61] sparked renewed interest and discussions on John's Apocalypse. In his commentary, Kraft supported the earlier arguments posited by scholars[62] that the seven 'spirits' in Revelation 1.4 were to be understood as the Holy Spirit.[63] While Kraft disputed Charles' position on interpolations, he supported Bousset and Charles' arguments on Babylonian influence. However, Kraft argued that the seven 'spirits' in the Apocalypse were the Holy Spirit, representing that which connected God with Christ. In his discussions, Kraft points to Isaiah 11.2, and the later historical *homoousios* controversy in the early Church over the mutual assignment of Christ and the Holy Spirit. In fact, Kraft's conclusions are drawn from a circular argument in that he posits that the later dogma of the orthodox church substantiates modern interpretation of John's earlier use of the term 'spirits' in 1.4 as the Holy Spirit. This understanding, he concluded is the most logical and correct interpretation. But, is it?

Past Premises Re-examined

At the brink of the 21st century interpretation of 'spirits' in Revelation 1.4 as the Holy Spirit was challenged, accompanied by renewed interest and growing support for Schweizer's earlier premise where the seven 'spirits' were understood as the seven principal angels of God[64] documented in ancient Jewish literature (*1 En* 20.1-8; *cf.* Dan 10.13; Tob 12.15; and *2 Ezra* 4.1). David Aune, in his commentary on Revelation disputes the position of scholars such

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[61] See Bousset, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1974), p.32.
[62] See commentaries on the Book of Revelation by Preston and Hanson (1949), pp.54-55; W. Barclay (1960), Vol.1, pp.38-40; G.B. Caird (1966), pp.14-15; and C. Brütsch (1970), Vol.1, p.46.
[63] This position was later supported by Prigent (1988), p.17; Bauckham (1993), p.25; and DeSmidt (1994), p.229.
[64] See Aune, *Revelation: 1-5*, 34-5; Robert A. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, NIC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), pp.69-70; P. Joüon, 'Apocalypse, 1.4,' in *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, 21 (1931), p.487; G. H. Dix, 'The Seven Archangels and the Seven Spirits', *JThSt*28 (1927), pp.233-250.

as Kraft and Bauckham, while corroborating Schweizer's work on Spirit(s). [65] Further, Aune argues that the term 'spirits' (רוחות) are never used to refer to angels in the OT and the term rarely occurs as a synonym for angels in early Jewish apocalyptic writings.[66] However, he argues that in Qumran texts angels are commonly designated as 'spirits.' He posits that the phrase *rûhôt 'ĕlôhîm* ('spirits' of God) in Qumran literature[67] indicates that the term 'spirits' was synonymous with angels.[68]

In his discussion on *πνεῦμα*, Schweizer observes that angels and other servants of God – immortal heavenly beings – are commonly called 'spirits' in apocalyptic writings (*Jub* 1.25, 2.2, 15.31f; *1 En* 15.4, 6*ff*, 60.14-21; 61.12, 69.22; 75.5, 106.17; *T.Levi* 4.1; 2 *Ezra* 6.41).[69] Yet, it is Aune who draws the conclusion that modern scholarship has implicitly associated the seven 'spirits' (Rev. 1.4) with the Holy Spirit from the perspective of later trinitarianism.[70]

Freedom to Explore

In his recent study, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence*, Charles A. Gieschen pulled the 'coat-tails' of contemporary scholars by asserting the following:

> 'It is not a big step to go from angels identified as spirits to an Angel identified as *the* Spirit. Even as the Spirit could manifest itself in humans as a temporary or permanent indwelling, so it could manifest itself as an angel.'[71]

Just as the academic and theological communities have witnessed an increasing amount of studies on angel Christology,[72] with many

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[65] Also see Schweizer, '*πνευμα*', *TDNT*:6, p.375.
[66] See Aune's comments in *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.33-34. For use of 'spirits' as angels see *Jub* 1.25; 2.2; 15.31-32; *1 En* 12.2 'flying spirits,' 16.7 'the heavenly winds, and spirits and elements and flying angels,' 61.12 'spirit of light,' and 75.5 'spirit of dew.'
[67] See 4Q403 frg.1, 2.8, 9; 4Q404 5.5; 4Q405 6.7; 4Q405 frg.20, 2.21-22; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.8-9, 10; and 4QShirShabb 3-4.4.
[68] Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.35.
[69] See angels as immortal spirits (*1 En* 15.4, 6*f.*, 61.12, 106.17); elemental spirits with dominion over nature (*Jub* 2.2; *1 En* 60.14-21, 69.22, 75.5, *2 Ezra* 6.41), and fallen angels/spirits (*1 En* 15.4, 6.10, 106.13*f.*, 17).
[70] See Aune, *Revelation (1-5)*, p.33.
[71] See Charles A. Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology: Antecedents and Early Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p.116.
[72] Gieschen, *Angelomorphic Christology*, Crispin H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts: Angels, Christology and Soteriology*, WUNT:94 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1997); Loren Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, WUNT:70 (Tübingen: Mohr/Siebeck, 1995); Christopher C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1982); Peter R. Carrell, *Jesus and the angels: Angelology and the Christology of the Apocalypse of John*, SNTSMS:42 (Cambridge: CUP, 1981).

challenging established Christology surveys, it might be prudent to anticipate similar studies on angel Pneumatology.[73] Perhaps in the light of the accessibility of Qumran literature, contemporary works on angelology and recent assertions that confront a long-standing interpretation of Revelation 1.4, a study on the term 'spirits' in the Apocalypse of John is warranted.

In fact, we can safely acknowledge that a lacuna exists in previous scholarship. Studies thus far, particularly Bousset and Charles have explored the broader background of the ANE and its influence on biblical writings. This perhaps provides part of the explanation to John's use of 'spirits.' However, both of these major studies are pre-Qumran and present a gap in scholarship from Charles and Bousset to the present (Kraft, Bauckham, and Aune). Further, no current study presents a detailed analysis of the term 'spirits' and its application in the *DSS* or Jewish apocalypses from the 2nd temple period. In fact, the plural form of the term pneuma is generally avoided. Is this because scholars assume that exploration of the meaning of the singular term consequently supplies meaning to the plural use of the term? Or, does this denote a general avoidance to conduct word studies?

Arthur Sekki's research on 'spirit,' is one of the few word studies that also examine the plural form. However, his study excludes other apocalyptic literature from the 2nd temple period. While focused on the *DSS* manuscripts, his investigation is yet incomplete. His monograph, *The Meaning of Ruaḥ at Qumran*, does not include the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Mas 1k; 4Q400-408; 11Q14), the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511), and various other isolated texts recently published among the scrolls. Perhaps such an analysis today, which is more inclusive in considering apocalypses from the 2nd temple period and the *DSS* manuscripts, will provide fresh insight and invigorate biblical scholarship concerning John's meaning of the seven 'spirits.' This is the goal of this study.

Here we will seek to determine what John means by the seven 'spirits,' based on his use of the term *πνεύματα* in the Apocalypse, and by examining

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[73] See Loren T. Stuckenbruck, 'Worship and Monotheism in the Ascension of Isaiah', in Carey C. Newman, James R. Davila, and Gladys S. Lewis, eds., *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp.70-89; Charles A. Gieschen, 'The Angel of the Prophetic Spirit: Interpreting the Revelatory Experiences of the Shepherd of Hermas in Light of Mandate XI', in Eugene H. Lovering, Jr., ed.,

how the term can be interpreted in other apocalyptic writings. In the process, we will attempt to learn if John's writing depicts the influence of traditions preserved in other canonical and pseudepigraphic apocalypses, the *DSS*, as well as the teachings of the Qumran community as preserved in some of its writings. We will also provide a brief overview of Greco-Roman philosophical concepts. One question will direct our research endeavour: What is John's understanding of 'spirits' based on his use of the Greek term *πνεύματα* (1.4, 22.6) and the phrase *πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ* (3.1, 4.5, 5.6) in the Book of Revelation?

Methodology

The primary format of this investigation will be an exegetical and comparative word study of the term 'spirit(s)' within a traditio-historical context. This approach will allow us to examine the term within the religious, cultural and historical milieu of the apocalyptic texts we will examine, and will be employed as a component within the matrix of exegetical analysis.

Problems with Word Studies

It is difficult to read any modern discourse on biblical language, semantics or linguistics without encountering citations to James Barr's monograph, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*.[74] Barr's writing has been trumpeted as a 'major contribution to biblical studies'[75] drawing attention to problems associated with the translation of ancient biblical texts, such as special semantic developments, transculturation, and use of etymologies. Barr's study emphasises the need for the findings of theological and biblical studies to be supported by linguistic arguments that have been devised by the actual exegesis of texts, rather than the examination of the smaller linguistic unit of the word. He also sternly warns biblical scholars against importing general religious beliefs and reflections into translations.[76]

SBL 1994 Seminar Papers, One Hundred Thirtieth Annual Meeting (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), pp.790-803.
[74] (Oxford: OUP, 1961).
[75] Silva, *Biblical Words*, p18.
[76] Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language*, pp.107-160, esp. pp.117, 127.

Moisés Silva's monograph, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning,*[77] lends support to Barr and concisely highlights the five most common dangers associated with word studies: (1) Exaggerated use of etymological studies,[78] (2) illegitimate totality transfer,[79] (3) ignoring word use signified by modifiers such as prepositions, articles, or inflection,[80] (4) failure to examine semantically related words, and (5) confusion between the words and concepts.[81]

Peter Cotterell and Max Turner, who devote an entire chapter of the use and abuse of word studies in their book, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation,* give further support to these points.[82] They stress the potential for confusion of words and concepts in word studies[83] emphasising Barr's concerns regarding 'illegitimate identity transfer'[84] and 'illegitimate totality transfer.'[85] These two points hold particular significance for our study and must be kept in mind, especially as our study will examine the same word, within a variety of literature, by different authors, written over a period of several hundred years.

From this perspective, we also need to point out the findings presented in David Hill's monograph, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings,*[86] which also included a series of short word studies. Hill argued that certain terms such as *πνεῦμα* (רוח) are frequently used in New Testament writings with senses that are dependent upon their development in Hebraic, apocalyptic or Christian thought. Further, these words carry a relationship – between meaning and concept – into the sentences in which they are used. In this instance, I believe Hill argues for a certain level of interdependency between the meaning of words and the development of associative concepts. Cotterell and Turner

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[77] M. Silva, *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics* (Grand Rapids: Academie/Zondervan, 1983).
[78] Barr devotes an entire chapter to this topic in *Semantics*, pp.107-160, see esp. pp.158-160. Also see my notes in Chapter 3, p.75, n.265 and p.121, n.434.
[79] Also see Barr's discussion on 'illegitimate identity transfer' in *Semantics*, pp.218-219, 222, 235.
[80] See my discussions in Chapter 3: 4.1.2 A Battle Hymn (1QM 12.9), pp.167-168, esp. p.168.
[81] Barr, *Semantics*, pp.70-72.
[82] P. Cotterell and M. Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1989), pp.106-128.
[83] Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, esp. pp.116-119, 150-154.
[84] The assumption that two words that apply to the same referent (the idea or thing that a word symbolises) mean the same thing. Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, p.122. Also see Barr, *Semantics*, pp.218-219; Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp.25-26, 61; and J.P. Louw, *Semantics of New Testament Greek* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982), pp.39-42.
[85] The assumption that the same word can be read into every occurrence with the same meaning. See Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, pp.122-123. Also see Barr, *Semantics*, pp.222, 235, and my note in Chapter 2, p.61, n.215.
[86] David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge, CUP, 1966).

acknowledge Hill's findings in their study, conceding that there is indeed a definitive relationship between words and concepts. However, they urge those conducting word studies to avoid confusion between the two, and further stress the significance of context in determining word meaning.[87]

It is only under the proviso that these cautions are taken into account as seriously as possible that we feel capable of proceeding further. Two scholars, Eugene Nida and Johannes Louw, provide further insight into how such a study can be carefully undertaken.[88]

1. Avoid beginning the study of the term by giving a 'basic meaning.'[89]
2. Select a specific, fairly large, and illustrative set of occurrences of the term, and establish a tentative system of classification of the possible different meanings.[90]
3. Examine all the selected contexts in which the word is used in order to test the adequacy of all possible ranges of meaning.[91]
4. While it is preferable to examine fully the meaning of any one term by comparing it with the range of meanings of all other terms within the same domain, in actual practice this is difficult until all the possible meanings of a single word have first been analysed.[92]

These four points will form the practical basis for conducting our word study. Further, we again note our need for vigilance in heeding those cautions highlighted by Barr and Silva, as well as Cotterell and Turner which have been duly noted as indicated below in the sections entitled Examination of Contexts, Related Meanings and Domain, and Organisation of this Study.

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87 Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, pp.123-124.
88 See E.A. Nida and J.P. Louw, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), pp.39-44.
89 Nida and Louw write, 'It is a serious mistake to always begin with a so-called "basic meaning," (of a lexeme) because there may not even be such a core meaning.' See *Lexical Semantics*, p.39.
90 Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*, pp.39-40.
91 Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*, p.40.
92 Nida and Louw recommend adopting 'no more meanings than are completely necessary to account for the evidence...since the fewer the necessary categories or principles needed to explicate the data the more likely is the analysis to be correct.' See *Lexical Semantics*, pp.42-43.

The Term – 'Spirit(s)'

Several studies have been conducted on 'spirit(s).'[93] Unfortunately, inclusion of the plural form of the word (Gr. *πνεύματα*, or Heb. רוחות) and those texts which make use of it, have been neglected by previous research, even though the plural is an alternate form of the same term. Those few studies that include the plural form in their investigations are incomplete. [94] This represents a missed opportunity to explore the wider demensions of the term, linguistically speaking. And, as we are specifically interested in understanding what John means by the 'seven spirits,' it seems reasonable to examine the plural form of the term in isolation. This will give us an opportunity to build upon the findings of previous studies, which have examined the singular form without consideration of the plural. Consequently, throughout this study we will attempt to examine in detail those passages where we find citations of the plural form 'spirits.'

Selected Set of Occurrences

Although Revelation is an apocalypse, New Testament scholars frequently neglect examining this writing within the context of other Jewish apocalypses, particularly those writings outside the Old Testament. Therefore, this word study will pay special attention to the use and meaning of the term 'spirits' within texts shaped by an apocalyptic worldview. This may give us some insight as to whether John's understanding of 'spirits' was influenced by traditions present in the literature of other apocalyptic communities. It will

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[93] See Henry B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1909); P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes und die verwandten Erscheinungen im AT und im anschliessenden Judentum* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr/Paul Siebeck, 1910); E. DeWitt Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: Usage of πνεῦμα, Ψυχη, and σάρξ in Greek Writings and Translated Works from the Earliest Period to 225 C.E. and their Equivalents* רוח, נפש, *and* בשר *in the Hebrew Old Testament*, HLS:3 (Chicago: UOC, *rev. ed.*, 1913-1916); I.F. Wood, *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature: A Study in the History of Religion* (New York: A.C. Armstrong and Son, 1904); Eduard Schweizer, *Spirit of God* (London: Black, 1960); Daniel Lys, *Ruach, Le Souffle dans L'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962); Lloyd Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1972); C.F.D. Moule, *The Holy Spirit* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), and J. Levison, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997). For additional studies see F.W. Horn's bibliography on 'Holy Spirit,' in *ABD*:3, Dietlinde M. Elliott, trans. (1992), pp. 260-280.

[94] See Arthur E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, SBLDS (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) who examines the plural form in his study. However, his study is incomplete and does not include all writings among the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Gordon Fee includes the plural form in his study also, but only as it applies to demons. See *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994).

also allow us to establish contrasts and similarities in this literature as they relate to the term's meaning.[95]

This does not mean that I believe John wrote in isolation. Nor am I suggesting that other literary traditions, such as wisdom, prophetic, religious, historiographical and the writings that support them hold no influence in John's Apocalypse. Rather, for the purpose of this study, its literary constraints, and the practical guidelines we have endorsed for conducting this study, it is necessary to limit the texts for our review.

To date several major studies have been completed on apocalypses as a literary genre with varying degrees of consensus concerning how they should be defined.[96] John J. Collins headed a group of scholars who expanded on earlier studies of the genre by analyzing apocalypses from B.C.E. 250 to 250 C.E. In selecting writings to be included in our examination, we will refer to the following definition proposed by this team of scholars:

> '...a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial, insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.[97]

Examination of Contexts

Throughout the study we will attempt to examine the various ways in which the term 'spirits' is used in order to test the adequacy of all possible ranges of meaning, and to determine if there are meanings associated with the plural form, that are not typically attributed to the singular form.

However, frequently the singular form of the word – *πνεῦμα* (רוח) – is used with a plural meaning (*cf.* Ps 21.6; Prov 16.2; 25.13; Eccl 3.21; Isa 57.15; Jer 51.11; Ezek 1.21; 21.7; 10.17; Hag 1.14; *1 En* 98.7; *T.Sim* 5.1; 1QH 9.9; 1Q35 1, 1.3; 1QS 4.6; 5.21; 9.15; Matt 26.41, par. Mark 14.38; 1 John 4.1, 2, 3). It therefore stands to reason that when this occurs or no plural form of the term exists, we will attempt to examine the term in its singular form.

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[95] Nida and Louw identify this strategy as preferable in that it simply compares related meanings. See their comments, in *Lexical Semantics*, p.42.
[96] For a list of significant early studies see J.J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd ed., 1998), p.4, n.6.
[97] J.J. Collins, *Apocalypse: The Morphology of a Genre*, Semeia:14 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), p.9, and *The Apocalyptic Imagination*, p.5.

Related Meanings and Domain

Unfortunately, in this study we are unable to complete a comparative study of the term 'spirits' with the wide range of meanings of all other terms within the same domain. This is because all possible meanings of the word and its application within literature that express an apocalyptic worldview has yet to be fully analysed. It goes without saying that this creates another opportunity for future study and exploration at a later date.

Organisation of this Study

In Chapter Two, I will briefly review the development of the Hebraic concept of 'Spirit' in order to present a historical understanding of how the term might possibly be applied in the Hebrew bible. During this examination, I will also consider 'spirit(s)' in the Old Testament as defined by previous studies. Our word study will begin with a brief review of רוחות in the Torah. Then in the same chapter, I will examine רוחות and רוח in the prophetic writings of the OT, specifically focusing on apocalypses and apocalyptic sections imbedded within these writings. Throughout this chapter, I will endeavour to explore how OT writers employed the term and examine its meaning in various traditions preserved in the texts.

In Chapter Three, I will expand my literary survey to include pseudepigraphical apocalyptic writings from the 2nd temple period and the *DSS*. Here, I will also explore the meaning of 'spirits' within the religious and cultural traditions preserved in these writings. I am aware that the Qumran community did not compose several of the writings preserved among the *DSS*. However, this study presupposes that because the community preserved many of the manuscripts in multiple copies, and even integrated some into their compositions, this suggests the texts were of interest to them and therefore, worthy of our consideration. While my primary task will be to examine the meaning of 'spirits,' when possible I will also look at the potential for synonymity between 'spirits,' angels and demons, particularly in the *DSS*.

Our historical and literary findings in the first two chapters will inform our appraisal of the Christian understanding of 'spirits,' which we will examine in Chapter Four. For the purposes of this study we will work with the later date

(81-96 C.E.) as the most likely date of final composition for John's Apocalypse.[98] However, we also acknowledge that it is highly probable that the Revelation of John enjoyed a rich oral apocalyptic tradition that could date back to 60 C. E.[99] It is important to note that this study acknowledges that by the Common Era much of that which is received from biblical tradition is also being appropriated within an apocalyptic framework, even though the literature may not be an apocalypse. This study also presumes that John and his literary peers were familiar with early Jewish and Christian traditions in an oral, if not written form. Thus, while the Book of Revelation is the only apocalyptic book in the NT, at this point we will open our examination to include those NT writings prior to John's Apocalypse.

In Chapter Five, we will focus our attention on the meaning of 'spirits' in John's Apocalypse by examining his use of the term. In this chapter we will also draw upon what we have learnt about the term's meaning, and particularly how it is applied in other apocalyptic writings and traditions. Finally, we will present our conclusions in Chapter Six.

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[98] Revelation of John has consistently been dated in the latter half of the 1st century, between 64-96 C.E. For scholars who support the later date see D. Aune, *Revelation*, pp.lvi-lxx; H.B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of John*, Vols.1-2 (London:Westminster, 3rd ed., 1908), pp.xcix-cvi; R.H. Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.xci-xcvii; A. Yarbro Collins, *Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), pp.54-83; 'Book of Revelation' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.694-708; and U.B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984), pp.40-42.

[99] For scholars supporting an earlier date of 64-70 C.E. see J.B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays* (London: Macmillan, 1893), p.52; F.J.A. Hort, *The Apocalypse of John*, Vols.1-3 (London: Macmillan, 1908), p.x; and C. Rowland, *Revelation* (London: Epworth, 1997), p.17.

CHAPTER TWO
Spirit(s) in the Old Testament

Historical Review

The diverse use of 'spirit' in the Old Testament has been thoroughly examined by numerous biblical scholars,[100] and this study will not seek to duplicate their efforts. Rather, our goal is to determine John's understanding of 'spirit(s)' from the perspective of a 1st century Jewish-Christian.[101] Thus, it is necessary in our survey to examine religious texts and traditions that informed John's faith and influenced his understanding of 'spirit(s)' as used in the Apocalypse.

We will begin with a broad overview of ancient Jewish concepts on 'spirit(s)' before proceeding to examine specific citations of the term 'spirit(s).' Our review of רוחות will begin with the Torah, and then move to the prophetic writings of the OT. In the writings of the prophets we will specifically focus our attention on apocalypses and apocalyptic sections imbedded in those writings.

Throughout this study, we will attempt to limit our examination to the plural רוחות. However, because the term's singular form (רוח) may also have a plural meaning (*cf.* Ps 21.6; Prov 16.2; 25.13; Eccl 3.21; Isa 57.15; Jer 51.11; Ezek 1.21; 21.7; 10.17; Hagg 1.14), when no plural form exists we will examine the term's use in its singular form. In this Chapter we open our discussion by asking, 'What was the Jewish understanding of the word רוח? What

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[100] C. Briggs, 'The use of רוח in the Old Testament,' *JBL* (1900), pp.132-145; W. R. Schoemaker, 'The Use of Ruach in the Old Testament and *πνεῦμα* in the New Testament,' *JBL*:23 (1904), pp.13-67; L. Blau, 'Holy Spirit,' Vol.4 (1904), pp.447-450; .E. DeWitt Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: The Usage of Πνεῦμα, Ψυχή, and Σάρξ in Greek Writings and Translated Works from the Earliest Period to 225 C.E.; and their Equivalents* רוח, נפש, *and* בשר *in the Hebrew Old Testament.* (Chicago: UCP, *rev. ed.*, 1913-1916); J. Hehn, 'Zum Problem des Geistes im alten Orient und im Alten Testament,' *ZAW*:43 (1925), pp.13-67; S. Mowinckel, 'The Spirit and the Word in the Pre-Exilic Reforming Prophets,' *JBL*:53 (1934), pp.199-227; E. Bevan, *Symbolism and Belief* (London: George & Unwin, 1938); F. Baumgärtel, W. Bieder, and Erik Sjöberg, 'Spirit in the Old Testament,' in *TDNT*:6 (1968), pp.359-389; Lloyd Neve, *The Spirit of God in the Old Testament* (Tokyo: Seibunsha, 1972).

[101] A consensus exists among commentators supporting this approach: Aune, p.1.l; Barclay, p.14; Preston and Hanson, p.24. R.H. Charles, *A Critical & Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, Vol.1 (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1920), p.xxxix. *Cf.* Caird, *Revelation of St. John*, pp.3-5; supporting 'John the Apostle,' R. Mounce, *Revelation*, pp.26, 31; 'John the elder,' E.F. Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp.244, 277; supporting writers 'from the circle of John the Baptist,' J. Massyngberde Ford, *Revelation* (London: Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 1975), p.37.

associations existed in meaning between רוח and רוח? What Jewish traditions were formed concerning the relationship between Yahweh and 'spirit(s)'?

1. Concepts of 'spirit' and 'Spirit of God' in the Hebrew Bible

In Hebrew, the word most commonly used to denote the term 'spirit' is רוח which has multiple meanings in the OT. E. DeWitt Burton provides a thorough investigation of the term רוח in his monograph *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh* and provides considerable detail in displaying the diversity and range of meanings associated with the word in OT literature. Rooted in the ANE concept of wind, from its use as a term that refers to a gentle breeze, to its function as a term representing divine power or indicating the centre of human emotion and will, רוח displays a rich development through its various applications within Hebrew literature.

In its earliest context רוח referred to the 'wind' (2 Sam 22.11; 2 Kings 3.17; Job 8.2, Ps 1.4; 18.11, 43; Jer 2.24; Ezek 5.2, 10; Dan 2.35; Hos 4.19; Zech 5.9; Jon 1.4; 4.8) and its destructive nature (1 Kings 19.11; Ps 11.6; 55.9; Isa 11.15; Jer 4.11, 12; 22.22; 51.1; Ezek 1.4; 17.10; 27.26); this use is visible throughout various periods of Hebrew literature.[102] Additionally, in early OT writings רוח is used to express the breath of life in all creatures (Gen 6.17, 7.15, 22) and to convey the basic core of human emotions (Gen 41.8; Exod 6.9; 1 Sam 1.15; 2 Kgs 19.7). However, it is the charismatic depiction of רוח when associated with Yahweh and his power in ancient Hebrew texts that the term takes on an overwhelmingly meaning to describe Israel's personal encounter with God.

It has been suggested that from Israel's belief that Yahweh created all (Gen 1.1, 21, 27, 2.4, 5.1, 2; Deut 4.2, 32.6) arose the concept that Yahweh also controlled the winds and they proceeded from him (Exod 10.13, 15.10, 19; 2 Sam 22.16; אלהים Gen 8.1).[103] Thus, the רוח of Yahweh was not limited to exerting power over nature, it could also be seen exhibiting a powerful influence over human beings. In these instances, Hebrew literature records how Yahweh's רוח could affect or control individuals producing various psychical or physical effects, which in turn were observed by others. This

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[102] Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, pp.53-54.
[103] G.A. Wainwright, 'Some Aspects of Amūn,' in *JEA*:20 (1934), pp.139-153, esp. pp.144-145.

included an increase in physical strength, courage, and ecstatic behaviour (Judg 14.6, 19, 15.14; 1 Sam 16.13; אלהים 1 Sam 10.10, 19.20, 23). Just as the presence of Yahweh's רוח could affect the activities of others, its absence or departure could also induce emotional side effects (1 Sam 16.14; 1 Kgs 22.24). Of course, one of the most notable characteristics of associated with Yahweh's רוח was the inducement of prophetic speech (2 Sam 23.2; 1 Kgs 22.24; *par.* 2 Chr 18.23; 24.20; אלהים Num 24.2;). Thus, the meaning of רוח at times represents the power and majesty of God visible in the world – God interacting with and through his creation.[104]

In Yahweh's רוח Israel perceived her god as being actively present in the world and human history. Through his 'spirit' he exercised power and authority over his people and creation (Exod 15.7-8). Neve identifies the use of רוח in "The Song of Miriam" as a pertinent example of Israel's early attempt to distinguish Yahweh from among the 'wind' and 'storm' gods existing in the surrounding polytheistic cultures.[105] He contends that while Israel clearly recognizes the wind as a cosmic element (Exod 14.21), it is not an instrument manipulated by Yahweh or a lesser deity working as a divine assistant. Rather, the wind is the רוח of Yahweh.

Perhaps the wind's powerful nature or its intangible presence[106] stimulated Israel's association of the wind with the activities of Yahweh encouraged early writers to describe this activity as his רוח. Several early passages depict the רוח of Yahweh operating in ways analogous to those generally associated with the wind (1 Kin 18.12; 2 Kin 2.16; אלהים Gen 1.2). Or, as Neve suggests perhaps Israel's comprehension of the רוח of Yahweh came 'through (divine) revelation.'[107] If so, even Neve must acknowledge that Israel may have been preconditioned to understand the term רוח as a way of defining Yahweh's active presence in Israel's world. Neve simply attributes this awareness to Israel's 'acquaintance with the divine wind as it existed in the

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[104] Baumgärtel, Bieder, and Sjöberg, 'Spirit,' p.365.
[105] Neve identifies Marduk and Amon. See *Spirit*, p.9.
[106] Baumgärtel, Bieder, and Sjöberg, 'Spirit,' p.55. Neve argues against in *Spirit*, pp.6-13.
[107] Neve, *Spirit*, p.13.

world' during her formative years as a nation.[108] He convincingly argues that Israel's awareness of the divine רוח was not derived at anthropomorphically.[109]

In fact, Neve speculates that the early Genesis writers appear cognizant of a pagan usage of the term[110] and deliberately avoid using רוח entirely in the creation narrative (Gen 2.7).[111] If Israel was in fact preconditioned for this revelatory understanding and development of רוח and its meaning when associated with Yahweh, as his active presence in her world, which experience in Israel's history stimulated this understanding? Was the interactive presence of Yahweh's divine רוח (as breath, wind, or power) the only mode of self-revelation to Israel? Or, did Yahweh's worshippers discern his presence in other cosmic activities?

1.1 *Yahweh's Divine Presence*

Theophanies in OT writings record visual accounts of Yahweh's self-revelation to individuals and the nation of Israel. The word כבוד literally translates 'weightiness,' but carries with it a sense of power and reputation within the community-at-large. Often translated as 'glory' or 'presence' when used in connection with Yahweh, the '*kābōd* of Yahweh '(כבוד יהוה) is particularly associated with traditions concerning the Exodus (Exod 13.20-22, 14.19), Yahweh's self-revelation at Sinai (Exod 19.17-20), and the tabernacle (Exod 33.9, 10; Num 12.5; Deut 31.15) as legitimate expressions of Yahweh's presence among his people.[112]

Typically, these theophanies are recorded with verbs that denote 'seeing' such as ראה (to see), a verb frequently used in accounts given by Israel's prophets. [113] This can be interpreted as Yahweh allowing himself to be seen, or

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[108] Neve, *Spirit*, p.13.
[109] Comprehensive study given by Daniel Lys, *Ruach, Le Souffle dans L'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), *esp.* pp.335-348.
[110] Neve dismisses any correlations, 'Yahweh does not pervade the universe as wind in the natural world or as breath in the nostrils of every creature,' *Spirit*, p.12. Hehn reviews Egyptian and Mesopotamian texts on 'wind' and 'breath,' see 'des Geistes,' pp.216-225.
[111] Neve, *Spirit*, pp.12, 58-59. Neve considers both Gen 6.3 and 2.7 as transitional texts. He argues that during Israel's 'exilic renaissance' (593-460 B.C.E.) new meanings were attributed to the 'spirit' as the agent of creation and the representation of God's presence (Gen 1.2). He includes the writings of the Priestly source, Second Isaiah, and Ezekiel in this period.
[112] J.F. Kutsko, *Between Heaven and Earth: Divine Presence and Absence in the Book of Ezekiel* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2000), p.79.
[113] James Barr, 'Theophany and Anthropomorphism in the Old Testament,' in *VTSuppl*7 (Leiden: Brill, 1969), p.31-38, see esp. p.32.

at the very least allowing his presence to be detected by his followers. However, these manifestations resemble meteorological and cosmic phenomena including clouds, fire, smoke, thunder and lightning (Exod 19.16-19, 20.18-21, 24.16-18; Num 9.15-23, 14.14; Deut 1.33; Ps 78.14). The primary imagery depicted is fire enveloped in a cloud or pillar of smoke.

In Exodus 16.10, Aaron and the children of Israel observe the 'presence of Yahweh' *in* the cloud. Thus, Yahweh's presence during the Exodus and wilderness experience is associated with the cloud. Israel is led by the cloud (Exod 13.21-22, 40.36-37; Num 9.17-18, 20-21,22, 14.14; Deut 1.33) and shielded by the cloud (Exod 14.19, 20). Anthropomorphic features are attributed to Yahweh in the cloud: Yahweh speaks out of the cloud (Exod 24.16, 33.9; Num 11.25), looks out (Exod 14.24) and issues divine judgement from the cloud (Num 12.10). Yahweh (Exod 34.5; Num 11.25, 12.5) and his glory (Exod 24.16, 40.34-35, Num 16.42; Deut 31.15) descend in the cloud, and stand in the cloud (Num 12.5). The children of Israel prostrate themselves and worship Yahweh when the cloud is present (Exod 33.10), providing a clear demonstration that the Israelites associated the cloud (ענן) with the divine presence of Yahweh.[114] The 'glory of Yahweh' (כבוד יהוה) is also associated with the tabernacle (Exod 40.34-36, 38; Num 9.15-22), the mercy seat (Lev 16.2), and the Jerusalem temple (1 Kgs 8.11; Ps 26.8). Further, the phrase and its meteorological imagery is present in prophetic writings (Isa 4.5; Ezek 1.28, 3.12, 23, 8.4, 9.3, 10.4, 18, 19, 11.22, 23, 28.22, 39.13, 21, 43.2, 4, 5, 44.4).

Some biblical scholars suggest that Yahweh's manifestation in the 'pillar of cloud' was to 'reveal and conceal' his divine presence.[115] Others speculate that this sense of 'hiddenness' was associated with the Priestly cult (Lev 9.6, 23),[116] and was appropriated by Israel from surrounding pagan theologies typically associated with ANE storm gods.[117] Regardless of its origin, the 'pillar of cloud' imagery in Hebrew writings depict Yahweh as a deity who is visibly present among his people, and yet his form is hidden from their view.

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[114] See 1 Kings 8.10-11; *par.* 2 Chr 5.13-14.
[115] Barr, 'Theophany,' p.35; G. Mendenhall, *The Tenth Generation* (Baltimore: 1973), pp.32-66.
[116] Kutsko, *Heaven and Earth*, p.80; M. Haran, 'The Divine Presence in the Israelite Cult,' *Bib*50 (1969), pp.251-267, esp. p.256.
[117] H. W. Haussig, ed., *Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient, WbMyth*, Vol.1 (1965); P.D. Miller, 'Fire in the Mythology of Canaan and Israel,' *CBQ*.27 (1965), pp.256-261, esp. see pp.256-259. For

1.1.1 Fire – Fire is frequently used in the OT to express Yahweh's judgement on earth. Throughout Hebrew literature fire imagery is associated with Yahweh 's wrath, and judgement. Yahweh descends in fire (Exod 19.18), his words are like fire (Jer 5.14, 23.39), and are a 'devouring fire' (Deut 4.24). Yahweh spews smoke from his nostrils and fire from his mouth (2 Sam 22.9; Ps 18.9), while his angels have eyes that are as 'lamps of fire' (Dan 10.6). Yahweh kindles fire with his breath (Isa 30.33), for his breath is a stream of brimstone (Isa 33.11) and consuming fire (Isa 65.5); his anger burns like fire (Jer 15.14; Hos 8.5) and is poured out like fire (Nah 1.6). Yahweh controls fire (Ezek 33.9; Hos 8.14; Amos 1.4, 7, 10, 12, 2.2, 5) for fire and flames are his ministers (Ps 104.4). Yahweh rains down brimstone and fire (Gen 19.24) and sends fire (Exod 9.24; Num 11.1-3, 16.35; Lev 10.2). According to Israel's prophets, Yahweh purifies (Isa 43.2), refines (Jer 6.29; Mal 3.2) and destroys (Isa 5.24) by fire. Even Yahweh's throne is 'flames of fire' with wheels 'burning fire' (Dan 7.9), as are heavenly chariots (2 Kgs 2.11; 6.17).

Only in the Exodus tradition is fire an indication of the abiding, protective presence of Yahweh (13.21, 22, 19.18, 24.17, 40.38; Deut 1.33, 4.11-12, 15). Yahweh's use of fire as a plague (Exod 9.23-24) and tactical weapon against the Egyptians (Exod 14.24-25) makes a credible statement regarding his superiority in protecting his people over and against the power of the Egyptians and their gods. Further, the fact that Israel has seen the fire of Yahweh's presence and lived (Deut 5.24, 26) is a testimony to Israel's preferential status.

1.1.2. Thunder and Lightning – Thunder and lightning are additional cosmic phenomena typically associated with the divine presence of Yahweh. The power of the thunderstorm (Exod 19.16-20; Ps 18.7-15) and other meteorological occurrences (Lev 9.23-24, Exod 16.10, 19.16, 20.1824.16-18, 40.34-38) were the primary mode of Yahweh's public self-manifestations.[118] While thunder symbolises the voice of Yahweh (Deut 5.22; 2 Sam 22.14; Ps 13.18, 29.3-9, 77.18, 104.7; Ecc 45.5) lightning is considered his warrior weaponry – spears

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arguments against Yahweh as a storm god, see V. Hamp, 'אֵשׁ, Fire,' in *TDOT*:1 (1974), pp.423-428, esp. p.428.

[118] Kutsko, *Heaven and Earth*, p.80; and Hamp, 'אֵשׁ 'ēsh; אִשָּׁה 'ishsheh,' pp.425-426.

and arrows (Ps 18. 14, Nah 3.3; Zech 9.14). Descriptions of the heavenly throne (Ezek 1.4-28) also include the imagery of thunder and lightning displaying Yahweh's majesty and power. Likewise on earth they symbolise Yahweh's strength and might (1 Sam 7.10; Job 26.14; Isa 29.6), as well as his governance over natural forces (Job 28.2; Jer 10.13).

Much debate surrounds the question of Yahweh's inclusion among the ranks of ANE storm deities. However, the general consensus is this cannot be the case because the imagery of storm theophanies associated with Yahweh is depicted in such a way whereby the meteorological phenomena appear only as symbols of his deeds.[119] In other words, Yahweh does not become thunder or lightening, rather they are signs of his divine presence and activity in the world.

1.2 *Conclusion – Divine presence or manifold forms*

Our analysis has initially determined that within OT literature various meteorological elements are used to describe Yahweh's presence and activity in the world. While the wind is frequently symbolised as the רוח of Yahweh, clouds are the כבוד of Yahweh, while fire and thunder are also associated with manifestations of Yahweh's presence. It is universally acknowledged among modern scholars that religious traditions that depicted gods as meteorological elements or divine instruments were prevalent among ANE cultures. The fact that these concepts were accessible to the ancient Hebrews during their wanderings and early settlement in Canaan requires no debate. Thus, there is little doubt that Israel assimilated various components of religious practices from neighbouring cultures.

Traditions associated with the Exodus account emphasise Yahweh's self-revelation and manifestation to his people as divine warrior, protector, and rescuer. However, Yahweh's presence was highlighted by his 'hiddenness.' In the 'pillar of cloud' Yahweh remains present, yet concealed. This corresponds with what we have already stated concerning Yahweh's Spirit.

Just as the term רוח was used to describe the power and majesty of Yahweh visible in the world, other elements, particularly fire and clouds

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[119] Hamp, 'אש 'ĕsh; אשה 'ishsheh,' *esp.* p.428; and Wainwright, 'Amūn,' p.138.

symbolise his cosmic role as creator and ruler of the universe.[120] These writings depict that the term רוח expressed how Israel perceived God as being actively present in the world and human history. Through his רוח Yahweh exercised power and authority over humanity. Yahweh is believed to control the destiny of his human creation in liberating his followers and destroying those who opposed his divine will (Exod 15.7-8). By his רוח Yahweh speaks through his messengers (Num 11.25; 2 Sam 23.2; *par* 2 Chr 18.23; Joel 2.28).

As wind, רוח symbolises the power and might of Yahweh in very much the same way as other cosmic elements, particularly fire and clouds. These meteorological elements, like the wind, are under Yahweh's control as weapons that destroy or cosmic coverings that shield and protect. Thus, Israel's comprehension of רוח was fluid yet static in that the term was also used to refer to the presence of Yahweh. This brief overview gives only a glimpse at the developmental stages of Israel's conception of Yahweh and 'spirit(s).' However, it reveals that the ancients believed they could detect Yahweh's presence. Further, the ancients believed that Yahweh allowed this to occur as a mode of self-revelation. Thirdly, it is likely that personal experience or cultural traditions, such as the Exodus and temple cult, 'preconditioned' and inspired these perceptions. As we proceed, we will examine specific texts to better understand the role of 'spirits' in OT literature.

'Spirits' in the Torah

The term 'spirits' only occurs three times in the Torah (Num 16.22, 27.16; Deut 18.11), with the plural form of רוח (רוחות)[121] found only in the Book of Numbers. Neither Neve nor Burton examines these texts in their analyses. However, for us the term carries great significance as this study seeks to determine John's understanding of 'spirits' and if his writing reflects the possible influence of other biblical or apocalyptic traditions.

In one of the three texts identified (Deut 18.11) the Hebrew word ידעני occurs which is frequently translated familiar 'spirits.' In ancient Israel, an אוב was believed to have access to ידעני from which hidden information could be

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[120] Baumgärtel, 'Spirit,' p.365.
[121] The plural occurs a total of 11 times throughout the Old Testament (1 Chr 9.24; Ps 104.4; Prov 16.2; Jer 49.36; Ezek 37.9, 42.20; Dan 7.2, 8.8, 11.4; Zech 2.10, 6.5).

obtained. Because the dead were believed to have revelatory insight that was unavailable to the living, their 'spirits' were consulted and queried in lieu of alternative sources, i.e. prophets or the Urim and Thummim. Thus, if one knew the name of the deceased person being contacted, their spirit could be petitioned to provide guidance into particular situations.[122] In 1 Kings 28.3-25, Saul uses a medium to contact the spirit of Samuel for advice regarding his impending battle against the Philistines. Prohibitions were established against this form of necromancy, practice of the art was banned, and contact with or use of persons who conducted such practices was looked upon unfavourably by Israel's priests and prophets (Lev 19.31, Deut 18.14; 1 Sam 28.3; 2 Kgs 21.6 20.6; Isa 2.6; Jer 27.9; Mic 5.12).

2. Yahweh and 'spirits'

In the two remaining passages (Num 16.22; 27.16) the plural form of רוח is used in the phrase '...God of the spirits of all flesh.' While the phase can be located in later Jewish literature (2 Macc 3.24, 14.46;[123] *Jub* 10.3),[124] in the Torah its use is primarily confined to the Priestly source.

2.1 *'Spirits of all Flesh'* (Num 16.22; 27.16)

Initially, it appears to be unclear if the phrase 'spirits of all flesh' is intended to represent human 'spirits,' animals, or both. Biblical commentators suggest that within the context of Korah's rebellion (Num 16.22) and the transfer of leadership to Joshua (27.16), the phrase undoubtedly is meant to identify God as the creator of human life.[125] However, a similar use of the phrase appears in the Priestly version of the Flood Narrative (Genesis 6-8). Here the phrase 'of all flesh' appears twice in context with רוח (Gen 6.17, 7.15).[126] In the Flood Narrative there appears to be little room for debate for it is clear

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[122] For additional background see G.J. Botterweck and J. Begman, 'רוח' *TDOT*:5 (1986), pp.448-481.
[123] While 2 Maccabees was originally written in Greek, scholars agree it is a Jewish writing, although some contest Jason of Cyrene, a Jewish historian as its author. See R. A Stewart, 'Books of Maccabees,' in *ISBE*:3, pp.200-205, *esp.* p.203.
[124] P. J. Budd, *Numbers*, WBC:5 (Dallas: Word Books, 1984), p.188.
[125] Budd, *Numbers*, p.188. *Cf.* J. Milgrom, *Numbers*, JPS (New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990), pp.135, 234; Tg. *Neof. Tg.Ps.-J* is especially specific with '...O God, who put the spirit of life in the bodies of mankind and from whom is given the spirit to all flesh...'
[126] Genesis 6.17, '...of all flesh in which (is) a living spirit.' Genesis 7.15, '...of all flesh in which (is) a living spirit.'

that the phrase 'of all flesh' is intended to represent humans and animals alike.[127] Likewise, the covenant is established between God and humans, as well as with every living creature (9.9-11), including animals.

In the narrative of Korah's rebellion (Num 16.22), Moses and Aaron petition Israel's god (אל אלהים) to distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. Several legendary narratives exist in Israel's patriarchal history from which the Priestly source could draw to illustrate Yahweh's displeasure with human sin and rebellion, and the divine destruction that follows, i.e., the Flood Narrative, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, as well as the Exodus. However, it is in the Flood Narrative where we find similar language in connection with רוח. In this account, Israel's god alone determines who will live and who will die, with use of the term רוח establishing an inclusio within the narrative. The introduction of the narrative (Gen 6.3) could be interpreted to mean that Yahweh anticipates the removal of his רוח from humans. [128] Alternatively, in the conclusion (8.1) God (אלהים) causes a great רוח to abate the waters and bring forth land. If this interpretation is correct, then it appears that while the Priestly source acknowledges that 'spirit' of some form or fashion exists in all flesh as an external display of life, Yahweh's 'spirit' (6.3) only dwells in or with humans.

In the second passage (Num 27.16), Moses calls upon Yahweh[129] to distinguish a person from among the congregation to lead Israel for the remainder of her journey. A leader is needed so that Israel will not be led astray or fall into dangerous mishap (27.17). Thus, in each instance, God alone is being asked to determine Israel's destiny, life or death.

The phrase 'of all flesh' is also cited in Deuteronomy 5.26. In this section (5.22-6.3), Moses recalls the Sinai theophany when Yahweh spoke to the people of Israel from 'out of the fire.' The word רוח does not occur in

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[127] U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, Vol.2, Israel Abrahams, trans. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press/The Hebrew University, 1974), pp.54-67, 'all flesh... includes all living things' based on early rabbinic legends that spoke of the corruption of humans, as well as the animal creatures. G. J. Wenham, *Genesis: 1-15*, WBC:1 (Dallas: Word Books, 1987), pp.174, 182. See *Tg. Neof.* and *Tg.Ps.-J.*, on Genesis, display later rabbinic support for this interpretation.

[128] Although, this depends on how the verb דין is translated. The verb דין has a range of meaning which include 'to dwell,' 'to abide,' 'to strive,' or 'to contend.' Further, it is unclear if it means to dwell or contend 'with' or 'against.'

[129] Levine argues for interchangeable use of Yahweh and El as a synthesis of the two, distinguishing the early development of biblical monotheism through absorption. See *Numbers: 1-20*, p.415.

conjunction with the phrase 'of all flesh.' However, the content of Moses' narrative is yet consistent with that posited later by the Priestly source in Genesis – Israel has experienced an audible and visual encounter with Yahweh and lived! Israel has heard Yahweh's voice and witnessed his presence. If this is not the context in which Moses' statement is to be taken, what would be the significance of Israel's experience?

2.2 *Conclusion*

It is reasonable to assume that in Numbers (16.22, 27.16) and Deuteronomy (5.26), the Priestly source illustrates Yahweh's role as the divine giver of life, and also as the one who determines how and when life will end. From this perspective, the phrase 'the God of the spirits of all flesh' may be an etymological evolution culminating as a divine title for Yahweh. The title is one that acknowledges Yahweh's divine providence over *all* life forms, humans and animals alike. Thus, Israel's time in the wilderness serves as a significant event within the religious and cultural experience which informs her understanding of the רוח of Yahweh and 'spirits'. Yahweh's רוח is Yahweh's active presence exercising complete power and authority over all creation – the cosmic elements, as well as the 'spirits' of all human and animal life. Whether or not this interpretation of רוח remains consistent in pseudepigraphic or New Testament texts will be determined when we examine these later.

Spirit(s) in the Apocalyptic Writings of the Prophets

In our review thus far we have learned that רוח was frequently associated with the presence of God, as was the כבוד. While God's כבוד was often described using verbs of seeing such as ראה, the רוח of God was associated with verbs that meant 'to rush' (צלח, Judg 14.6, 19; 15.14; 1 Sam 10.6, 10, 13) or 'to be' (הוה, Num 24.2; Judg 3.10; 11.29; 1 Sam 19.20; 19,23; 2 Chr 15.1) upon certain individuals, or even 'to clothe' (לבש, Judg 6.34; 2 Chr 24.20) them. Further, those who experienced Yahweh's רוח prophesied (Num 11.25-26; 1 Sam 10.6, 10; 19.20, 23). Thus, there is no surprise to find ראה frequently used[130] to describe an authentic prophet of God receiving oracles (Isa 6.1; Ezek 1.1, 2.9,

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[130] Other verbs of seeing include ידע (to know, see), לבב (become intelligent, *Niphal*), חזה (to see, behold), and the interjection הנה(see, behold).

8.2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 15, 10.1, 9, 11.1, 40.2, 43.3; Dan 10.7-8, 16; Jer 1.11, 12, 13). In the narrative on the oracles of Balaam (Num 23-24) we find an example of Yahweh's Spirit inducing authentic prophecy (24.2-9). Moses declares as much in Num 11.29, drawing a direct correlation between prophets and Yahweh's Spirit in the books of the Torah. This tradition finds support in OT literature where the manifestations of Yahweh's Spirit include ecstatic frenzy accompanied by prophecy (1 Sam 10.6, 10, 19.20, 23; 2 Sam 23.2). In these instances, it appears that prophecy is a response to Yahweh's רוח falling upon certain individuals.

At this point in our study it is necessary to reiterate that our analysis is concerned with understanding John's perspective on 'spirit(s)' (Heb. רוח, רוחות) as depicted in his Apocalypse. As a Jewish-Christian, John – so our assumption – would have been familiar with Jewish traditions later preserved in its literature. John calls his writing prophecy (Rev 1.3), and Revelation is frequently categorised among the ancient literary genre called 'apocalypse.' As mentioned in Chapter One, John's Apocalypse displays characteristics of both literary genres.

For the purpose of this study, it seems prudent to focus our attention on prophetic writings in the OT which are apocalypses or have apocalyptic sections. Our assumption is that John would have been familiar with the traditions present in these texts, if not the writings themselves.

Taking into consideration Collins' definition of apocalypses mentioned in this study, we can further define apocalyptic sections as smaller units embedded in writings that would otherwise be considered non-apocalyptic, yet the sections within these texts display characteristics typically associated with apocalypses. These characteristics include symbolism, heavenly journeys, otherworldly visions and beings, the revelation of hidden knowledge, dualism, eschatological future, cosmology, or an *angelus interpres*. [131] There are four prophetic books in the OT in which many of these characteristics are present – Isaiah (chapters 24-27, 34-35, 56-66), Ezekiel (chapters 40-48), Zechariah

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[131] J.H. Charlesworth, 'Introduction,' in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature & Testaments* (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp.3-4; Paul D. Hanson, 'Apocalypses and Apocalypticism: The Genre,' in *ABD*:1 (1992), pp.279-280.

(chapters 9-14), and Daniel.[132] A full-scale study of these sections is well beyond the scope of this analysis. Thus, we will limit our review to those sections with passages containing the term 'spirits.'

The term רוחות occurs eleven times in the OT (1 Chr 9.24; Ps 104.4; Prov 16.2; Jer 49.36; Ezek 37.9; 42.20; Dan 8.8; 11.4; Zech 2.6, 10; 6.5). In 1 Chronicles we find a rare application of the term used to refer to directional points (*cf.* Jer 52.23).[133] We find a similar use in the books of Jeremiah (49.36), Zechariah (2.6) and Ezekiel (37.9) where רוחות occurs in a metonym denoting the 'four winds of heaven' (*cf.* Dan 7.2).

In Psalm 104.4, the writer uses the imagery of the divine theophany in this psalm of praise that acknowledges Yahweh as divine creator. Yahweh is the one who rides on the clouds and commands the elemental forces of nature.[134] In this instance, רוחות are frequently interpreted as celestial beings[135] due to the writer's use of מלאך which is either translated messengers or angels. We find similar language in Zechariah (6.5) where the author writes of the 'four winds (or 'spirits') of heaven' who present themselves before God. While some scholars interpret the רוחות as cardinal points of the compass (*cf.* Jer 49.36; Zech 2.6),[136] others refer to the ambiguity associated with רוחות, concluding the 'spirits' are the 'spirits of Yahweh' representing his active presence in the world.[137]

Finally, in Proverbs (16.2) רוחות represents the human spirit, especially that aspect of moral and religious conscious whereby personal judgement is influenced by the dictates of human desires. [138] It is possible that here רוחות is a metonym for the human heart[139] as well as the motivations that influence human judgement and behaviour (*cf.* 21.2; 24.12). There are three remaining

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[132] J.H. Charlesworth, 'Introduction,' in *OTP*, p.3. Charlesworth also identifies NT works (Mk 13, *par.* 1 Thess 4; and 1 Cor 15) as apocalyptic.
[133] See Burton, *Spirit, Soul, Flesh*, p.54.
[134] Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, WBC:21, *WBC* (Dallas: Word Books, 1983), p.45.
[135] See C.A. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1909), p. 332; A.A. Anderson, *Psalms: Vol.2*, NCB (London: Oliphants, 1972), p.718; and William B. VanGemeren, *Psalms*, EBC:5 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), p.659. Also see Burton who argues for רוחות as 'winds,' *Spirit*, p.54; and Ellen F. David, *Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs*, WC (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 2000), p.101.
[136] For early arguments see Hinckley G. Mitchell, John M.P. Smith, and Julius A. Bewer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, *2nd ed.*, 1937, 1912), although they conclude that figuratively the 'winds' are the agents of Yahweh, p.179.
[137] Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC:32 (Waco: Word Books, 1984), pp.213-215.
[138] Roland E. Murphy, *Proverbs*, WBC:22 (Dallas: Word Books, 1998), p.120.

verses containing the word רוחות (Ezek 42.20; Dan 8.8; 11.4) that require our examination. We will consider these during our review of the books of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Zechariah and Daniel.

3. Spirit(s) in the Book of Isaiah

The Book of Isaiah contains three sections - First-Isaiah (chapters 1-39), Second-Isaiah (chapters 40-55),[140] and Third-Isaiah (chapters 56-66).[141] Contained within First-Isaiah is an early example of apocalyptic literature referred to by scholars as the 'Little Apocalypse' (chapters 24-27).[142] Another smaller section (34.1-35.10) called 'little apocalypse' also displays apocalyptic language and imagery similar to that found in the 'Little Apocalypse.'[143] There are two verses that include the word to רוח in these sections (26.9; 34.16). In 19.3, we find both רוח and אבות. As אבות can also be translated 'spirits,' we will examine this text for the sake of clarity. The word רוחות does not occur, however, the term רוח is cited twice in the apocalyptic sections of First-Isaiah (26.9; 34.16). Therefore, we will briefly examine these verses as well.

The writer of Second-Isaiah refers to רוח in several instances (40.13; 42.1, 5; 44.3; 48.16). However, Second Isaiah is not part of the apocalyptic genre. As we are attempting to limit our study to apocalyptic writings or sections, Second Isaiah will not be considered in our survey. Third-Isaiah is an apocalypse (chapters 56-66) and רוח is used frequently (57.15, 16, 59.19, 21, 61.1, 3, 63.10, 11, 14, 65.14, 66.2). We will examine those sections that include the word רוח.

At this point, I must reiterate that my goal is not to duplicate previous research conducted on 'spirit(s).' Rather, I am draw from what has been done previously, while focusing primarily on רוחות. Of course, in those instances where no citations to the plural form of the term exist, it is prudent for us to examine the singular form - רוח. Our focus on apocalypses presupposes that John, as an apocalyptic writer may have been familiar with teachings and traditions present in Jewish apocalypses, as well as the traditions and literature of other apocalyptic communities. Further, while I am primarily interested in

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[139] Allen P. Ross argues this point in *Proverbs*, EBC:5, Frank E. Gaebelein, ed., (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), p.1002.
[140] Also called Deutero-Isaiah.
[141] Also called Trito-Isaiah.
[142] William R. Millar, 'Isaiah 24-27 (Little Apocalypse)' *ABD*:3 (1992), pp.438-490.
[143] Christopher R. Seitz, 'Book of Isaiah,' *ABD*:3 (1992), pp.472-488.

determining John's understanding of 'spirits,' I am also seeking to determine if and how earlier applications of the term in apocalyptic writings may have influenced his understanding. Thus, our survey of 'spirit(s)' in Isaiah will include 19.3; 26.9; 34.16; 57.15, 16, 59.19, 21, 61.1, 3, 63.10, 11, 14, 65.14, and 66.2.

3.1 *'Spirit(s)' in First Isaiah* (19.3; 26.9; 34.16)

Thus far our study has examined רוח in early Hebrew literature as it applies to the 'spirits' of living creatures. The writers of Isaiah refer to רוח twice in this section. However, there are no verses that include the plural form – רוחות. Does the writer of First Isaiah deviate in his or her understanding of 'spirits' based on its use in the Torah? There is strong consensus among scholars that רוח in 26.9 represents the human spirit,[144] or what E.D. Burton calls 'the spirit of man.'[145] Thus, there appears little need to explore this text further.

3.1.1 'Spirit(s)' in the Oracle Against Egypt (19.1-15) – Both Burton and Neve classify First Isaiah's use of רוח in 19.3 as the 'spirit of man.'[146] However, the presence of both רוח and אוב in this oracle necessitate a closer examination of this prophetic indictment. Commentary translations differ:

> 'Egypt's spirit will be poured out and voided, I will confound their plans. They will consult the idols, the spirits of the dead, the shades and the ghosts,'[147]
>
> 'And, the Egypt*ians'* spirit will *melt in their bowels*, and I will *annihilate their wise men*, and they will inquire of *idols* and sorcery and oracles and *necromancy*;' *Tg.Isa.*
>
> 'The spirit of the Egyptians is poured out within them and its strategy I swallow up. They seek out the nonentities and the spiritualists, the mediums and familiar spirits.'[148]

These translations appear to infer that in this verse רוח represents the human spirit, the centre of emotion within the Egyptian people. There appears to be little doubt that אוב indicates familiar 'spirits' – those activities associated with contacting the dead or evil, possibly pagan 'spirits' for prophetic insight or

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[144] J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, AB (London: The Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 2000), pp.366, 370; B.D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), p.51; J.D. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, WBC:24 (Waco: Word Books, 1985), p.336; J.F.A. Sawyer, *Isaiah*, Vol.1 (Edinburgh: St. Andrew Press, 1984), p.217; R.B.Y. Scott, *Book of Isaiah: Chapters 1-39*, IB (New York: Abingdon, 1956), p.307. Neve calls this the 'human *rûaḥ*' throughout his study, *Spirit of God*.

[145] Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, pp.58-59. H. Wildberger calls it the *'ich in der Totalität meiner Persönlichkeit'* in *Jesaja* (Neukirchener Verlag: Siegried Herrmann und Hans Walter Wolff), p.988.

[146] Burton, *Spirit, Soul, and Flesh*, p.59; also see Neve, *Spirit*, p.136.

[147] Translation from J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1-39*, AB, p.33.

[148] Translation from J.D. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33*, WBC:24 (Waco: Word Books, 1985), p.248

access to hidden knowledge. Hence, we find familiar 'spirits' linked with other acts of divination and idolatry. A close examination of the use of רוח suggests the crucial question is whether the writer is referring to the רוח of the Egyptian people, an Egyptian idol or its representative. A literal translation of the text offers little clarity:

> And emptied out has been in its midst the spirit of Egypt. And its counsel I swallow up, and they have sought unto the idols, and unto the charmers, and unto those having familiar spirits, and unto the wizards.[149]

The Hebrew text reveals a very carefully worded statement. First, the form of the verb בקק (to empty) follows the grammatical convention whereby the verb's singular or plural ending conforms to that of the noun ending, in this case מצרים (Egypt, Egyptian). However, מצרים is an inclusive noun, which even in a singular context could indicate people, land or both. In the Hebrew language cities and territories are most often feminine. So this does not resolve our query. Two other significant nouns appear in the phrase. The noun קרב (midst, inner part) is a construct meaning '*his* midst' or '*his* inner part,' as does עצה (counsel or purpose). From this perspective, a more natural translation of the text is such:

> 'And, the spirit of Egypt *within him (or his inner part)* shall be emptied out, and *his* counsel I will swallow up…'[150]

Several commentators support this rendition:

> 'And, the spirit of Egypt within him shall be emptied out, and his plan will I confound…'[151]

Who is the masculine figure the text cites? Whose spirit will be made empty? In 19.1, the oracle expresses Yahweh's determination to evoke fear and trembling in the Egyptian idols. There is at least one Egyptian god who was said to place his 'breath' or 'spirit' in Egyptian pharaohs as a sign of his divine protection and sonship – the god Amon.[152]

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[149] Young's Literal Translation.
[150] My own translation.
[151] S.R. Driver, A. Plummer, and C.A. Briggs, eds., *Isaiah 1-27*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1912), p.319.
[152] Also called Ammon, Amūn, Amūn-Rē, Min-Amūn, and Ptah-Amūn. For consistency, this study uses Amon throughout, even when referencing biblical and Egyptology research that uses one of the alternative names. See E.A. Wallis Budge who argues that the Amon cult began as early as the 12th Dynasty, began its rise to prominence at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (1546-1318 BCE) and continued well into the 20th Dynasty. See his discussion in *The Gods of the Egyptians or Studies in Egyptian Mythology*, Vol.2 (London: Methuen, 1904), pp.4-5, 103. Also See J. Černý, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London: Hutchinson's University Library, 1952), p.52, for chronology see pp.ix-xi; and Claude Traunecker, *Les Dieux de L'Egypte*, David Lorton, trans. (London: Cornell University Press, *Eng. ed.*, 2001), pp.90-91.

Further, the priests of the Egyptian god Amon serve as advisors to the pharaoh. It is possible that in this instance, the prophet refers to the רוח of the pagan god Amon that will be emptied out. Likewise, the true God, Yahweh, will confound the prophets and priests who advise the pharaoh, the earthly high priest and son of Amon.'

Another key to this oracle is the location (19.11, 13). Zoan was the religious headquarters of the Theban pharaohs, where several expansive temples dedicated to Amon formed the city's centre.[153] Also, the Exodus tradition cites Zoan as the frontier town of Goshen where pharaoh conducted his interviews with Moses and Aaron. It was also believed to be the Egyptian location that suffered most severely the plagues sent by Yahweh (Ps 78.12, 43).[154] Those texts that depict Yahweh's arrival 'riding on a swift cloud' evokes images of the protective presence of Yahweh hidden within the 'pillar of cloud' barring the path of Egypt's charioteers (Exod 14.19).

Consequently, in Hebrew at least two distinct terms indicate 'spirits'. We have seen that רוחות has a limited usage (Num 16.22, 27.16) in the OT, thus far designating living beings. In contrast, אוב occurs more frequently indicating necromancy (Lev 19.31, 20.6; Deut 15.11; 1 Sam 28.3, 7, 8, 9; 2 Kgs 21.6, 23.24; 1 Chr 10.13; Isa 29.4). However, in 19.3 we have at least one passage where רוח may refer to a pagan deity, albeit outside Isaiah's apocalyptic passages.

3.1.2 'Spirit(s)' in a Psalm of Lament and Reassurance (Isa 26.7-27.1) – In this eschatological psalm we begin to see the fluidity existing in the Jewish understanding and application of רוח. In 26.9, the human 'spirit' represents the vital life force essential to human life as well as the centre of human emotions (courage, anger, distress, hope, etc.). The context expresses an earnest desire for harmony with Yahweh. The 'spirit' comprehends that this union is attainable when the human creation accepts the judgements of its creator, thereby producing universal righteousness. A similar expression of petition, desire, and even weariness is present in the prophet's cry on behalf of the human 'spirit' in the Servant's Song in Trito-Isaiah (61.1-11).

The writer of Trito-Isaiah gives clear indication that restoration is achieved only through the 'Spirit' of Yahweh in harmonious relationship with

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[153] D.B. Redford, 'Zoan,' in *ABD*:6 (1992), pp.1106-1107.

his human creation (61.1). This is substantiated by the writer's portrayal of the vanquished spirit of rebellious humans (65.2b-5a), which stands in marked contrast to the welcoming hand of Yahweh extended in fellowship (65.2), beckoning for human companionship. For those who oppose Yahweh, and who reject communion with him, their 'spirit' is hopelessly crushed in anguish (65.14). Alternatively, Yahweh seeks out the humble and penitent spirit (66.2), i.e., those persons who require a champion (66.5) and comforter (66.13).

3.1.3 'Spirit(s)' in an Oracle Against the Nations (Isa 34.1-17) – The final verse that includes the word 'spirit' in First-Isaiah occurs in 34.16. From the context of the passage it is apparent that רוח represents Yahweh's spirit. In v.16a, the nations are instructed to seek and read from the Book of the Lord, where the oracle will be confirmed. In v.16c the prophet acknowledges that the oracle comes from the mouth of Lord. Finally, from v.16d we learn that Yahweh's רוח has gathered the nations for the purpose of judgement.

3.1.4 Summary of First-Isaiah – We have reviewed three verses that mention 'spirit' in First-Isaiah (19.3; 26.9; 34.16). In the two instances where רוח occurs the context varies. In one instance (34.16), רוח represents the presence of Yahweh, and his ability to bright things to pass – in this instance, gathering nations together for judgement. However, רוח also represents the human 'spirit' as the vital life force essential to human existence, yet also the centre of human emotions. Thus, again we encounter the diversity of meanings for the term רוח in Hebrew literature. Further, we have identified one instance where the term אוב can be translated as 'spirit,' in this instance to mean a foreign pagan god.

3.2 *'Spirit(s)' in Third-Isaiah* (57.15, 16, 59.19, 21, 61.1, 3, 63.10, 11, 14, 65.14, 66.2)

There are eleven verses which mention רוח in Trito-Isaiah; several will be examined together to avoid repetition. Throughout this section, we find the writer's understanding of רוח presented in two groupings, the human 'spirit' (57.15; 61.3; 65.14; 65.2) and the רוח of Yahweh (59.19, 21; 61.1, 2, 10,11, 14). We will first examine those citations interpreted as the human רוח first.

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[154] See C.E. DeVries, 'Zoan,' in *ISBE*.4 (1988), pp.1201-1203.

3.2.1 The human 'spirit' (57.15, 16; 61.3; 65.14; 66.2) – As we continue our survey we find another use of רוח where initially the meaning appears to be somewhat obscure. In Trito-Isaiah 57.15, the adjectives דכא (contrite, crushed) and שפל(lowly, humble) accompany the noun רוח. The personal pronoun construct suggests the term be translated 'contrite, lowly (or humble) one,' thus rendering the phrase in v.15 'the spirit of the humble one.' We see a similar application in 66.2 using the adjectives נכה (stricken) and עני (humble). In this poem (54.1-17) the writer assures his audience by proclaiming God's promises. To contemplate 'the goodness of the lowly,'[155] is a common characteristic in the teachings of exilic communities and apocalyptic groups sharing a bond of isolation and oppression. In 66.2, the humble and contrite person is assured of Yahweh's continuing presence because they exhibit the right attitude. In both instances, we find that the writer's proclamation is a classic juxtaposition of self-disclosure within this tradition.[156] Yahweh is the high and exalted one, yet his concern and love is such that he dwells with the lowly ones.

In 61.3, a mantle of praise is promised to replace the faint רוח of humans. In this instance, the רוח of Yahweh is upon the prophet (61.1) inspiring him to proclaim the good news of future deliverance. Thus, we find again the human רוח juxtaposed with רוח of Yahweh. Later we find true servants of Yahweh (65.14) positioned in stark contrast with those Israelites who practise idolatry. While idolaters will cry out and wail with an anguished רוח, the servants of Yahweh shall rejoice and sing with glad hearts (vv.13-14).

In one verse (57.16) Yahweh describes the human רוח as being מלפני, literally translated 'before my face.'[157] The image depicted is that of Yahweh's continual observation of his human creation. Further, the prepositional phrase 'before my face' may also allude to Yahweh's breath as that which sustains human life. Here Yahweh promises not to be angry at humanity forever. Trito-Isaiah juxtaposes the frailty of the human רוח with the severity of Yahweh's wrath, capable of destroying his human creation. Scholars agree that the prophet is referring to the human spirit, the 'breath' given by Yahweh at

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[155] J. L. McKenzie, *Second Isaiah: 40-66*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p.161.
[156] W. Brueggeman, *Isaiah 40-66*, WC ((Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1998), p.181.
[157] Writer's translation, with support from LXX 'go or come forth,' (*ἐξελεύσεται*). Also see Scott, *Book of Isaiah 1-39*, p.673.

creation.[158] While the statement is weakened by the use of נשמה rather than רוח, the earlier meaning designating the vital force in humankind is retained in the phrase: 'the breaths (souls, or breathing beings) I have made.'

3.2.2 'Spirit' of God (59.19, 21; 61.1; 63.10, 11, 14) – True prophets receive their commission and oracles from God. They are the earthly messengers (מלאך) of Yahweh (Isa 42.9; Hag 1.13; Mal 2.7, 3.1), and Hebrew literature frequently depicts prophecy as the response of humans to the presence of Yahweh's spirit (Num 11.25, 26, 24.2-3; 1 Sam 10.10, 19.20, 23; 2 Sam 23.2; 2 Chr 20.14-15, 24.20, Neh 9.20). Neve points out that texts from the 'exilic renaissance' period[159] display obvious and significant changes in the writer's use of רוח, indicating growth in Israel's overall understanding and application of the term 'spirit' in its writings. [160]

There are nine passages throughout the whole Book of Isaiah where רוח could be interpreted to refer to the 'spirit 'of Yahweh (34.16; 40.7, 13; 59.19, 21; 61.1; 63.10, 11, 14). The phrase רוח יהוה is absent from the main apocalyptic section of First-Isaiah (chapters 24-27). However, we do find Yahweh's Spirit cited in one verse (34.16) in the 'little apocalypse' (34.1-35.10), twice in Second-Isaiah (40.7, 13) and three times (59.19, 61.1, 63.14) Trito-Isaiah.[161] In the Trito-Isaiah citations, Yahweh's רוח is depicted as being actively present. Yahweh's רוח raises up against Israel's enemies (59.19), causes them to flee (נוס, 59.21), anoints his prophets to speak (משח, 61.1), and gives his people rest (נוחה, 63.14).

In the two remaining passages (63.10, 11), Trito-Isaiah distinguishes the character of Yahweh's spirit by calling it 'holy.'[162] This designation occurs in only four OT passages.[163] Further, the contextual content of this section (63.7-14) has led some scholars to interpret רוח as an angel or messenger of God (מלאך, v.9). The phrase 'angel/messenger of his presence/face' (מלאך פניו) could refer to the 'angel of the Lord/God' depicted in Israel's wilderness journey (Exod

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158 Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah*, pp.160-161; Brueggemann, *Isaiah*, p.183; *Tg.Isa.*; Sawyer, *Isaiah*, p.168; Muilenburg, J. *Isaiah 40-66*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press,1956), p.673; and Scott, *Isaiah 1-39*, p.673. *Cf.* Neve, *Spirit*, p.136; and Burton, *Spirit*, p.59.

159 Neve dates these writings between 593-460 B.C.E. *Cf. Spirit*, p.136.

160 *Cf.* Neve, *Spirit*, p.79.

161 *Tar.Isa.* distinguishes spirit as the *rûaḥ* of Yahweh, translating text, '*The prophet said*, a spirit *of prophecy before* the Lord *God* is upon me...' Neve suggests 59.21a refers to Yahweh's control over the winds, see *Spirit*, pg. 135

162 Brueggeman, *Isaiah*, p.229.

163 See also Ps 51.11; Isa 44.3.

14.19), particularly as Moses is also mentioned (vv.11-12). Scholarly debate on interpretation of the texts centres on the negative particle לא (no or not, v.9).[164]

Burton argues that vv.10-11 speak to Israel's 'ethical conception of God,' whereby Yahweh is operative in the life of the community by guiding, instructing, redeeming and ethically purifying his chosen people.[165] More importantly, 63.11 may represent a noticeable shift in how the prophet speaks of the Spirit of Yahweh. Yahweh's רוח is no longer 'upon' (על, 59.21, 61.1) his servants,[166] rather it is 'within' their 'inner most parts' (בקרב). In only two other instances are the Spirit of Yahweh described as being present within his servants – Joseph (Gen 41.38) and Moses (Num 27.18).[167] Perhaps in this way, the author helps his audience to recall at least one of two *exemples d'individus extraordinaires* from Israel's past.

If this is the case, then in Trito-Isaiah we find the first example of a Hebrew writer's attempt to characterize Yahweh's spirit and place it *within* all of Israel. This is a substantial transition in how 'spirit' was understood and applied in OT writings. Here the 'holy spirit' is not simply the רוח or נשמה that gives life and breath to all human existence, or falls upon selected individuals. It is also the character and nature of Yahweh's goodness and faithfulness which his 'spirit' embodies, his inscrutable presence that is remembered as once having resided in Israel's midst, but also *within* her 'inner part.'

3.2.3 Summary of 'Spirit(s)' in Trito-Isaiah – In those verses where the term 'spirit' appears to represent the human רוח, we have again found that the term's meaning is fluid. In his depiction of the human רוח, the writer merges two formerly independent ideas of רוח -- as the centre of human emotions (such as distress or anguish) and the understanding of רוח as that which informs human morality and religious life. In at least four instances (57.15, 16; 61.3; 66.2),[168] רוח occurs with adjectives which identify humility and recognition of human finitude as qualities that denote righteous behaviour and thus receive

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[164] See John D.W. Watts, Isaiah 34-66, WBC:25 (Dallas: Word Books, 1987), p.326, n.9a, and esp. n.9b.
[165] Burton, *Spirit*, pp.57-58.
[166] *Cf.* Num 11.17, 11.25, 26, 29, 24.2; Judg 3.10; 1 Sam 19.23; 2 Kgs 2.15; 2 Chr 15.1, 20.14; Isa 42.1.
[167] I will discuss citations that include the prophet Daniel later in this chapter.
[168] Burton, *Spirit*, pp.58-59.

positive recognition from God. The writer accentuates this point by juxtaposing the finite human creation with its infinite creator, Yahweh.

Further, רוח represents Yahweh's active presence in the world in and among his creation (59.19, 21; 61.1, 63.14). When used in conjunction with the adjective קדש, רוח speaks of Yahweh's character whereby he is capable of redeeming and purifying his people. Finally, in Trito-Isaiah we find the Yahweh's רוח depicted as being upon (59.21; 61.1) and within his people (63.11).

3.3 *Conclusion – Book of Isaiah*

In Isaiah, we have begun to encounter various meanings associated with רוח. This fluidity of contextual interpretation is particularly noticeable when used to refer to the human רוח. In these instances, רוח is not only the life force given by God, but it is also the centre of human emotions, as well as that which informs morality and religious life. Further, רוח clearly speaks of God's active power and presence in the world. In Trito-Isaiah we are able to detect a shift in the perspective of God's רוח from being *upon* his human creation to being *within* them. Finally, where necromancy is highlighted, אוב appears to be the preferred term for pagan or evil 'spirits', rather than רוח (19.3; *cf.* 8.19).

4. Spirit(s) in the Book of Ezekiel

In Ezekiel, a prophetic writing prominent for its apocalyptic features, it is surprising to discover so few passages in its apocalyptic section (chapters 40-48) that contain the word רוח (42.16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 43.5), particularly as the word occurs in various forms at least 61 times throughout the writing. The Book of Ezekiel is well structured, with three primary divisions: oracles of judgement against Israel (chapters 1-24); oracles against foreign nations (chapters 25-32); and oracles of salvation and hope (chapters 33-48). The third section contains a much smaller apocalyptic sub-section (chapters 40-48) in which the visionary details Yahweh's plans for rebuilding the holy city. Our survey will focus on the writer's use of רוח in this section.

4.1 *'Spirit(s)' in the Book of Ezekiel* (42.16, 17, 18, 19, 20; 43.5)

In (chapter 42) we can locate at least five verses which include the term רוח. The prophet's vision of the new temple (40.1-42.20) can be divided into five

sections.[169] The first section comprises the heavenly journey (40.1-4) and the description of the temple's perimeter wall (40.5). Section 2 details the gates and outer court (40.6-37). Descriptions of the inner court and temple are located in section 3 (40.47-41.4). Section 4 outlines the buildings located in the immediate vicinity of the temple (41.5-15*a*). The final verses, where the perimeters of the outer walls are discussed (42.15-20) conclude the vision. The term רוח is located in this final section of the vision.

4.1.1 The Holy Chambers and Outer Wall (42.15-20) – It is quite apparent that the writer's detailed measurements of the new temple (42.15-20) are similar to those found in descriptions of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 6-7; *par.* 2 Chr 3) and the tabernacle (Exod 25-31).[170] The section begins in 40.1 where Ezekiel relates a visionary experience in which he sees and speaks with an angelic figure. Beginning in (chapter 40), Ezekiel sees the temple complex being measured: its perimeter walls, gates, and structure of the outer and inner courts.

There are five verses in this final section where רוח occurs (42.16, 17, 18, 19, 20). Burton argues that in 42.16 and v.20 רוח is a metonymy for 'sides,'[171] while Neve simply interprets רוח as 'wind.' The term *πνεῦμα*, which can also mean 'wind,' does not appear in the LXX. If רוח is being used to refer to the sides of the temple in 42.16 and v.20, then it is reasonable that this interpretation would also apply in vv.17, 18, and 19. This appears to be the case because in each instance רוח is accompanied by a directional point – east (v.16), north, (v.17), south (v.18), and west (v.19). Verse 20 confirms the meaning of רוח as representing all four sides. Thus, in this portion of Ezekiel's vision רוח distinguishes the four directional compass points applied in measuring the sides of the heavenly temple.

4.1.2 'Spirit' and the Glory (43.1-12) – On the other hand, the seer's use of the term רוח in 43.5 appears to provoke different scholarly opinions. As part of the opening vision narrative (43.1-12) in the next section (chapters 43-46)

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169 See Leslie C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, WBC:29 (Dallas, Word Books, 1990), p.227.
170 C. Biggs argues Ezekiel's description indicates familiarization 'with the dimensions of the tabernacle... or with its tradition either by seeing it or through the writings of Kings and Chronicles.' See *The Book of Ezekiel* (London: Epworth Press, 1996).
171 Burton, p.54.

some commentators translate רוח – the source of Ezekiel's transport into the temple – as 'spirit.'[172] Other scholars interpret רוח as 'the wind.'[173] In this instance, Burton and Neve agree. Both identify רוח in v.5 as the 'Spirit of God.' However, Neve qualifies his position by stating that the 'Spirit' is not the source of the vision or the prophetic word, but in this instance is God's power used to transport the prophet.[174] With so many different opinions, the passage warrants closer examination.

The section on the temple complex (40.1-42.20) begins with the prophet's declaration that the 'hand' or 'power' (יד) of Yahweh 'came upon' him. Clearly the 'hand of Yahweh' is another way of speaking of Yahweh's powerful presence demonstrating divine favour (Isa 1.25; Ezra 7.6, 28) or punishment (Exod 9.3; Judg 2.15). Here, the anthropomorphic expression is used to stress the reality of God's presence as experienced by the prophet.[175] And, it is this powerful presence which evokes the prophetic experience. While the first section (chapters 40-42) ends at 42.20, this is by no means the vision's conclusion. The conjunction (ו), which begins the next passage (43.1) signals its continuation. Only later in the text does it become clear that Ezekiel us referring to the angelic being as רוח.

First, the glory (כבוד) of Yahweh enters (בוא) from the east (43.2, 4). The textual reference to the River Chebar may be strategically placed to evoke imagery associated with the heavenly chariot described in his prophetic call narrative (1.1-3.15). In his prophetic vision the presence of Yahweh is seen as the רוח of a windstorm (סערה), arriving as a great cloud (ענן) brightened by fire flashing and glowing 'like amber.' While Ezekiel does not describe the presence of Yahweh in his temple vision, he acknowledges in 43.3 that this vision mirrors his earlier experience.

Next, Ezekiel is 'lifted' or 'carried' (נשא) by the spirit (רוח) in v.5.[176] Finally, in v.6 Ezekiel sees a 'man' (איש), also the term used in 40.3, standing next to him as he hears Yahweh speaking to him from inside the temple. Ezekiel's transport and Yahweh's arrival appear to occur simultaneously.

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[172] H.G. May, *The Book of Ezekiel*, IB (New York: Abingdon, 1956), p.301. Also see S.H. Levey, *The Targum of Ezekiel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), p.116; and Allen, *Ezekiel*, p.238.
[173] Moshe Eisemann, *Yechezkel*, Vol.3, AST (Brooklyn: Mesorah Publications, 1980), p.669.
[174] See Neve, *Spirit*, pp.97-98.
[175] Kutsko, *Heaven and Earth*, p.91.

Presumably once Ezekiel is placed down *outside* the temple, he sees the angelic being and hears Yahweh speaking from *inside* the temple. It is apparent that Yahweh is the speaker particularly when he identifies the temple as his throne, the place where his feet rest, and where he tabernacles with Israel (v.7). Additionally, the text confirms as much in v.18. Therefore, it is possible that the רוח that transports Ezekiel (43.5) from one location to the next is also a means to identify the man-like celestial being standing alongside him in v.6. That רוח appears in a particular form (*cf.* Exod 3.2; 14.19) or is described in anthropomorphic language is not unusual. For the presence of God is often described in this way, primarily as the angel of the Lord (Num 22; Judg 2.4; 6.11-22; 13.3-21) or angel of Yahweh (Judg 6.20; 13.9). Thus, in this instance, the man-like being is the רוח to which the seer refers.

4.2 *Conclusion – Book of Ezekiel*

In our review of רוח we have noted that the term in at least one instance may in fact refer to a celestial being or visionary apparition of divine origin. In this instance, Yahweh's רוח is described in terms similar to those used by early OT writers when referring to the angel of Yahweh. Further, the writer uses imagery analogous to that present in the Exodus tradition. We have identified several passages where רוח occurs as a metonym for directional points particularly sides of a building.

5. Spirit(s) in the Book of Zechariah

The Book of Zechariah is divided into two distinct parts: First Zechariah (chapters 1-8), and Second Zechariah[177] (chapters 9-14). Deutero-Zechariah is the apocalyptic section of the complete work and is one of the most quoted sections of OT prophetic writings in the New Testament. Further, contemporary scholars suggest that Zechariah, along with Ezekiel, has influenced John's Apocalypse more so than any other OT writing,[178] a presumption which may or may not be true. Deutero-Zechariah consists of two

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[176] Walther Zimmerli determines that the Spirit here is the 'power' that transports Ezekiel. See *Ezechiel 2 (25-48)*, BKAT:13 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1955-69), p.1078.
[177] Also called Deutero-Zechariah.
[178] R.L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, WBC:3 (Dallas: Word Books, 1984); Paul LaMarche, *Zacharie i–xiv: Structure, Litteraire, et Messianisme* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1961), pp.8-9.

oracles.[179] The term רוח does not occur in the first oracle (chapters 9.1-11.17) in any form. However, in the second oracle (12.1-14.21), the writer refers to רוח three times (12.1, 10; 13.2). We will consider these passages in our study.

5.1 *'Spirit(s)' in Deutero-Zechariah* (9-14)

The term רוח occurs in 12.1 and v.10. The passages are located in the first and second segment of an eight-part oracle. The oracle can be subdivided as follows: (1) A judgement against the nations, (2) mourning for the 'pierced one' (12.10-14), (3) Jerusalem's cleansing (13.1-6), (4) the scattering of flock (13.7-9), (5) future warfare (14.1-7), (6) a new Jerusalem (14.8-11), (7) a plague with suffering (14.12-15), and (8) the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (14.16-21). Our review of the term רוח falls within the first three sections of the oracle.

5.1.1 The Day of the Lord (12.1-9) – The opening segment of the oracle serves as the superscription for the entire oracle (chapters 12-14) and in v.1 we find the term רוח. Burton and Neve interpret the phrase 'spirit of man' (רוח־אדם) as the 'seat or cause of human life.' Commentators agree that Zechariah's opening dialogue supports this concept as it contains cosmic imagery present in the creation narrative.[180] By sharing the same verb 'to fashion' or 'form' (יצר), the writer establishes continuity with the creation story of humankind (Gen 2.7) and the language of Deutero-Isaiah (42.5, 44.24, 45.12, 51.13*a*).

However, in Zechariah רוח occurs in lieu of 'breath' (נשמה) which may suggest a progressive synthesis of the varying concepts of 'spirit' and the traditional language he inherits from his prophetic predecessors. Second Isaiah clearly uses רוח in relation to humans. Although it always proceeds from Yahweh, it is 'upon' (עלה, 42.1, 44.3) and not 'within' humans. Alternatively, in Third Isaiah we found נשמה instead of רוח (57.16), and while Yahweh is its source it resides 'within' (63.11) humans.[181] Here Deutero-Zechariah adopts Trito-Isaiah's use of the phrase 'within (his) inner part' (בקרב) and Deutero-Isaiah's use of רוח illustrating a direct correlation between the רוח within humans and Yahweh.

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[179] David L. Petersen, 'Zechariah 9-14,' *ABD*:6 (1992), pp.1065-1068.
[180] Carol Myers & Eric Myers, *Zechariah 9-14*, AB (London: Anchor Bible/Doubleday, 1993), p.313; R.P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets: Nahum-Malachi* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989), p.216; Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, p.275; R.C. Dentan and J.T. Cleland, *The Book of Zechariah 9-14*, IB (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), p.1106.

5.1.2 Day of the Lord (12.10-14) – In the second and third sections of the oracle (12.9-13.6) the prophet writes of Jerusalem's weeping over one who is pierced. Here Burton and Neve posit differing opinions concerning רוח in v.10. Burton interprets רוח as the 'Spirit' of God operating upon or within humans. Here רוח is God's 'spirit' at work in the life of Israel for the purpose of redemption, and quite possibly ethical purification as well.[182] Neve, on the other hand, interprets רוח as the 'human spirit.' However, this cannot be the case.

In v.10 it is apparent that Yahweh is the source of the רוח that is being 'poured out' (שפך). In this instance רוח does not refer to 'breath' or the life force of human existence. Rather, the oracle appears to speak of רוח in terms of a transforming power originating from Yahweh that will induce bitter mourning and provoke an 'eye opening' comprehension among the recipients. In order to interpret this passage appropriately, we must consider the writer's use of the verb 'to look' (נבט), recognising that occasionally נבט carries within its definition the notion of astute 'clarity' in comprehending the momentous significance of an event (Gen 15.5; 1 Kgs 18.43; Exod 3.6, 33.8; Isa 66.2),[183] or in this instance an action.

Again, Zechariah finds the language of Trito-Isaiah useful, where Yahweh looks to those whose רוח is humble and contrite (*cf.* Isa 57.15; 66.2). As the source of all wisdom and knowledge (*cf.* Isa 33.6, 40.13-14), Yahweh looks on and perceives the crucial significance of the humble רוח. Likewise, here in Zechariah 12.10 the people of Israel will 'look to' Yahweh with incisive recognition at the result of their rebellious actions – Yahweh is the one who has been pierced.[184] The outpouring of Yahweh's 'spirit' reveals the meaning of the prophet's metaphoric analogy (v.10a) to those who receive the רוח of Yahweh.

In the next section (13.1-6), the prophecy addresses Israel's sin and the cause of her cyclical estrangement from Yahweh. Consequently, Yahweh will 'cut off' (כרת) the names of the idols and remove the false prophets, and the unclean רוח from the land. It is of special interest that this instance is the only

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[181] See above pp.40-42.
[182] Burton, *Spirit*, pp.56-58.
[183] H. Ringgren, 'נבט,' in *TDOT*:9 (1998), p.127.
[184] MT and *Tg.Zech.* identify Yahweh as the pierced one; also see the translations from KJV, YLT, and the LXX which support this translation.

occasion in the OT where רוח is defined as being unclean.[185] Both Neve and Burton identify רוח as an evil 'spirit.' Burton suggests the רוח is a 'demon, a personal spirit neither human nor divine.' He categorises it among רוח in other OT writings (Num 5.14, 30; 1 Kgs 22.21-23, *par.* 2 Chr 18.20-22; 2 Kgs 19.7; Isa 19.14, 29.10; Job 4.15; Hos 4.12, 5.4).[186] However, if we consider the passages carefully we find several deviations in Zechariah's use of 'spirit.'

In several of the passages Burton groups with Zechariah 13.2, the רוח is sent *from* Yahweh (2 Kgs 19.7; Isa 19.4, 29.10) or receives divine permission from Yahweh (1 Kgs. 22.21-23, *par.* 2 Chr 18.20-22) to act. In Job, the רוח is an apparition that is detected by Eliphaz through touch, sound and sight (Job 4.15-16). The passages in Numbers (5.14, 30) deal with adultery, and as Burton acknowledges appear to simply be another way of saying, a woman's actions can provoke her husband to jealousy. However, the remaining texts (Hos 4.12, 5.4) refer to the 'spirit of whoredom.' The term זנונים is typically associated with Israel's idolatrous behaviour in prophetic literature (Jer 2.20, 3.9, 13.27; Ezek 16.33, 23.3, 27, 29, 43.9; Hos 1.2, 2.4, 6, 4.12, 5.4; Nah 3.4, 4.15). It is possible that Zechariah is incorporating this usage in a similar fashion here.

The Hosea oracle falls within the framework of judicial proceedings whereby Yahweh delivers an indictment against Israel, the false priesthood and a false cult. A closer analysis of the text reveals that in this instance Yahweh is accusing Israel's priesthood of divination and cult prostitution. The 'rod' (מקל), which the Hosea passage (4.12) refers to, is probably being used in a fashion similar to a diviner's wand where conclusions are drawn based on the rod's appearance (Num 17.1-9; *cf.* Ezek 21.21).[187] Additionally, the whoredom Hosea speaks of (4.12-14) are infractions against the Mosaic covenant through the use of cultic prostitutes (Exod 34.15-16; Lev 17.7, 19.29, 20.4-6, 21.7, 9, 14; Deut 23.17-18).[188] Thus, the 'spirit of whoredom' in Hosea is an indictment against the actual practice of prostitution used in conjunction with religious worship.

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[185] The phrase is used several times in the DSS i.e., 11Q5 19, and also in the NT (Matt 12.43, *par.* Luke 11.24; Mark 1.23, 26, *par.* Luke 4.33; Mark 3.30, 5.2, 8, *par.* Luke 8.29; Mark 7.25, 9.25, *par.* Luke 9.42).

[186] Burton, *Spirit*, pp.58-61.

[187] See G. André, 'מקל (maqqēl),' *TDOT*:8 (1983-4), pp.548-551. *Cf.* S. Küchler, 'Das priesterliche Orakel in Israel und Juda,' *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft, BZAW*:33 (1918), pp.292-293. For an idol see D. Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, WBC:31 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), pp.81-82.

[188] Stuart, *Hosea-Jonah*, pp.81, 83-84.

We can now return our focus to the passage in Zechariah (13.2), which certainly is not a reproach against prostitution. Rather, v.2 expresses condemnation against prophets associated with the 'unclean spirit,'[189] presumably by which they prophesy. The Hebrew noun טמאה represents something or someone that is ritually impure.[190] The subsequent verses (vv.3-6) identify the extent of the impurity – family members will ostracise or even kill the false prophets, while the prophets will disguise themselves as they attempt to conceal their vocation in order to survive.[191] The verb כרת (to cut off) is generally associated with covenantal relationship and underscores Yahweh's impassioned promise to eradicate the names of the idols and the unclean spirit.

In our analysis, it is important to recall that this section is the third part of a much larger oracle. If we return to the preceding section (12.10-14), we find that it concludes with an outpour of penitent remorse associated with 'Hadad-Rimmon in the plain of Megiddo' (12.11-13.1). Several interpretations of this phrase attempt to divest it of any association with idolatry. First, the Targums suggest the mourning is 'for *Ahab son of Omri whom* Hadadrimmon *son of Tabrimmon killed,* in the Valley of Megiddon.'[192] Several biblical scholars support this interpretation noting that the passage recalls the death of King Josiah (2 Kgs 23.29-30, *par.* 2 Chr 35.20-24), the 'pierced one' whose death generates an outpouring of public mourning.[193] Most recently, commentators have begun to associate the text with *Hadad,* the Aramaean storm god, and an annual mourning festival conducted in his temple at Rimmon.[194] This draws a striking resemblance to the six-day mourning ritual associated with *Tammuz,*[195] the Akkadian sun god.

In the mid-20th century another biblical scholar, M. Delcor posited a unique explanation that did not gain wide acceptance, but has recently been

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[189] R.L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi,* WBC:32 (Waco: Word Books, 1984), pp.280-281.
[190] See Lev 10.10, 11.29, 47, 14.57, 20.25, 27.27; Num 18.15, 19.19, 22; Deut 12.15, 22, 15.22, 24.4; 2 Chr 29.16; Ezek 22.26.
[191] Smith, *Micah-Malachi,* n.3a, p.280, also see p.281.
[192] *Tg.Zech.* 12.11; *cf.* 1 Kgs 15.18.
[193] R.F. Person, *Second Zechariah and the Deuteronomic School* (Sheffield: JSOT Press), p.131, and M.A. Sweeney, *The Twelve Prophets,* Berit Olam:2 (Cllegeville: Liturgical Press, 1989), pp.689-90. Both mention Jerome's suggestion of Josiah as the 'pierced one.'
[194] Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14,* pp.308, 343-4; Smith, *Micah-Malachi,* p.277-278; also Dentan and Cleland, *Zechariah,* p.1108. Dentan and Cleland equate Hadad with the 'dying gods of vegetation' in Ezek 8.14. W. Rudolph examines but discounts this possibility. See *Haggai–Sacharja–Maleachi* (Stuttgart: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1976), p.224
[195] Also called *Dumuzi.*

revisited.[196] Delcor proposed that the consonants א and ר of the word רמן (*Rimmôn*) and אמן (Amon) were confused. He suggested the text be translated as, 'the mourning of that day will be like the mourning for (the son of) Amon (i.e., Josiah) in the plain of Megiddon.' While Delcor might have been on the right track, his translation, like the Talmud incorporates words into the text that are not present. Delcor also excludes use of the Hebrew word הדד.

The word הדד simply means to 'shout' or 'cheer.' Additionally, the term is used in a similar context in writings by major prophets (Isa 16.9, 10; Jer 25.30, 48.33, 51.14). Ralph Smith, in his review of Delcor's theory concludes that the prophet's words depict 'loud and deep wailing,' albeit for a foreign fertility god.[197] However, there is another option. By applying Delcor's theory, of confused consonants, and translating הדד as a 'shout,' an alternative rendition is achieved without incorporating any additional words. The translation then reads, 'On that day, great is the mourning in Jerusalem like the wailing shout for Amon in the valley (or plain) of Megiddon.' This interpretation reveals an unclean רוח that epitomizes idolatry and is one that Yahweh and Israel have encountered before.

Undoubtedly Josiah's unswerving loyalty to Yahweh (2 Kgs 22.2, 19, 23.25) created immense difficulty for cities like Megiddo where the people had worshipped their foreign gods in complete freedom for nearly sixty years during the reigns of Manasseh and Amon (2 Kgs 21.1-9, 16, 18-22; *cf.* Jer 25.3-5), Josiah's grandfather and father respectively. King Josiah's reforms (2 Kgs 23.4 –15, 19-20) would have caused severe mourning and loud wailing as priests were slaughtered, idols were burned to dust, and holy places destroyed and defiled. The prophet Zechariah presents a credible juxtaposition in 12.11, for just as the people once cried out in agony from the loss of their foreign gods, false prophets and priests will cry out again. Except this time their wailing will be for Yahweh, the 'pierced one.' The outpouring of Yahweh's רוח will evoke 'loud and deep' tears of penitence as Israel acknowledges her idolatrous actions as the cause of her estrangement from her faithful and abiding god.

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[196] Smith reviews Delcor's interpretation in his commentary, see *Micah-Malachi*, pp.277-278.
[197] See Smith, *Micah-Malachi*, p.277-278.

5.2 *Conclusion – Book of Zechariah*

We have examined three verses in Zechariah (12.1, 10; 13.1)which included the term רוח. In each instance, the term can be interpreted differently. First, the fluidity in the meaning of רוח is evident as the term represents the human 'spirit.' Yet, the context in which it occurs illustrates a direct correlation between the רוח within humans and Yahweh (12.1). Further, רוח also distinguishes Yahweh's character in an ethical sense. In Zechariah 12.10, when the רוח of Yahweh is poured out upon his people, his רוח evokes their compassion and prayers of repentance. The final verse, 13.1 is the first instance in which we have encountered an unclean רוח. In this instance, it is possible to interpret רוח as referring to a pagan god.

6. Spirit(s) in the Book of Daniel

The Book of Daniel can be separated into two distinct parts based on its content; the term רוח is present in both sections and will be included in our survey. The first part of the book (chapters 1-6) highlights the experiences of Daniel and his friends while serving in the Babylonian court. The second portion of the book (chapters 7-12) features a series of revelations given to Daniel. As Daniel is an historical apocalypse with both an immediate and extended narrative framework, our survey will review all verses citing the word 'spirit' in this writing.[198] For the sake of clarity several רוח passages will be surveyed together: (1) 'spirit' (2.1, 3, 5.12, 20, 6.3, 7.15), (2) 'spirits' (7.2, 15, 8.8, 11.4), and (2) 'spirit of the holy gods' (4.8, 9, 18, 5.11, 6.3, 5.14).[199]

6.1. *'Spirit(s)' in Daniel, Part 1* (Dan 2.1-49; 5.1-30; 7.1-28)

The story of Daniel as prophet *par excellence* begins in (chapter 2). The narrative is frequently identified as a Midrash on Genesis 41 due to its similarity with the account of Joseph in the Egyptian court. [200] It is the first account where we find רוח mentioned in the first part of Daniel (2.1, 3). However, the term does occur within a similar context in 5.20 and 7.15. Thus, they will all be examined here.

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[198] See J.J. Collins, *Daniel: With an introduction to Apocalyptic literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), pp. 5, 6-14.
[199] This study concurs with Burton and Neve that רוח in 2.35 represents 'the wind.'
[200] A. Lococque, *Le Livre de Daniel*, David Pellauer, trans. (London: SPCK, 1979), p.36; and Arthur Jeffrey and Gerald Kennedy, *The Book of Daniel*, IB:6 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), p.372.

6.1.1 'Spirit(s)' of man (Dan 2.1, 3; 5.20; 7.15) – In the opening narrative (2.1-49), the prophet Daniel appears as the *crème de la crème* among interpreters of dreams and visions.[201] Both, Neve and Burton agree that in several passages (2.1, 3; 5.20; 7.15) the writer is referring to the 'spirit of man' as the base of human emotions such as distress, anger, or anxiety.[202] The text supports this interpretation as King Nebuchadnezzar's רוח is described as being 'stricken' or 'disturbed' (פעם) in verses 1 and 3.[203] Likewise, in 7.15 Daniel expresses similar sensations of distress (כרא) and alarm (בהל).[204] In 5.20 Daniel describes the king's רוח as being strong or 'overpowering' (תקף) causing him to act presumptuously (זוד).

Neve argues that the queen's description of Daniel (5.12, *et al.* 6.3; MT, LXX, 6.4) as a man endowed with an excellent רוח also falls within this category. In these instances (5.12, 6.3), Daniel's excellent spirit is simply one of many good human qualities and skills he possesses, such as knowledge and understanding, as well as the ability to interpret dreams and riddles. However, Daniel's peers possess similar abilities, because they serve as wise men in the king's court (2.48, 5.7, 15) and are summoned (2.2, 4.6, 5.8) for the interpretation of signs and the king's dreams. Thus, Daniel's ability to excel in circumstances where his peers fail, suggests another explanation (2.19, 27, 4.24, 5.26-28, 6.3).[205]

6.1.2 'Spirit(s)' of the holy gods (Dan 4.8, 9, 18; 5.11, 14; MT 4.5, 6, 15) – In several passages Daniel is associated with the phrase רוח אלהין קדישין (spirit of the holy gods). In each passage, the 'spirit' is identified as being in (בה) Daniel. This can certainly be supported by what we have detected in the books of Isaiah and Zechariah. However, the preposition can also be translated 'through' or 'by means of' when indicating aid from or through another source. Biblical commentators tend to isolate the phrase as a pagan expression.[206] However, this may be because the writer places the phrase in the mouths of

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[201] T.J. Medadowcroft, *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison* (Sheffield: SAP, 1995), pp.234-235.
[202] Burton, *Spirit*, p.58; and Neve, *Spirit*, p.137.
[203] *LXX* uses the verb *ταράσσω* with similar meaning.
[204] Medadowcroft discusses a bipartite description, mental and physical, in the MT; see *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel*, p.213.
[205] J.J. Collins draws a similar conclusion in *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977), pp.34-36.
[206] Lacocque, *Daniel*, p.76.

gentiles (Nebuchadnezzar, the queen, and Belshazzar). Other scholars acknowledge the phrase as pagan, yet suggest it is used her to represent Yahweh (Gen 41.38; Jos 24.19), although it is not used as such elsewhere in Daniel (2.47, 3.32, 4.31).[207] The confusion stems from the writers' use of בה and the plural form of the adjective קדישין (holy, holies) used elsewhere (4.17, 7.18, 21, 22, 25, 27, 8.24; 4.14 MT) and translated 'holy ones' (4.17; NKJV, NRSV, YLT) and 'saints' (7.21; *et. alii.*; NKJV, YLT).

The LXX tradition[208] offers some help in that the קדישין in 4.17 are 'all the ones in heaven' (*πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*), that is they are some form of celestial beings, while in 7.22 they are simply 'the holy ones' (*τοὺς ἁγίους*). Is Daniel empowered 'through' or 'by' the קדישין אלהין, 'holy gods'? Yes, and by Yahweh as well. Affiliation with one does not obstruct affiliation with the other as long as association with the קדישין does not extend to worship.

The earliest indication of this possibility is in 2.47 when King Nebuchadnezzar acknowledges Daniel's god Yahweh as אלה אלהין (God of gods). The king's tribute to a foreign god radically qualifies Yahweh's divinity in relation to the other deities.[209] The אלהין are then lesser gods or some form of lower celestial beings to which Daniel and the Babylonian sages have access. However, in situations where the אלהין have no answers, Yahweh proves to be *le très excellent* revealer – a revealer of mysteries to Daniel, and presumably the other gods.[210] We know this because in 4.17 the writer provides a glimpse of a heavenly hierarchy within a judicial setting.

In King Nebuchadnezzar's dream (v.13), he sees a watcher and a holy one (עיר וקדיש) descend from heaven proclaiming a heavenly declaration.[211] In v.17 we learn that a verdict is agreed upon by a collective group of watchers, the עירן who appear to function in a manner similar to a panel of jurists. Then the holy ones in heaven, the קדישין, pronounce judgement. Their ruling imitates that of a panel of court justices. However, we know the קדישין are not the

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[207] J.E. Goldingay translates 'spirits of holy deity' in *Daniel*. See his n.5c, p.80 and interpretation on p.87. H. Goldwurm translates the text accordingly in *Daniel*, ATS (Brooklyn: Mesorah, *rev. ed.* 1980), p.137.

[208] I refer to A. Rahlfs' *Septuaginta* (1938, repr. 1949), in this section and throughout unless noted otherwise.

[209] Goldingay makes this point in *Daniel*, pp.61-62. Also see Goldwurm, *Daniel*, pp.137-138

[210] Goldwurm suggests the אלהין are local deities, to whom Yahweh delegates the 'mundane matters of the world. See *Daniel*, pp.137-138.

[211] J.J. Collins determines that watchers and holy ones are frequently mentioned together in 'Watcher,' *DDD* (1999), pp.893-895.

supreme judge; they are lesser celestial beings – אלהין קדישין (4.8, 9, 18, 5.11; MT 4.5, 6, 15). Their ruling confirms this for its sole purpose is to rouse human recognition of the Most High (עליון)[212] – Yahweh (4.17). Daniel's association with Yahweh, a god the קדישין know and acknowledge, provides him with an advantage over the other sages.[213] John J. Collins identifies this advantage as one of two elements present in the court tales:

> "Two features emerge clearly from the tales in Daniel 1-6. Daniel is a wise man who engages in the same types of activity as the Chaldeans – study of Chaldean letters, interpretation of dreams, political prophecy, etc. Because of the strong elements of prediction and divination in this profession, we may characterize Daniel as a practitioner of 'mantic' wisdom. On the other hand, he accepts no compromise with Babylonian or other gentile religion. His very success as a wise man depends on his rigorous loyalty to his own God."[214]

Here, Collins draws a line demarcating divination practices from religious worship. While Daniel worships Yahweh as the one true God, he also has access to lesser gods, the אלהין קדישין who know and acknowledge Yahweh as well. What is the relationship between Yahweh and אלהין קדישין? Can we determine if the אלהין קדישין (4.8, 9, 18; 5.11) and אלהין (5.14) are identical with the קדישין in Daniel's vision (7.21, 22)? Alternatively, have we encountered two, or even possibly three (if angels are not קדישין) distinct forms of beings?[215]

We know that the קדישין (holy ones) are suffering defeat until Yahweh prevails on their behalf (7.22). The term קדישין in the second part of Daniel, with exclusive use of אלהין קדישין in those verses describing the celestial court may suggest that these are two distinct groups of beings. Further, the variant form of the phrase 'spirit of the gods' spoken by Belshazzar, also in the court narratives excludes the adjective קדיש (5.14)[216] and may have been done for the sole purpose of differentiating between the אלהין קדישין who appear in the first part of the book and the קדישין present in the second portion of the book. Further, the title – אלהין קדישין – suggests a unique, even superior position in the celestial hierarchy as lesser gods.

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[212] The term עלי (ʿillāy) used in Daniel 4.17 is occasionally used as a variant of עליון.
[213] Goldwurm suggests Daniel's advantage also exists because local deities did not have access to information 'pertinent to the whole of mankind.' See *Daniel*, p.138.
[214] Collins, *Daniel*, p.54.
[215] See discussions on 'illegitimate totality transfer' in Barr, *Semantics*, p.218; Silva, *Biblical Words*, p.25, and Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics*, pp.122-123.
[216] While the MT omits 'holy,' it is in some manuscripts (Syriac and Greek). Several editors include it for consistency. See Jeffrey and Kennedy, who discuss this in *Daniel*, pp.428-429.

Are they gods or angels? If they are angels, the writers of Daniel do not identify them as such. Nor, do the writers appear to use the term interchangeably (*cf.* 3.28; 6.22). Angels in the first part of Daniel do not function in the same capacity as those beings who reveal hidden knowledge. Rather, they appear to serve as guardians. The writers of Daniel distinguish between the אלהין קדישין and angels within the context of the narratives in which they are placed. We find that the אלהין קדישין appear in tales of revelation or mystery, where the mantic arts of divination and wisdom are required: (1) The report and interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (4.1-24), and (2) the appearance of the omen and its interpretation (5.1-6.1; MT 5.1-31).

In contrast, angels appear in tales of conflict: (1) the fiery furnace (3.1-30) and (2) the lion's den (6.2-29; MT 6.1-28). Also, the אלהין קדישין are members of the heavenly council and pass judgement on human beings (4.16), while angels help, protect and rescue humans (3.28, 6.22). The אלהין קדישין communicate through visions (4.13/4.10) and dreams (4.19/4.16), and angels appear in person. Based on this brief analysis the celestial beings called the אלהין קדישין are not depicted as angels in the first section of Daniel. Further, it appears that אלהין קדישין may in fact be different beings altogether from the קדישין depicted in Daniel 7.20, 21.

6.2 *Summary on Daniel 1-6*

The term רוח occurs several times in the first section of Daniel. In many of these instances, רוח represents the moral character of humans, particularly that aspect influenced by an ethical conception of God.[217] Thus, it can be written that the prophet Daniel has an excellent רוח and he is endowed with a 'spirit' of the holy gods. As we have seen elsewhere, רוח also represents the centre of human emotions such as anger, anxiety, or distress. We have also determined that in Daniel, רוח represents the mediation of prophetic and revelatory information from celestial beings, possibly lesser deities to human recipients. Here again, there is fluidity in understanding רוח, for Daniel appears to be endowed with a רוח that informs his revelatory abilities. Additionally, the gift of רוח he possesses is such that he has access to the רוח of other holy celestial beings, as well as the רוח of Yahweh.

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[217] Burton, *Spirit*, pp.57-59.

6.3 *'Spirit(s)' in Daniel, Part 2* (Dan 7.2; 8.8; 11.14)

In the second part of Daniel (chapters 7-12) רוח appears in three passages (7.2, 8.8, 11.14). Angels are not mentioned in this portion of Daniel: however, holy ones are mentioned several times (7.18, 21, 22, 25, 27, 8.13, 24). It is necessary to review these passages to determine if the role of the קדשין remain consistent with our previous observations.

6.3.1 'Spirit(s)' in Three Visions (Daniel 7.1-28; 8.1-27; 10.1-11.39) – The term רוח is present in three distinct visions located in the second section of Daniel. In the first vision (7.1-28), Daniel is shown the destiny of the world. In the next vision (8.1-27), Daniel encounters the angel Gabriel who interprets a vision concerning the Greek Empire. In the third vision (10.1-12.13), the future of the people of Israel is revealed. In each of the three visions, the plural form of רוח appears in the phrase 'four winds/spirits of heaven' (7.2, 8.8, 11.14). Neve and Burton consider רוח in these passages to represent the 'wind.'[218] Burton determines that in each passage רוח functions metonymically, giving a sense of general direction in space similar to the points of the compass. We have encountered this interpretation of רוח in our review of the term in Ezekiel (42.16, 17, 18, 19, 20). In the LXX tradition the Greek word *ἄνεμος* (wind)[219] is used instead of *πνεῦμα*, the term typically associated with 'spirit.'

In the first passage (7.2) רוח is an active force, depicted as moving, stirring, even 'bursting forth' (נתן) from the Great Sea from which four hybrid animal figures arise. In the second vision (8.8) רוח appears stationary as four horns 'go up' or 'ascend' to the four winds of heaven. In the final example (11.4), a kingdom is divided towards the four winds of heaven. In each instance there is directional movement – up, down, or out – provided by the Hebrew preposition ל, which can be translated in several ways, i.e. to, at, in, by, etc. To determine if רוח is being used to express 'spirits' as celestial beings or as a meteorological element we need only replace the word רוח with 'spirits' or angels. Even with a liberal translation we have: (1) Four angels or 'spirits' bursting forth from the Great Sea. (2) Four horns going up to the four 'spirits'

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[218] See Neve, *Spirit*, p.136; and Burton, *Spirit*, pp.53-54.
[219] In the 12 instances where *ἄνεμος* occurs in the LXX, 11 refer to the 'wind' (Exod 10.13; Psa 1.4; Prov 25.23; 27.16; Sir 43.20; Isa 41.16; 57.13; 64.5; Jer 22.22; Ezek 19.12; Dan 2.35), while one (Job 15.30) is traditionally translated 'breath.'

or angels. And, (3) a kingdom divided 'by' or 'to' the four 'spirits' or angels. Unless Daniel's visions are depicting celestial events that are describing encounters with celestial beings, the writer's use of רוח refers simply to the 'winds.' This interpretation supports the LXX tradition where *ἄνεμοι* occurs instead of *πνεύματα*.

In the interpretation of the first vision (7.15-27) Daniel is told that the four animals, which arise from the Great Sea represent four kingdoms of the world (v.17). The angel Gabriel gives a similar explanation when interpreting the second vision (8.15-25). He explains that the horns (8.8) ascending towards the four winds of heaven represent the rise of four kingdoms (8.22). We know they are earthly kingdoms because they are linked with the kingdom of Greece (v.21).

The third example of רוח actually occurs within the content of a much larger oracle being transmitted to Daniel (11.2-45). In this instance, the rise and fall of a warrior king is foreseen, and his kingdom is scattered (vv.3-4). Like those we have already discussed, his kingdom is an earthly one for he is compared with the kings of Persia and Greece (v.2). The writer's use of cosmic imagery and mythical motifs throughout the visions certainly suggests supernatural forces at work affecting the earthly realm. However, we can conclude that although there is the appearance of invasive celestial chaos disrupting the earthly order, in these visions the writer is referring to earthly events.[220] Therefore, the use of רוח in each of these visions represents wind.

6.3.2 Holy Ones (Daniel 7.18, 21, 22, 25, 27, 8.13, 24) – In our review of רוח in the first part of Daniel we encountered the term קדישין (holy ones). Based on the writer's use of קדישין אלהין and watchers, we were able to determine that angels and קדישין אלהין do not appear to be synonymous. Nor, can we be certain if the קדישין אלהין that appear in the first section of Daniel are identical with the קדישין present in the first vision (7.1-28).

The קדישין in (chapter 7) are described as the 'holy ones of the Most High' (7.18, 22, 25, 27). [221] They are never called קדישין אלהין. Nor, are they associated with רוח as we find to be the case with the קדישין אלהין (4.8, 9, 18; 5.11,

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[220] Goldingay makes a similar determination in *Daniel*, pp.294-295.
[221] Alternatively, קדישי עלין. Goldingay discusses in 'The Holy Ones on High in Daniel 7.18,' *JBL*:107 (1988), pp.495-97.

14). Are they celestial or human beings? Semantically, 'holy ones of the Most High,' could refer to either group. Are they associated with the heavenly court of Yahweh (4.17)? If the קדישין אלהין are lesser deities or celestial beings, should we conclude that the same applies to the 'holy ones of the Most High'?

Throughout the OT קדישין frequently appear as members of Yahweh's celestial entourage (Deut 33.2-3; Ps 89.5, 7; Prov 30.3; Zech 14.5).[222] We have discovered in our examination of רוח thus far, that this term can take on different meanings and interpretations. Could this also be the case with קדישין? The vision in (chapter 7) (7.15-27) foretells the rising of four earthly kings (v.17).[223] Next, we learn that the קדישין will receive these kingdoms and possess them in perpetuity (v.18).[224] In vv.19-21 another earthly king arises who blasphemes Yahweh, attempts to change holy days, and oppresses the holy ones (v.25). Does it not stand to reason that if in the vision the four horns represent earthly kings, then the holy ones in the vision are also earthly beings? Further, if the vision speaks of earthly kingdoms that will be possessed in perpetuity by the קדישין, again it stands to reason that here the holy ones of the Most High are earthly beings.

Thus, in (chapter 7) it appears that קדישין refers to human beings. Further, it is highly probable that in Daniel we have encountered two distinct groups of קדישין – celestial beings called the קדישין אלהין who may be lesser deities, and the holy ones of the Most High, human beings who in the eschatological future will possess kingdoms on earth.

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[222] *Cf.* Ps 16.3, 34.9; Prov 9.10, 30.3.
[223] For those who speculate these are the kingdoms that divided the empire of Alexander the Great, see H. Gressmann, 'Der Messias,' *FRLANT*:26 (1929), pp.343-414, esp. see pp.344, 366; J. Bright, *The Kingdom of God* (Nashville: Abingdon, repr., 1981), p184. Also *cf.* T. Wittstruck, 'The Influence of Treaty Curse Imagery on the Beast Imagery of Daniel 7,' *JBL*:97 (1978), pp.100-102.
[224] Goldingay disagrees, arguing against this interpretation. See *Daniel*, pp.190-191.

6.4 *Conclusion – Book of Daniel*

We have determined that fluidity in the meanings of רוח is such that the term is used to signify the centre of human of emotions, as well as to refer to the moral character of humans influenced by God. Daniel exemplifies the holy ones of the Most High. He is noted as having an excellent רוח as it applies to his ethical behavior and in exercising the prophetic gift. His revelatory insight is mediated by or through the רוח of the holy gods and the Most High God – Yahweh. From our examination of the phrase 'holy ones of the Most High' in this OT apocalypse, it appears that the term קדישין represents two distinct groups of beings. In the first section of Daniel (chapters 1-6), the term represents celestial beings, presumably lesser deities. However, in the second half of the book the term designates earthly followers of Yahweh.

Chapter Summary

In this Chapter, we began with a historical review of the Hebrew word רוח, noting that from its earliest context רוח simply referred to 'wind.' Yet, the fluid and diverse applications of the term רוח illustrate an elusive and somewhat intangible aspect that accompanies the term's meaning. For example, perhaps a logical development of the term's usage occurred from the human perception of רוח as wind. Humans perceived the wind blowing from and in various directions. Later, the term may have taken on a metonymical application indicating compass points. In these instances, the word רוח can be interpreted as wind, refer to the side of a structure, or a point of direction. Yet, another meaning of the term רוח is evident in OT literature where it expresses life and breath in all creatures, particularly human beings. Even this interpretation is expanded further: the רוח of humans is no longer limited to that breath of life given by God, but can also represent the centre of human emotions, moral character and mental disposition.

Of course, Jewish religious traditions impacted the literary application and understanding of רוח in OT writings. Yahweh's רוח denoted his power over nature and influence over human beings. Yahweh did not simply create and control the wind, it was his breath, his רוח. Just as nature was transformed by a powerful blast from Yahweh's nostrils, humans who encountered his רוח

experienced various psychical and physical effects that were readily visible to others. The most notable of these was prophetic speech.

While our primary task in this investigation is to examine רוחות, the infrequency in which the plural form occurs in the OT allowed us a brief opportunity to review the term רוח. While we limited our review to apocalyptic sections of prophetic writings and Daniel, we noted the different meanings associated with the term and the ways in which it could be interpreted. It is used to represent the presence of God being upon his prophets, but also within them. The term רוח also appears to be used to represent some form of angelic being. In these instances anthropomorphic language is used to describe the encounter with or presence of a רוח. Further, the term infrequently represents pagan gods or evil 'spirits.' However, we should note that the word אוב appears to be the preferred Hebrew term with this meaning. Finally, as this Chapter concludes we see where the term רוח can be interpreted as a point of interface between the human רוח and the divine רוח, particularly in instances of divination and prophetic insight.

At this point it would be easy to assume that John's understanding of the seven 'spirits' is most likely influenced by the meanings associated with the term רוח in the OT writings we have examined. Did John understand 'spirits' as the presence or power of God, as angels, or a point of interface between humans and the divine? Are these ideas so familiar to him that knowingly or not he appropriated them to depict his experience? It is too early for us to be certain. However, we can point out that these are at least three areas in which the term רוח may be interpreted that could have influenced John's understanding of the word 'spirits.'

CHAPTER THREE
Spirit(s) in the Pseudepigrapha and Jewish Apocalyptic Writings of the 2nd Temple Period

In Chapter Three, we extend our examination of 'spirit(s)' into apocalyptic writings during the 2nd temple period.[225] According to James H. Charlesworth, several pseudepigraphic writings fall within the category of apocalyptic literature,[226] while others simply contain apocalyptic sections. In Chapter Two we defined apocalyptic sections as smaller units embedded in writings that would otherwise be considered non-apocalyptic, yet these smaller units display characteristics typically associated with apocalypses. These characteristics include symbolism, heavenly journeys, otherworldly visions and beings, the revelation of hidden knowledge, dualism, eschatological future, cosmology, or an *angelus interpres.*

Throughout Chapter Three we will limit our examination to the plural lexical term 'spirits' (Eth. *manāfest,* Heb. רוחות, Grk. *πνεύματα*) in a manner pertinent to our discussion, although we acknowledge that the term's singular form 'spirit' is often used in many of these texts with a plural meaning (*cf. 1 En* 98.7; *T.Sim* 5.1; 1QH 9.9; 1Q35 1, 1.3; 1QS 4.6; 5.21; 9.15). Further, the scope and limitations of our study necessitate that we confine our selections to writings dated prior to or contemporary with John's Apocalypse.[227] Two apocalypses, *1 Enoch* and *The Fourth Book of Ezra* (*4 Ezra*) meet this criterion. Our examination will also include texts that include the term 'spirits' in *Testaments of the Twelve*

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[225] The Book of Daniel belongs to this time period. However, as Daniel is also a canonical writing it was reviewed in our examination of OT literature. See Chapter 2 above, pp.58-66.

[226] Charlesworth identifies the following writings as apocalypses: *1 Enoch* (Ethiopic), *2 Enoch* (Slavonic), *3 Enoch* (Hebrew), *Sibylline Oracles, Treatise of Shem, Apocryphon of Ezekiel, Apocalypse of Zephaniah, 4 Ezra, Greek Apocalypse of Ezra, Vision of Ezra, Questions of Ezra, Revelation of Ezra, Apocalypse of Sedrach, 2 Baruch* (Syriac), *3 Baruch* (Greek), *Apocalypse of Abraham, Apocalypse of Adam, Apocalypse of Elijah, Apocalypse of Daniel.* While Pseudepigrapha writings such as *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Testament of Abraham, Testament of Moses, Jubilees, Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah,* and *4 Baruch* are considerd to have 'apocalyptic sections.' See 'Introduction,' *OTP*:1, pp.3-4, esp. p.4. D.S. Russell provides a similar list with a more detailed overview on the writings. However, he limits his review to Jewish writings within a 300-year period. See *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic: 200 BCE – AD 100* (London: SCM Press, 1964), pp.48-69. Several of these writings are quite late and are not dated prior to John's Revelation.

[227] Typically the Revelation of John is dated in the latter half of the 1st century, between 64-70 CE or 81-96 CE. See above pp.26-27, and p.27, n(n) pp.98 and 99.

Patriarchs and *Jubilees*. While these writings are not apocalypses, they do share several characteristics[228] typically associated with apocalyptic literature.

Recent scholarship has noted the significance of Qumran literature in understanding the early Christian use of *πνεύματα*.[229] Therefore, it seems prudent within this context to thoroughly examine at least one of the angelic liturgies among the writings of the *DSS*. Recent parallel studies that look at the Hebrew texts of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, (4Q400-407, 11Q17, Mas1k) make this group of writings an ideal selection for inclusion in our analysis.[230]

Further, in Chapter Three we will briefly review the meaning of the term 'spirits' in the writings of Philo Judaeus and Flavius Josephus. Philo Judaeus was a loyal Jewish philosopher, statesman, and biblical exegete (20BCE-50 CE) born to one of the wealthiest Jewish families in Alexandria, Egypt. [231] In contrast, Flavius Josephus (37- 100 CE) was a Jewish politician, general, and historian. The writings of both men provide will inform our understanding of the religious and cultural milieu of Roman-controlled Palestine in the 1st century C.E. Their writings also shed light on how the term 'spirits' used in Jewish writings of the 2nd temple period.[232] John R. Levinson provides a thorough study on the understanding of the divine Spirit of God in *The Spirit in First Century Judaism;* his work reflects a comprehensive survey of the works of Philo, Josephus and Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitalum Biblicarum*.[233] We will defer to Levison's study on these writings in our examination of 'spirits' in literature from the intertestamental period.

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[228] *Jubilees*: (1) revelatory literature, (2) mediated to human recipient by an angel, that (3) discloses a transcendent reality, yet provides little eschatology. See O.S. Wintermute, 'Jubilees,' in *OTP*:2, pp.35-51, esp. p.37; and George E. Ladd, 'Apocalyptic Literature,' *ISBE*:1, pp.151-161, esp. pp.157-158. *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*: Selected testaments contain various characteristics such as (1) revelatory information (T.Reu 5.3; T.Levi 2.6; 3.2-3; T.Jud 15.5), disclosure of a transcendent reality (T.Levi 2.7-10), as well as eschatological agents and events. See H.C. Kee, 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' in *OTP*:1, pp.775-828, esp. p.779.

[229] See Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.32-35; Stuckenbruck, 'Worship and Monotheism in the Ascension of Isaiah', 70-89; Gieschen, 'The Angel of the Prophetic Spirit,'pp.790-803.

[230] James H. Charlesworth and Carol A. Newsom, eds., *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, DSS:4B (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999).

[231] Peder Borgen, 'Philo of Alexandria,' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.333-342.

[232] Louis H. Feldman, 'Josephus (person)' in *ABD*:3 (1992), pp.981-998.

[233] See Levinson, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

Spirit(s) in *1 Enoch*

The book called *1 Enoch* is a composite of several writings, [234] by different authors, written at various times during the 2nd temple period.[235] The collection includes: (1) the Book of Watchers [chapters 1-36], (2) Book of the Similitudes [chapters 37-71], (3) Book of Astronomical Writings [chapters 72-82], (4) Book of Dream Visions [chapters 83-90], (5) the Epistle of Enoch [chapters 91-107][236] which includes the Apocalypse of Weeks (91.12-17; 93.1-10), and Another Book of Enoch [chapter 108]. While scholars differ on the various dates associated with all of these writings, it is safe to conclude that alongside the canonical Book of Daniel, *1 Enoch* contains some of the oldest extant Jewish apocalypses.[237] While fragments of the writings exist in both Aramaic and Greek, the only complete version of the Book is available in ancient *Ge'ez* or Ethiopic. Michael A. Knibb provides a thorough discussion on the texts in all three languages. Thus, for the purpose of consistency throughout our exploration, his English translation, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, [238] and that provided by Ephraim Isaac, '1 Enoch,'[239] will serve as primary sources. For the Aramaic, when necessary, we will draw upon J. Milik's, *The Books of Enoch*,[240] and for the Greek text we will refer to M. Black's *Apocalypsis Henochii Graece*.[241]

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[234] See E. Isaac, '1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction,' in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, Vol.1, James H. Charlesworth, ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp.5-89, esp. pp.6-7; and George W. E. Nickelsburg, 'First Book of Enoch' in *ABD*:2 (1992), pp.508-516.

[235] Isaac dates between early pre-Maccabean and late pre-Christian, p.7; Nickelsburg suggests the traditions and writings go back as far as the 4th century B.C.E., 'Enoch,' p.508; as does Neil Forsyth, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton: PUP, 1987), p.161, n.4; D.S. Russell dates the writings between *c.*164 B.C.E. onwards, *Method and Message*, p.37. See M. Black for discussions dating the writings to the Persian period (*c.* 560-330 BCE), *The Books of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition with Commentary and Textual Notes*, SVTP:7 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp.386-387; and L. Stuckenbruck who dates late 3rd – early 2nd century B.C.E. in *Angel Veneration*, p.174, n.358.

[236] This work is typically dated near the end of the 2nd century. For an earlier dating see G.W. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981), pp.149-50, and J.C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS:16 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association, 1984), pp.142-149.

[237] Opinions differ between scholars on The Book of Watchers and The Book of Astronomical Writings as to which is the earliest. For 'Watchers' see Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology*, p.24; for the Book of Heavenly Luminaries (or, Astronomical Writings) as the oldest stratum, see Nickelsburg, 'First Book of Enoch,' in *ABD*:2, p.509; Black, *The Books of Enoch*, p.387; and Stuckenbruck, *Angel Veneration*, p.174.

[238] M. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Vol.2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).

[239] E. Isaac, '1 Enoch,' pp.5-89.

[240] *The Books of Enoch: aramaic fragments of Qumrān Cave 4*, J.T. Milik, ed. with the collaboration of M. Black (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), hereafter referred to as Milik, *Books of Enoch*.

[241] M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden: Brill, 1970).

As our discussion follows the progressive development in the use and understanding of 'spirits' it seems prudent to attempt to follow a chronological arrangement of the texts, rather than a sequential review based on their existing composition. Thus, our review of 'spirits' in the *First Book of Enoch* will begin with the *Book of Astronomical Writings*, followed by the *Book of Watchers*, the *Book of Dream Visions*, the *Epistle of Enoch*, and the *Book of the Similitudes*.[242]

1. Book of Astronomical Writings *(BAW, 72-82)*

The *BAW*, also called the *Book of the Heavenly Luminaries*[243] is the tale of Enoch's journey to the celestial realm, as recounted to his son Methuselah (76:14; 79:1).[244] During Enoch's journey through the heavens and over the earth, Uriel,[245] the angel in charge of the heavenly luminaries, accompanies him and serves as his *angelus interpres*. The term 'spirits' does not occur in the *BAW*. However, we do find 'holy ones'[246](81.5) who transport Enoch back to his home on earth. In our discussion on 'spirits' in the OT writings of the prophets,[247] we were able to determine that the writer of Daniel[248] distinguished between 'holy ones' (קדשין) and 'holy gods' (אלהין קדשין). The 'holy gods' in Daniel, are celestial beings, quite possibly even 'lesser gods' in the heavenly hierarchical structure.[249] They are also associated with the heavenly court of Yahweh and

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[242] This study follows the chronological sequence provided by Nickelsburg's 'Enoch,' in *ABD*:2, pp.508-516, esp. p.509. Adjustments have been made to keep the writings intact for the sake of discussion. Also see J.J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, pp.43-70, 177-193. Collins reverses the sequence between (1) The Book of Watchers and (2) The Astronomical Book, as well as (3) The Apocalypse of Weeks/The Epistle of Enoch and (4) The Animal Apocalypse/The Book of Dream Visions. His discussion agrees with Nickelsburg in identifying (5) The Similitudes as late Enochic literature.

[243] Used interchangeably throughout the discussion.

[244] See Gen 5.21; *cf.* Gen 4.18 where Methushael is the great-grandson of Enoch.

[245] Uriel (Hayli'el) also appears in *3 Enoch* 20.1-2 where he whips creatures with 'lashes of fire.' Within the Hebrew tradition, he is designated as the archangel of fire and Gehenna. See Ludwig Blau, 'Uriel,' in *JE*:12, p.163, and Gustave Davidson, 'Angel of Fire,' in *DOA* (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1967), p.29, where he is referred to as 'the angel of the fire of the sun.' For Uriel's connection with astrology see Michael Mach, 'Uriel,' in *DDD*, pp.885-886.

[246] The number of 'holy ones' differs among scholars. For three, see M.A. Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p.187, henceforth referred to as Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*. For seven, see E. Isaac, '1 Enoch,' *OTP*:1, p.59, here referred to as Isaac, '1 Enoch,' also Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), which he considers to be a 'third recension' updating the work of R. H. Charles (1912), here called Black, *1 Enoch*; and George W. E. Nickelsburg, *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch: Chapters 1-36; 81-108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2001), called here Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*.

[247] See Chapter 2, pp.38-66.

[248] Daniel 1-6 (part one).

[249] See Chapter 2 above, p.60, n.210.

appear as members of his celestial entourage (Deut 33.2-3; Ps 89.5, 7; Prov 30.3; Zech 14.5).

While here the קדשין transport Enoch back to his home on earth, they also pass on revelatory information concerning Enoch's future (81.6), the role of righteous human beings and their deaths (vv.7, 9), as well as that of the sinful (v.8). This role is totally in keeping with Daniel whereby the prophet's interpretative abilities are attributed to the 'רוח of the holy gods' (4.8, 9, 18; 5.11, 14), and in Deuteronomy where they appear as escorts to Yahweh (33.2) and Israel (v.2).

2. Book of Watchers (*BW*, 1-36)

The term 'spirits' occurs at least thirteen times in the *BW* (13.6; 15.8, 9, 19, 11, 12; 16.1; 19.1; 20.3, 6; 22.3, 5, 9).[250] As in Chapter Two, many of these will be grouped together to aid our discussion: (1) 13.6; 15.8-16.1; and (2) 19.1; 20.3, 6; 22.9. The *BW* retells the story of human sin based on the remnants of a Jewish tradition concerning the 'sons of God' (Gen 6.1-7), which precedes the flood narrative in the Old Testament. The Enochic narrative reconstructs a mythical account of a primordial angelic rebellion that produces evil *manãfest* from giant offspring. These giants are the result of a corporeal union between angelic beings, 'Watchers,' and human females. The text combines at least two separate traditions[251] regarding the leaders of the Watchers, *Shemiḥaza* (Gr. *Σεμιαζᾶς*)[252] and *'Asa'el* (Gr. *'Αζαήλ*),[253] in (chapters 6-16). Otherworldly journeys (17-36) and an introduction (1-5) constitute the remaining chapters.

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[250] Use of 'spirits' based on Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, see pp.93, 101-102, 106-107, 108-111.
[251] See Paul D. Hanson, 'Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11,' *JBL*:96 (1977), pp195-233; George W.E. Nickelsburg, 'Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6.11,' *JBL*:96 (1977), pp.383-405; John J. Collins, 'The Apocalyptic Technique: Setting and Function in the Book of Watchers,' *CBQ*:44 (1982), pp.91-111; and Michael E. Stone, 'Apocalyptic Literature,' in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (The Netherlands: Van Corcum, Assen 1984).
[252] Called Semyaza in other traditions.
[253] Here and throughout the chapter. Also rendered as Azazel, Azael and Asradel in various traditions.

2.1 *The Shemiḥaza – Asael Narratives, Chapters 6-16* (13.6; 15.8, 9, 10, 11, 12; 16.1)

The first citation of the term 'spirits' occurs in this section of the *BW* (13.6) and appears to represent the centre of emotions within living beings, in this instance the Watchers who consorted with women. Michael Knibb translates the corrupt Ethiopic from the Aramaic term נפשתיהון in 13.6 as 'their spirits' (*τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτῶν*).[254] Knibb acknowledges that his translation is based on 'an inaccurate rendering of נפשתיהון, in regards to themselves' (from נפש or inner living being).[255] However, from the textual context in which the term is used it appears that Enoch is preparing a record of the petitions and supplications on the Watchers' behalf. Their (the Watchers') petition is attested by the internal emotions described in the narrative, such as fear (v.3), regret and repentance (v.4), shame (v.5), as well as a desire for absolution (v.6).

As we have seen from Chapter One, Ernest DeWitt Burton provides an in-depth analysis on רוח (Gr., *πνεῦμα*, Eth. *manfas*) which also incorporates its similarities with the term נפש (life, soul, inner being; Gr. *ψυχή*).[256] A more recent study conducted by David Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*,[257] supports Burton's findings. Hill concludes, as did Burton, that the term 'soul' or נפש is the seat of human appetites, such as hunger and thirst, as well as human emotions (hate, anger, fear, sorrow, desire, hope, love, courage, etc.). According to Hill נפש denotes 'the vital manifestations of life, both psychical and physiological.'[258] Thus, the soul depicts life, it can also be distressed and comforted, anguished or courageous (Gen 35.18; 1 Sam 1.15; Job 3.20; Ps 6.3; Isa 15.4). All of these emotions and desires are expressions of 'being alive' as opposed to being dead. From this perspective, the *BW* writer's use of the term soul appears to express the inner psychical response of the Watchers as living

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[254] Greek text from M. Black, *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), p.27.

[255] Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.93, n.13.6; acknowledging some support from the Aram.נ[משתהי]ן. As does R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford, 2nd ed., 1912) p.30, and Isaac, '1 Enoch', p.19. Also Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, rendering נפשתיהון, 'their souls' as 'themselves,' p.237, n.6a. Black, *1Enoch*, suggests this speaks of the 'character of the works' or behaviour of the Watchers (*cf.* 1QS 6.17; 1QH 14.11), p.144, n.6.

[256] *Cf.* Burton's discussion in *Spirit* on 'soul,' pp.62-70; *cf.* 'spirit of man,' pp.58-60. While E. Nida and J. Louw do not include this definition in their list of principle meanings of *πνεῦμα*, they do list *ψυχή* as a term within the related domain of psychological faculties asociated with the word 'spirit.' See *Lexical Semantics*, pp.81-82.

[257] D. Hill, *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings: Studies in the Semantics of Soteriological Terms* (Cambridge: CUP, 1967). For our discussion on נפש, see pp.163-164

beings, albeit celestial. It is quite possible that this is simply another way the author relates to his audience that the Watchers were ashamed of their actions (13.5), and that Enoch described their penitent state (13.4) in their request to God (13.6).

In 15.8-16.1, the *BW* author identifies *manāfest* by placing them in three distinct groups. First, the *manāfest* of the giant offspring are evil 'spirits' (v.8) because they represent a mixture of celestial and terrestrial beings.[259] They were not created by God, or with his divine approval (Gen 6.2-4; *1 En* 6.2-7). Thus, the *manāfest*, which ultimately come forth from the 'fleshly' bodies of the giants represent hybrid celestial beings that are condemned to remain earthbound (v.9; 16.1), and consequently named 'spirits of the evil ones' (15.9). The second group the author distinguishes are terrestrial *manāfest*, presumably human as well as animal, because they are born on earth (15.10). Finally, there are celestial *manāfest*; those which dwell in the heavenly realm (v.10) such as Watchers (v.6),[260] angels, and Holy Ones. The author bases his distinction between the groups solely on their places of habitation. Those *manāfest* who represent a crossing of celestial and terrestrial boundaries are 'evil' (vv.8-9).

Further, within this brief section we are able to obtain additional information on the evil 'spirits.' For instance, the author credits them with human and earthly corruption, fighting and war, as well as sorrow. We shall encounter similar associations made in John's Apocalypse. In the *BW*, evil *manāfest* are described as beings that do not eat or drink,[261] and are invisible (v.11).[262] This may suggest that the author believed they were capable of

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[258] D. Hill quotes Th. Vriezen, *An Outline of OT Theology* (Oxford, 1958), p.202.

[259] Knibb identifies the giants as being created from 'body and flesh' (15.8). Other translations speak of the giants being born from 'the spirits and the flesh,' Watchers and humans, thereby categorising 'Watchers' as 'spirits.' See *1 En* 15.8 in Isaac, '1 Enoch', p.21; Black, *1 Enoch*, p.34; and Nickelsburg, *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, p.267.

[260] See Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.101; and Isaac, '1 Enoch,' p.21. Both, I believe accurately translate *πνεῦμα* in 15.6 as 'spiritual' possibly meaning 'celestial' beings and similarly vv.4, 7 ('spiritual ones,' Knibb, p.101; Isaac, 'spiritual beings', in '1 Enoch,' p.21; Black, for 'celestial spirits,' *1 Enoch*, p.34; and Nickelsburg, 'spiritual ones,' *Commentary*, p.268, n.7a, rather than as 'spirits' themselves. For 'spirits' see Black, *1 Enoch*, p.34 and Nickelsburg, p.267

[261] This is also said of angels. See Hag.16a and parallel passages; Tg. Yer. Gen 18:8. *Cf.* Tob 12.19. It is also said of God Ps 50.12 Eating and drinking is associated with humans in Ecc 2.24; 3.13; 5.18; 8.15;

[262] Both Knibb and Isaac translations concur. See Black for 'produce hallucinations, and they collapse,' suggesting that humans possessed by evil spirits collapse from hunger, *1 Enoch*, p.34, also see pp.153-154, n.11. Nickelsburg omits altogether, arguing *διψῶντα* + *φάσμα ποιοῦντα*, disrupts the natural sequence between hunger and thirst, see *Commentary*, p.267, n.11f and p.268.

avoiding human detection. As celestial-terrestrial hybrids,[263] the evil 'spirits' are fated to 'rise up' against humans, because they were born from women.[264] In 16.1, we learn that after the death of the giants, when their 'flesh is destroyed' their evil *manāfest* are liberated from their corpses. Hence explaining the presence of evil 'spirits' and their earthly confinement.

Jewish biblical tradition speaks of the 'spirits of the dead,' the רפאים, who were a deceased race of great, giant warriors (Isa 14.9; 26.14). Various Old Testament texts indicate the versatility in which the ancients made use of this tradition and their understanding of the term רפאים. Throughout the literature רפאים occurs interchangeably as a name for a nation of people (Gen 15.20; Deut 3.11; Josh 12.4; 13.12; 2 Sam 21.16, 18, 20; 1 Chr 20.4), their homeland, i.e. the 'valley of the giants' (Deut 2.11, 20; 3.13; Josh 15.8; 18.16; 2 Sam 5.18, 22; 23.13; par. 1 Chr 11.15; 14.9; also Isa 17.5), 'spirits' (Ps 88.10 [MT 88.11]; Prov 2.18; 21.16; Isa 14.9; 26.14; *cf.* Isa 8.19; 19.3) or simply the 'dead' (Prov 9.18; Isa 26.9).[265]

In Rabbinical literature, evil 'spirits' are said to 'hover around the house and the field (Gen. R. 20), and to reside 'in the lower regions of the air (Num. R. 12). Alongside this concept is the ancient belief that evil 'spirits' were the souls of the dead who believed they had been unjustly treated while alive and thus, sought retribution. Josephus describes evil spirits as 'the spirits of wicked people who enter (possess) and kill the living.'[266] It is possible that the Enochic writer recalls a much older tradition associated with the בני אלהים ('sons of god,' Gen 6.2-4), which has since been lost, or perhaps he merely conflates all of these ancient legends into his narrative. However, what the writer makes apparent is

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[263] Stuckenbruck argues, 'The giants, who are the progeny of such an illegitimate union and neither fully angelic nor fully human…' See 'The "Angels" and "Giants" of Genesis 6.1-4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalytic Traditions,' in *DSS*:7 (2000), pp.354-377, p.364, and 'The Origins of Evil in Jewish Apocalyptic Tradition: The Interpretation of Genesis 6.1-4 in the Second and Third Centuries B.C.E.,' in The Fall of the Angels, Christoph Auffarth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp.87-118, esp. p.101.

[264] *Cf.* Gen 3.14-15 where the serpent is cursed with enmity between his offspring and those of the woman, human beings.

[265] P.K. McCarter discusses the etymology and interpretation in 'Shades,' *ISBE*:4, p.440. All four meanings (race of giants, their land or homeland, ghosts, or the dead) appear in 'רפאים', in *BDB Hebrew-English Lexicon* (Peabody: Hendrickson, repr. 1996, 1907), p.952. Thus, this meaning seems appropriate. Also see Roland K. Harrison, 'Giants,' in *ISBE*:2, p.460; Hedwige Rouillard-Boraisin, 'Rephaim, רפאים, in *DDD*, pp.692-700; and Mark S. Smith, 'Rephaim,' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.674-676.

[266] See Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* 7.185; also *cf.* Tertullian, *De Anima* 57; Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.5.142 and Eph 2.2.

that celestial and terrestrial boundaries have been broken resulting in the birth of these giant offspring. Their physical deaths unleash sin and invisible evil *manāfest* upon the earth.

2.2 *Otherworldly Journeys, Chapters 17-36* (19.1; 20.3, 6; 22.3, 5, 9)

The 'spirits' we encounter in 19.1 of the *BW* are not readily identifiable. A preliminary glance makes it unclear if the angel Uriel is referring to the *manāfest* of the Watchers, whom he calls angels, or the evil *manāfest* of their offspring. David Hill determines that in this instance the term 'spirits' indicates the personal being of the Watchers.[267] Initially, this appears likely, as throughout the *BW* the celestial beings are referred to as Watchers (10.9, 15; 12.2, 4; 13.10; 14.1, 3; 15.2; 16.2, 3), or spiritual beings. [268] However, Burton argues that the meaning of רוח (*manfas*, *πνεῦμα*) as a 'personal being' is closely aligned with character and activity, whereby the term becomes just a dramatic way of articulating an action.[269]

In such an instance, jealousy is attributed to the 'spirit of jealousy' (Hos 4.12; 5.4; *cf.* Isa 19.14; Hos 4.12; Mic 2.11). This is quite different from the meaning of רוח as an extremely refined, invisible, non-corporeal being[270] as *1 Enoch* 15.11 appears to imply (*cf.* Job 4.15, Zech 13.2). Consequently, we must attempt to determine if the term *manāfest* in the *BW* text represents a substantive mode of existence, spiritual as opposed to physical;[271] or, does the term in this instance speak to something altogether different?

Verse 2 provides important insight, for it links the fate of the *manāfest*, in this instance the Watchers, with that of their human wives. Further, here the term is located within the culminating section (19.1-3) to Enoch's terrestrial and heavenly journeys conducted in the two preceding (chapters 17.1-18.16). He

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[267] Hill, *Greek Words*, p.221.
[268] Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, 'spiritual ones' (15.4, 6, 7); as does Isaacs, '1 Enoch.'
[269] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit, Soul, Flesh*, pp.60-61.
[270] Philip Alexander argues that during this period, particularly in Qumran thought, demons were considered to be non-corporeal beings that were neither human nor angelic. See 'Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp.331-353, esp. p.332.
[271] Black concludes the writer is referring here to the 'spirits' of the Watchers as being separated from their angelic bodies, and allowed to roam free to torment humans while their bodies abide in the 'great abyss.' See *1 Enoch*, pp.160-161, n.1. Nickelsburg translates 'spirits' with discussion that supports Black. See his comments on 19.1-2 in *Commentary*, pp.287-288. He writes, 'Since the

visits a mountain summit that reaches heaven (17.2) and the 'mouths of all the great rivers of the earth' (17.8). He views the 'storehouses of all the winds' (18.1) and the 'paths of angels' (18.4). Near the end of his journey he visits a great chasm set within a sweltering desert. Enoch learns that this place is a prison for 'stars' and other heavenly beings who transgress against God (18.14-16). The angel Uriel informs Enoch (19.1) that this is the place where the *manāfest* will remain. With these two points in mind, we can safely assume that Uriel is referring to the 'spirits' of the Watchers. The following translations of 1 En 19.1 taken from Knibb and Isaac respectively apply:

> 'And Uriel said to me: "The spirits of the angels who were promiscuous with the women will stand here; and they, assuming many forms, made men unclean and will lead men astray so that they sacrifice to demons as gods – (that is,) until the great judgement day on which they will be judged so that an end will be made of them."[272]
>
> *1 Enoch* 19.1

> 'And Uriel said to me, "Here shall stand in many different appearances the spirits of the angels which have united themselves with women. They have defiled the people and will lead them into error so that they will offer sacrifices to the demons as unto gods, until the great day of judgement in which they shall be judged till they are finished.'
>
> *1 Enoch* 19.1

In this verse we learn something interesting about the Watchers apart from their illicit liaisons with human females and their fathering of a race of giants. First, their *manāfest* take on many forms or have many different appearances, and their interaction with humans foster idolatry, presumably through their offspring (15.8, 11-12). Perhaps the writer perceives that their conspiratorial rebellion against God, which is inspired by their lust for relations with human females (6.2-8), constitutes idolatrous behaviour. What we do learn from the writing is that the sin and corruption their alliance sparks will continue on the earth until the 'great judgement day.'

Finally, the writer informs the reader that they will be judged for their actions and 'an end will be made of them.'[273] In other words, they will die or cease to exist. This supports the writer's earlier judicial proclamation from the Great Glory (14.20), whereby Enoch is told that the bodies of the giants will be destroyed before the great judgement. However, their 'spirits' will be

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angels are themselves imprisoned, "their spirits" should be interpreted as functionally equivalent if not identical with "the evil spirits" that went forth from the bodies of the dead giants...' *cf.* 15.8-12.
[272] Knibb translation in *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.106.
[273] Isaac, '1 Enoch', '...till they are finished,' p.23.

destroyed on the day of the 'great consummation,' when the Watchers and 'impious ones' will be destroyed (16.1).

The fact that the *BW* writer states that the Watchers' *manāfest* were able to assume many forms (*cf.* Gen 18.2; Josh 5.13; Jdg 6.17, 22),[274] rather than invade or possess human hosts distinguishes these writings from later NT literature (Matt 8.16; Mark 1.32; 5.18; Luke 8.36; Acts 8.7).[275] Also, the fact that celestial beings, or in this instance their 'spirits,' are able to assume human form (in such a way as to sire offspring) is consistent with Jewish biblical tradition, particularly that associated with angels.

However, we also learn that the 'spirits,' that is the vital life force of the Watchers will end or cease to exist. This indicates that while Watchers are celestial beings they are not immortal. Rather, the text suggests that like humans, celestial beings receive eternal life (15.4, 6) as a gift from God. As a consequence of their actions the 'spirits' of the Watchers will be destroyed at the same time as that of the evil 'spirits' which come out of their giant offspring. It is unfortunate that the scope of this study will not permit us to investigate the anthropological question that beckons us: Do Watchers have *a* spirit or *are* they 'spirits'? However, in this instance, it appears that the *BW* writer uses the term *manāfest* to express the essence or inner life force of the Watchers,[276] that which animates their being and causes them to exist (*cf.* Ps 104.29; 146.4; Wis 11.20; 2 Macc 7.22, 23).

In (chapter 20), two angels are identified with the phrase 'spirits of men' – Raphael (20.3) and Saraqael (20.6).[277] In Jewish tradition Raphael is well known, for he is most readily associated with healing (Tob 3.17; 11.1). It stands to reason, for his name is a play on the words 'God healed.'[278] He is also identified with good health (5.16). In the *BW* he is commanded by God to bind 'Asa'el (10.4) and heal the earth ruined by the Watchers (v.7). As one of the

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[274] Kaufmann Kohler concurs, but argues that angels also have the ability to become invisible. See 'Angelology,' *JE*, Vol.1, p.583.

[275] Alexander argues that as demons originated as human-angelic hybrids, the 'spirits' of the Nephilim, as disembodied 'spirits' they roam the world as the undead, seeking embodiment. See, 'Demonology,' p.339.

[276] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.60.

[277] Also translated Sariel, see Black, *1 Enoch*, p.36; and Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, p.294.

[278] See F. Zimmerman, *The Book of Tobit* (New York: Jewish Apocryphal Literature, 1958), p.66; H. Lamparter, *Die Apokryphen II: Weisheit Salomos, Tobias, Judith, Baruch*, BAT:25. (Stuttgart: 1972), p.108, n.6.

archangels, Raphael presents prayers and petitions before God and the 'holy ones' (*1 En* 9.3-11; *cf.* Tob 12.11), but also wards off and subdues demons and evil 'spirits' (6.18; 8.2; *cf. 1 En* 10.4).[279] He also functions as Enoch's *angelus interpres* (32.6).[280] We can safely assume that Raphael plays a role in both the physical and psychical healing of the 'spirits of men.'

A complex profile surrounds the angel *Saraqael*[281] (Grk, *Σαριήλ, Σαρακαήλ*; Ara, שריאל) from various sources which often equate him with Sariel[282] and sometimes Uriel.[283] While biblical texts do not mention Saraqael, he is featured in later Jewish folklore and magical texts. In Jewish angelology, he appears as the 'prince of ministering angels' and officiates when the angels convene at judgement councils.[284] His name (as *Sariel*) also appears in the *War Scroll,* where it is to be written on the shields of each member of the 'third tower.'[285] Further, in sources from the much later Kabbalistic tradition[286] he is regarded as the angel appointed over the south winds – a source of prosperity and life, as well as devastation (*cf. 1 En* 76.7-9; *cf.* Ps 78.26-31; Sir 43.16-17). In occultism, he is one of the nine angels of the summer equinox and his name is a prescribed amulet effective against the 'evil eye.'[287] In astrology, he is associated with 'forbidden knowledge' pertaining to the course of the moon, and appears alone or with the angel *Sataaran,* governing the sign of the Aries the Ram.[288]

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[279] Ludwig Blau, 'Raphael, רפאל,' in *JE*:10, pp317-18.
[280] Gabriel appears in this capacity in 20.7.
[281] See Knibb who acknowledges this name reflects corruption in the Eth. text in *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.107, n.10.6. Alternative spellings include Sarakiel and Zerachiel, *DOA*, p.260.
[282] Alternative spellings may include Suriel and Seriel, *DOA*, p.260.
[283] See *DOA*, pp.258, 260. Levi, *Transcendental Magic: Its Doctrine and Ritual* (London: Bracken, 1995), p.413. The Eth. leaves little doubt (Eno 9.1-3, 20.2-6) that Uriel and Sariel are different angels. Yigail Yadin makes this distinction in *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, Batya and Chaim Rabin, trans. (Oxford; OUP, 1962), pp.237-242, and p.302, n.15. Also note that Black translates 20.6 with Sariel, in *1 Enoch*, p.36. Isaac, '1 Enoch,' and Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, translate as Saraqa'el. See pp.24 and 107 respectively.
[284] See *DOA*, p.258.
[285] In *The War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (*1QM* 9.10-14), 'towers' is a term used for fighting divisions similar to battalions (*1QM* 9.4), infantry or calvary units (9.5-6). Also see Black, *1 Enoch*, p.129, n.1.
[286] *Cf.* M. Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angélologie* (1898), pp.205, 260. Also see Polotsky, 'Suriel der Trompeter,' *Mus* 49 (1936), pp.331-343. *HeKhaloth Rabbathi*, BHM iii, 88 sq., 99.
[287] The '*Sefer Ḥasidim* warns sisters not to marry on the same day 'lest the evil eye fall on the parents...' See pp.23-26; also see Joseph Jacobs article 'Superstition,' in *JE*, Vol.2, pp.600-601.
[288] See 'Sarakiel' and 'Sariel,' in *DOA*, pp.258, 260. Also see E. Levi, *Transcendental Magic*, p.413.

If these various traditions are relevant – that the angel Saraqael is also known as Sariel[289] – then we can identify him in the *BW* as one of the archangels (*1 En* 9.1) who observe and report the sins of the Watchers to the Most High (9.1-11).[290] However, this is unlikely, as these traditions occur much later than the *BW*. Here in 20.6, Saraqael[291] is listed along with Uriel (*Οὐριήλ*, v.2),[292] Raphael (*Ραφαήλ*, v.3), Raguel (*Ραγουήλ*, v.4), Michael (*Μιχαήλ*, v.5) and Gabriel (*Γαβριήλ*, v.7), as one of the archangels where he is in charge of 'the spirits of men who cause the spirits to sin.' Both Knibb and Black acknowledge inner corruption of the Ethiopic text regarding the name Saraqael. [293] Additionally, Black proposes that the Ethiopic text may be a confused rendering of the Greek,[294] which identifies this angel as the one who is over the 'spirits who cause the children of men to sin [in the spirit],' in other words – the angel of apostasy.

Exactly how we should interpret this particular verse (20.6) is uncertain. However, for a moment we might consider the possibility of an angelic hierarchy being depicted here. We have seen an angelic hierarchy portrayed in the *BW* with *Shemiḥazah* identified as the leader (6.3, 8) over at least 19[295] other Watchers who conspire with him (6.6) on Mount Hermon. Accordingly, these angelic leaders together were responsible for at least another 200 angels (20 leaders of groups of 10 each) who also participate in the conspiracy (6.8). In (chapter 8.1-4) we find another distinction whereby seven Watchers provide specific teachings to their human wives. It stands to reason that *Shemiḥazah* was the highest-ranked angel among the fallen Watchers,[296] but had a superior

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[289] Nickelsburg makes this argument in his discussion on *1 En* 10.1-3, (*Asurial* or *Sariḥ*), as does Black, see his note on 10.1, pp.132-133 and 9.1, p.129. Eth. ms identifies *Arsyalalyur* as the angel sent to Lamech in 10.1, see Knibb, '1 Enoch', p.87. Isaac translation names *Asuryal* (possibly *Arsayalaldor* or *'Asarya Leyur*), p.17, n.10.b.

[290] See Knibb, '1 Enoch', p.84; also Black with 'Sariel,' p.29. Isaac translation names Surafel, while acknowledging 'Suryan' and 'Ur'el' in additional mss. Nickelsburg and Black also identify Sariel in Eno 10.1 (ommitted in the Eth. text) as the messenger to Lamech.

[291] Black reads *Sariel*.

[292] The inclusion of Uriel eliminates any confusion between the two angels in this instance.

[293] George Nickelsburg interprets this to mean 'blasphemy against God…against the Spirit of God,' suggesting this verse may represent a Christian alteration. See *Commentary*, p.296; *cf.* Mark 3.29; *par* Matt 12.31; Luke 12.10. Black concurs suggesting a link with 'spirits' who cause apostasy; *cf.* Isa 29.24, p.163, n.5.

[294] For his full argument regarding the Greek phrase *'ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν πνευμάτων & υἱὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῷ πνεύματι ἐξαμαρτάνουσιν'* see p.163, n.6.

[295] See Knibb for a comprehensive table listing the names, comparing those names provided in the Aramaic, Greek and Ethiopic texts, p.71.

[296] One tradition list 'Asa'el as leader, while another identifies Azazel.

to whom he reported among the archangels. In 20.1, Uriel begins to list the angels by identifying them as 'the holy angels who keep watch.'

As an archangel or prince in charge of the 'spirits' that cause 'spirits' to sin, it is feasible that *Saraqael* as a 'prince of God' also held oversight for Watchers who according to Daniel 4.17, observe and pronounce judgements on human actions. This is confirmed in Jewish angelology that identifies *Saraqael* as the officiating angel during angelic judgement councils. As a 'prince of God' or 'prince of ministering angels,' his name places him in harmony with his appointed task in 20.6, particularly as suggested by Black's alternative rendering in the Greek. Further, his name in the *DSS* confirms his ranking alongside other, more notable archangels (Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael; *cf.* *1QM* 9.15-16). Therefore, we can conclude that *Saraqael* is the angel in charge of the *manāfest* – those of fallen Watchers or their giant offspring – who cause human 'spirits' to err. Thus, Raphael and Saraqael stand together with opposing responsibilities. Raphael is a guardian with a healing capacity for 'spirits of men,' while Saraqael is a guardian angel with a judicial responsibility as regards safeguarding 'spirits of men' from apostasy. In both instances, the term 'spirits of men' could represent the psychical centre of human mentality as it relates to religious and moral life, decision-making, and the resulting human action.

The final section in which the term *manāfest* is located in the *BW* is within a discourse on the 'spirits of the souls of the dead' (22.3, 5, 9). It is important to note that these *manāfest* are those of dead human beings (22.5), 'sons of men.' Some discussion has surrounded these textual citations for while the Ethiopic and Greek texts depict plural 'spirits,' in v. 5, the Aramaic text has Enoch seeing the 'spirit' of only one dead man.[297] Knibb points out that the Greek shows a single spirit in v.5*b* and the following verses (vv.6, 7), as does the Ethiopic (*manfes*, vv.6, 7).[298] In verses (vv.6-7), the spirit of Abel is depicted as crying out in complaint against his murderer, his brother Cain. The singular forms (Eth. *manfes*, Ara. רוח and Gk. *πνεῦμα*) have encouraged some scholars to suggest that a single spirit throughout was originally mentioned, with the

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[297] See Black, *1 Enoch*, p.37; Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, p.300. Both translate 'spirit.'

[298] See Knibb, *Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, p.109, n.22.5. Nickelsburg translates a singular 'spirit,' acknowledging in the Aram. (coll.) רוח אנש מת, 'spirt of dead men' (4QEn^{e} 1 22.3) and the Gr. *ἀνθρώπους νέκρους* (dead men). See *Commentary*, p.301, n.5a.

'spirit' of Abel serving as a prototype for the martyred righteous.[299] However, this cannot be the case.

First, the Cain and Abel narrative in Genesis 4.1-16 is a narrative on the early Jewish traditions concerning cultic sacrifices. The story of the two siblings also introduces a recurring theme in the Pentateuch where elder sons are passed over in favour of the younger sons. For example, Isaac is favoured over Ishmael (Gen 17.19), and Jacob receives the blessing of the 'firstborn' from his father instead of his elder brother Esau (Gen 27.23). In the same way, Joseph is clearly favoured over all his brothers (Gen 37.2), and likewise, his son Ephraim is blessed and positioned over his elder brother Manasseh (Gen 48.20).[300] Also, there is a long-standing tradition within Jewish literature that supports a corresponding theme: when innocent human blood is shed it pollutes the earth, cries out, and captures God's attention (Gen 4.10; 6:11–12; 18:20; 1 Kgs 21; Exod 20:13; Num 35:9–34; Ps 37; Isa 5:7; 2 Macc 8.9; *2 Esd* 15.8; also *cf.* Rev 6:9–10).[301] It appears that here, the *BW* writer has attributed a similar quality to the *manāfest* of other deceased humans (*1 En* 22.5), and draws on the familiarity of the language used in the Cain and Abel narrative to support his application.

Secondly, in 22.8 Enoch questions the angel *Raphael* regarding the various places he has seen (vv.1-4). *Raphael* explains that at least three of the places serve to separate the '*manāfest* of the dead' (v.9). Initially, he begins his account by describing a totally separate place established for the 'spirits of the righteous' (22.3-4, 9). This space is further supported by the fact that within it is a spring of fresh water[302] and light[303] (*cf.* Ps 36.9; Add Esth 10.6), imagery typically associated with life.[304] In the following verses (22.10-13), *Raphael* goes on to identify the three locations Enoch asks about. He describes the first as being established for sinners who die without receiving earthly punishment.

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[299] Knibb suggests it is not certain if רוח is the last word of line 3 (22.3) in the Aramaic text. See *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.109. Charles amends his Ethiopic translation to one spirit, *Enoch, Ανεχδοτα Οξονιενσια*, Semitic Series 9 (Oxford: 1906). Isaac, '1 Enoch', concurs with Knibb. However, Black writes 'the *ἡ φωνὴ αὐτοῦ*, however, is evidence of an original singular as are the following two verses...,' p.166, n.5. See Nickelsburg's comments, *Commentary*, pp.305-306.

[300] See Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC:1 (Waco: Word Books, 1987), p.96.

[301] Also see Raymond Westbrook, 'Punishments & Crimes (OT and ANE),' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.546-556.

[302] In Revelation water denotes life (7.17; 21.6; 22.1, 17; *cf.* Sir 29.21, 39.26,

[303] Light is also associated with life (God, Ps 56.13; Bar 3.14; *cf.* John 8.12; 2 Tim 1.10).

[304] See Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, p.307.

Their *manāfest* will suffer great torment in this place until Judgement Day at which time they will be bound forever and suffer great retribution (v.10; *cf.* the 'spirits' of the Watchers, 19.1). 'Spirits' that cry out in complaint against their murderers, e.g., Abel, occupies the second area (v.12). The third place is created for the *manāfest* of the wicked, who will not be killed on the Day of Judgment, but will experience great eternal torment (v.13).

When we review (chapter 22) as a single unit, it appears most likely that the *BW* writer is giving an account on the location of all *manāfest* of dead humans, whereby the *manfes* of Abel is one among many. Based on this, we are also able to determine that the author believed the human 'spirits' continued to exist after the death and demise of fleshly bodies, a concept we encountered earlier (*cf.* 15.8-9; 16.1). Further, the text specifically accounts for the punishment and end of rebellious terrestrial 'spirits,' an idea frequently expressed by the author regarding the 'spirits' of celestial beings, such as the Watchers (19.1). Therefore, in this instance, we can conclude that the term *manāfest* throughout (chapter 22) most likely represents the animating life-force within humans.[305]

2.3 *Summary (Book of Watchers)*

Within the *Shemiḥaza* and *'Asa'el* narratives (chapters 6-16), the literary tradition of fluid and diverse meanings associated with the Hebrew term רוח continues. In Enoch's primordial narrative the term *manāfest* (רוחות, *πνεύματα*) represents the evil offspring sired by the fallen celestial beings - Watchers - and their human female companions. However, in (chapters 17-36) that follow the term seems to indicate the life force within celestial beings and humans.

An opposing duality appears to be present in the writer's understanding of the Ethiopic term *manfas* (רוח, *πνεῦμα*). In one instance, *manāfest* (רוחות, *πνεύματα*) represents the animating life-force of humans that continues to exist even after death. While alternatively, the writing indicates that the *manāfest* of the fallen Watchers will cease to exist. What does this say about the writer's ontological understanding of celestial beings? How does it compare with those of other writers from this time period? It is unfortunate

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[305] *Cf.*, E.D. Burton, *Spirit*, p.60.

that we cannot explore these questions further. At this point in our study, it is sufficient to note that there are similarities between the diverse meanings associated with רוח in the OT and the term *manfas* present in the *BW*.

3. The Book of Dream Visions *(BDV*, 83-90)

There term *manāfest* does not occur in the *BDV*, and angels are only mentioned once (84.4). The *BDV* provides an account of two separate visions experienced by Enoch. As the Book opens, the patriarch is sharing the first of these accounts which his son Methuselah. His first vision, which Enoch describes as 'terrible', is contained in (chapters 83-84); here we find angels mentioned in the author's discourse. The patriarch's vision begins with him witnessing a catastrophic event, whereby the entire earth is swallowed up in a great abyss (83.4).[306] Malalel, Enoch's grandfather (v.6), instructs him to petition the Lord of Glory (v.8) to spare a remnant of human beings (*cf.* Sir 44.17).[307] Prayers of this nature are present in Jewish canonical literature (Gen 45.7; 2 Kgs 19.4; Isa 37.4; Ezek 11.13).

During his prayerful petition (83.10-84.6), Enoch indicates that sinful angels are 'doing wrong' provoking God's wrath. However, Enoch perceives that all humanity suffers the consequences of an angelic rebellion. Further, he determines that human suffering will continue until the great Judgement Day (84.4). Enoch's grandfather, Malalel acknowledges that Enoch's vision contains hidden knowledge that not only reveals the earth's cataclysmic destruction, but also the origin of all earthly sin (83.7). Presumably, this statement refers back to the *BW* narrative, which links the fall of the Watchers with the derivation of sin on earth. However, in the *BW* the writer predicts that a watery deluge (10.2) will destroy the earth along with all life.[308] If Malalel's comment is intended to legitimise the *BW* account of the origin of sin, then we have another example where Watchers are categorised as angels.

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[306] *Cf.* Exod 15.12 where the earth swallows up Pharaoh's army; Num 16.32, 26.10 (for Korah and the rebels); Deut 11.6 and Ps 106.17 (for Dathan and his sons); also Rev 12.16 where the earth swallows the river. Also, *cf. 1 En* 10.2, where the impending Flood is revealed to the son of Lemech, Noah (according to Gen 5.28-29, 30; 1 Chr 1.3).

[307] In Sir 44.17 where this action is attributed to Noah.

[308] See Paul Hanson who draws this parallel with places of punishment associated with heavenly rebellions in 'Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11,' *JBL*:96 (1977),

4. Epistle of Enoch (*EE*, 91-105)

The *EE* is a series of addresses from the patriarch Enoch. There are several instances in which the term *manāfest* is cited throughout the writings (98.3, 10; 99.7; 103.3, 4, 8). The *EE* is comprised of discourses directed at different audiences. For instance, Enoch addresses epistles to Methuselah and his family (chapters 91, 92–93.2), admonitions and woes are directed at sinners (chapters 94-95, 97, 98-99), other discourses present messages of hope for the righteous (chapter 96, 103-104), while in others the patriarch speaks of the coming judgement (chapter 100, 102).

Additionally, imbedded within the epistle general is an apocalypse, appropriately called the Apocalypse of Weeks (91.12-17; 93.1-10). The Apocalypse of Weeks arranges human history in a period of ten weeks beginning with Enoch's birth on the seventh day of the first week (93.3), concluding with the eschaton (91.16) in the seventh part of the tenth week.[309] The remainder of the epistle discusses aspects of the final judgement presumed in this apocalypse. There are at least four verses where the term 'spirits' is used within these various discourses (98.3, 10; 99.7; 103.3, 4, 8) and we will include these in our examination.[310] However, as an aside we will note that none of these citations fall within the Apocalypse of Weeks.

4.1 *'Oaths' and 'Woes,' Chapters 98-99* (98.3, 10; 99.7)

The *EE* writer's first mentions 'spirits' in (chapter 98). The first section (98.1-6) opens with several prophetic declarations introduced by oaths stressing the validity (vv.1, 4, 6) of the revelations (*cf.* 1 Sam 3.14; 2 Sam 19.7; 2 Kgs 9.26; Jer 22.5, 6; 44.26; Ezek 36.7; Rev 10.6). The second section (98.9-15) concludes (chapter 98) with a series of prophetic 'woe' admonitions (vv.9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15).[311] The patriarch addresses his first oracle (98.1-3) to 'wise and foolish' men.

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pp.195-233. Likewise, Nickelsburg also suggests this reference is associated with the *'Asa'el* (Azazel) rebellion and human participation. See *Commentary*, p.353.

[309] See James C. Vanderkam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition*, CBQMS:16, (Washington: 1984), pp.142-160.

[310] Isaacs in '1 Enoch' adds 99.14; 102.11, yet acknowledges lit. trans. 'souls.' Both Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, and Black, *1 Enoch*, concur with Knibb translation of 'spirits.'

[311] Numerous woe admonitions occur throughout Old Testament prophetic literature (Num 21.29; Isa 3.9, 11; 45.9, 10; Jer 13.27; 22.13; 23.1; 48.46; Ezek 13.18; 24.6, 9; Hos 7.13; 9.12), Apocrypha (Jdt 16.17; Sir 2.12, 13, 14; 41.8; 4 Ezra 2.8; 15.47; 16.1, 63, 77), and the New Testament (Matt

These individuals are flamboyant in their personal appearance. They are richly attired in colourful apparel adorning themselves with lavish jewelry - apparel Enoch suggests is typically associated with female attire (v.2).[312]

We cannot be certain if this is an indictment against transvestism or hedonistic behaviour associated with cultic festivals whereby sumptuous banquets and the lavish attire worn to such events would be commonplace (*cf.* Isa 3.18-23; Hos 2.13; Jdt 10.4).[313] Alternatively, it may simply be the author's personal admonition against what he perceives to be an extravagant and wasteful use of resources such as food, drink and wealth.[314] Enoch's writing attests that they squander their resources for they are 'poured out like water' (v.3). Their frivolous actions prevent them from obtaining 'knowledge and wisdom' (v.3). Thus, their *manāfest* will suffer shame, desolation (*ἐρήμωσις*)[315] and be cast into a 'furnace of fire' (Matt 13.42, 50; also *cf.* Ps 21.9; Pr Azar 1.66). We may conclude the author is speaking of human 'spirits' as his admonition is addressed to 'wise and foolish' men. More specifically, as the judgement speaks of their utter destruction, *manāfest* appears to represent the animating life-force within humans. This is a familiar meaning frequently present in *1 Enoch* (*cf.* 19.1; 22.3, 5, 9) that will be explored later in our discussion on Revelation. There, we will find similar language and imagery adopted in John's vision of the Judgement of the great whore of Babylon (chapter 17).

The *EE* writer mentions 'spirits' again in the latter half of (chapter 98). In vv.9-10, Enoch addresses his admonition to 'fools' who he also classifies as 'sinners.' They are foolish humans who do not listen to or heed the advice of the wise. Consequently, their *manāfest* will be destroyed. Enoch's pronouncement suggests that these persons should not anticipate God's mercy and forgiveness through ransom (*λύτρου*, *cf.* כפר, to cover over or atone *without* sacrifice; Exod 21.30; 30.12; Ps 49.7; Prov 6.35; 13.8; also פדה, ransom, Lev 27.29;

11.21; 18.7; 23.13, 15, 16, 23, 25, 27; 29; 14.21; Luke 6.24; 25, 26; 10.13; 11,42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52; 21.23; Jude 1.11; Rev 8.13; 12.12).

[312] *Cf.* Deut 22:5,312 which appears to also be a ban on the practice of transvestism.

[313] See L.G. Running, 'Garments,' in *ISBE*:2 (1982), pp.406-407.

[314] See Nickelsburg, where he writes 'although the use of simile suggests that the author does not have in mind the critique of transvestism in Deut 22.5, his sarcasm regarding the impropriety is unmistakable.' *Commentary on 1 Enoch*, pp.475-476.

[315] See Black, *1 Enoch*, commentary Chapter 98, p.301, n.3.

Num 18.15; Deut 13.6; Ps 49.8).[316] Jewish laws in the Old Testament reflect this understanding of being ransomed, particularly as it is associated with the redemption of human life (*cf.* Rev 14.3, 4, 5.9 – *ἀγοράζω*).[317]

For instance, the imposing of a ransom is optional in the case of accidential death (Exod 21.30). Alternatively, no one is to accept a ransom for the act of murder (Num 35.31, 32). Only God has the power and authority to ransom human life or suffering from his own decree (Ps 49.7, 15; Hos 13.14), for it is conceiveable that God is capable of providing atonement or divine covering over human sins that cannot elsewhere be provided. According to some sapiential and prophetic writings, the lives of the wicked are the ransom for the righteous ones (Prov 21.18; Isa 43.3; also *cf.* 4 Macc 17.21). Additionally, the concept implies the ability to purchase favour or redemption through monetary means (*cf.* Exod 30.12, 16).

Instead, Enoch warns foolish sinners to prepare themselves for the distress and shame that will accompany the destruction of their 'spirits' on the great Judgement Day (*1 En* 98.3, 10). The idea that human 'spirits' have emotive abilities experiencing anguish, distress or shame is a common concept in biblical literature (Gen 41.8; Exod 6.9; Job 7.11; Prov 18.14; Isa 65.14; Dan 2.1, 3; 7.15; Wis 5.3; 2 Macc 9.11; 3 Macc 2.20; *cf.* John 13.31). The Enochic writings also attribute an emotive capacity to *manāfest* of celestial beings (13.16). In 98.10, the writer reinforces the forthcoming demise of the human 'spirits', speaking of their destruction, death, and judgement. The author's emphasis on this matter suggests that in this instance *manāfest* refer to the life-force essential to human existence.

We find the author's next use of *manāfest* following the opening sentence of a prophetic warning (99.7). Again, the patriarch begins his prediction with an oath authenticating its accuracy (v.6). In v.7, evil 'spirits' (*cf.* Zech 13.2; Mar 1.26; Luke 4.36)[318] are grouped with demons (*δαιμονίοις*, *cf.* Deut

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[316] Black, *1 Enoch*, adopts the *Eth.* '...for you are unaware, although you are prepared for the day of the great judgement,' p.91; also p.302, n.10. Perhaps this means that sinners are unaware that God has prepared them for judgement, or that their actions have determined their fate. Alternatvely, Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, emends the *Gr.* '...<know> that you have been prepared for a day of great judgement...' See p.482, n.10c.

[317] See Jeremiah Unterman, 'Redemption (Old Testament),' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.650-654; David Hill, *Greek Words*, pp.36-38.

[318] Black draws support for the *Eth.* with *Gr.* *πνεύμασιν ἀκαθάρτοις*, see p305, n.7, and p376, n.997. For the restored *Gr.* reading see Nickelsburg, *Commentary*, p.483, n.7d.

32.17; Ps 105.7; Isa 65.3 *LXX*; Bar 4.7), and both are associated with idolatry. According to the text, people are worshiping (*λατρεύω*) images 'of gold and of silver' and 'of wood and of clay' (Deut 29.17; Dan 5.4, 23; [319] Hab 2.19; Wis 13.10-11; also *cf.* Ezek 20.32). 'Spirits,' especially those considered to be unclean (*ἀκάθαρτος*, טמאה) and demons, are not frequently linked with idolatry. Only a few canonical texts preserve this application (Isa 19.3; Zech 13.2),[320] as we shall see later in John's Apocalypse (9.20). Here, the *EE* writer determines that human impiety begets spiritual blindness (*τυφλός*, Zeph 1.17; Isa 29.18; 35.5; 42.18; 59.10; *cf.* Matt 23.26; 15.14, *par.* Luke 6.39; Matt 23.16, 17, 19, 24; Rev 3.17), false visions and dreams (*1 En* 99.8). Consequently, the idolatrous humans will be destroyed (v.9).

We can make another interesting observation. The *EE* writer identifies humans as worshiping and serving 'and every [kind of] error' (or 'all errors,' *1 En* 99.7). In his commentary work on *1 Enoch*, Matthew Black argues, 'it is "idols" which are worshipped not 'errors' or 'apostasies'. And, rightly so. However, in his translation Black indicates this position by excluding the phrase 'every (kind of) error' altogether. [321] We might obtain some clarity by recognising that the act of 'serving' is not benign, for it also implies 'acting' and 'doing' in some capacity. Thus, in worshipping idols, one also has the ability to carry out or perform erroneous actions and activities. While the language of the *EE* writer appears to be all-encompassing suggesting every possible error conceiveable (*cf.* Wis 14.25), we shall see later that John employs highly recognisable limitations by linking idolatry with associative 'evil' activities (Rev 8.2-9.21).

4.2 *The Righteous Assured, Chapter 103* (103.3, 4, 8)

We find three citations where 'spirits' are mentioned in the first segment of one of Enoch's discourses intended to reassure the righteous, i.e. those persons who have died in faith, as well as those righteous persons who suffer hardships (vv.3, 4). The address opens with the traditional authenticating oath (103.1) followed by the patriarch's assertion of having access to revelatory

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[319] Also adds the metals 'bronze and iron.'
[320] See my discussion in Chapter 2, pp.33-40 and 44-49.

information (v.2). Enoch claims to have seen heavenly tablets giving an account of the deeds of the righteous (*cf.* Rev 20.12, 13). His revelation also provides a series of assurances and blessings for the *manāfest* (*πνεύματα*) of the righteous dead (v.4) and condemnations for sinners (v.8). Stark contrasts are drawn between the outcomes of good and evil human 'spirits' reflecting God's compassion and divine judgement. The recompense of the righteous will be prosperity and wealth (v.6); also God will remember their names throughout eternity (v.4; *cf.* Eccl 9.5). More importantly, the *manāfest* of the righteous ones who have died will come to life. On the other hand, sinners will spend eternity in Sheol. Their *manāfest* will experience no peace, only wretchedness and great distress, chained in darkness amidst burning flames (v.7-8).

Initially, it appears that within the *EE* we are given conflicting messages as to the outcome and final judgement of 'spirits.' First, in (chapter 98) we learn that human *manāfest* will be destroyed by fire (vv.3, 10), or at least the 'spirits' of those persons who participate in what the author considers behavioral excesses such as transvestitism, hedonism, or extravagance. However, here in 103.8 Enoch informs sinners they will live out eternity in fiery torment. The only, explanation we can posit is that in v.6, Enoch describes these sinners as those who did not suffer any judgement or distress during their lifetime. It is possible that this statement refers back to the *BW* account of the three locations where human 'spirits' will reside after physical death (22.10). Thus, rather than experiencing immediate death at judgement, these 'spirits' will be condemned to eternal torture and misery (103.6, 8). If this is so, then in this instance the term 'spirits' means the vital life-force within humans that continues after physical death.

4.3 *Summary (Epistle of Enoch)*

Throughout the EE the meaning associated with the term *manāfest* appears to be human 'spirits,' or the inner life-force that continues to exist even after physical death (chapters 98-99, 103). The term also appears to mean evil 'spirits' or demons when associated with the worship of pagan gods (99.7; 108.3).

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321 See Black, *1 Enoch*, p.305, n.7; also Isaac eliminates the phrase in his '1 Enoch', p.80. Nickelsburg retains it, *Commentary*, p.482, as does Knibb, p.233.

5. Another Book of Enoch (*ABE*, 108)

This single (chapter 108) serves as a closing discourse for the *Book of Enoch*. In v.1, the (chapter 108) is identified as 'Another Book of Enoch' and claims to have been written by the patriarch for his son Methuselah, and those who will come after him. There are five instances in Enoch's final speech where the term 'spirits' occurs (108.3, 6, 7, 9, 11). We will examine each of them.

5.1 *Enoch's Closing Discourse* (108.3, 6, 7, 9, 11)

The patriarch addresses the discourse to Methuselah and any law-observing followers who remain during the final days of the eschaton (vv.1-2). Enoch delivers condemnations to evildoers in a manner similar to the assurances given to the righteous ones in (chapter 103). The names of evildoers will be erased from the books of the 'holy ones' (108.3),[322] while the names of the righteous are remembered by God for all eternity (103.4; *cf.* Dan 12.1; Rev 3.5). The evil ones and their offspring will be destroyed forever; their *manāfest* will be killed and burned in fire (*cf.* Rev 13.8; 19.20; 20.15). Contrastingly, the *manāfest* of the righteous will live in joy and peace (*1 En* 103.4).

In the next few verses (108.4-5), Enoch gives a description of Sheol. He sees a chaotic, desert wasteland, encompassed by thick plumes of smoke, with flaming fires and great mountains quaking as they revolve. The cries and moans of those suffering great pain join with the thunderous sounds of erupting mountains. Enoch is told that the *manāfest* of sinners, blasphemers, evildoers, false prophets, and those who physically persecuted the righteous will be thrown into this place. Again, we will find later that very similar imagery is present in John's Apocalypse. For instance, a great mountain burning with fire is thrown into the sea (Rev 8.8), John see a bottomless pit with great plumes of smoke rising from its fiery furnace (9.1), and those who oppose God and worship the beast are tormented in eternal fire (14.10).

Enoch follows his judicial pronouncement to evildoers with a series of exhortations to the righteous. While the text provides little information as regards the 'spirits of the righteous' – they are *'the spirits of the humble'* – it does

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[322] *Cf.* Sir 41.11

describe the ascetic lifestyles of the righteous ones 'who *loved* God.'[323] First, they suffer verbal and physical abuse from evil men (108.7, 10). They do not cherish material goods, wealth, or food (v.9); they praise God during persecution, and they love heaven more than human life itself (v.10). Thus, the *ABE* writer depicts earthly existence as a period of testing by God (*cf.* Rev 2.10), during which time he assesses the purity of human 'spirits.' The *manāfest* that are found to be righteous are rewarded with blessings and are called the 'generation of light' (v.11), they receive thrones of honour and eternal life (vv.12-13; *cf.* Rev 4.4; 11.6; 20.4). In this section, the *ABE* writer is concerned with the moral behavior and religious virtues. It appears that his use of 'spirits' reflects the human psychical capacity to determine between good and bad behavior.

5.2 *Summary (Another Book of Enoch)*

Also, (chapter 108) reflects a notable shift in the Book's pneumatology, particularly as it relates to the meaning of the word *manāfest* (or Eth. *manfast*, Heb. רוחות, Grk. *πνευμάτα*). In this instance, the writer consistently links two aspects with the term 'spirits' that have heretofore remained separate. In the *ABE*, we can begin to detect a fluidity between the meaning of 'spirits' as the essential life-force of human existence and 'spirits' as that which denotes the centre of psychical and moral responsibility, an attribute of the term present in late canonical writings.[324] Hence we find evil 'spirits' of sinful humans (vv.6-7) juxtaposed with the pure 'spirits' of the righteous.

6. Book of the Similitudes (*BS*, 37-71)

The *BS* is the latest writing in the *1 Enoch* corpus and is not a Christian writing, contrary to the view of some scholars, such as J.T. Milik.[325] Unfortunately, there are no complete Hebrew or Aramaic manuscripts, and

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[323] See Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, itallics denote Eth. translation supported by additional Eth. textual evidence, rather than Ara. or Gr. texts, see p.47 for detailed explanation on translation.
[324] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.59. He lists Job 20.3; Isa 29.24; Ezek 11.5b; 20.32; and Mal 2.15b.
[325] Nickelsburg dates the Similitudes (37-71) in the late first century B.C.E. See his discussions on the Enochic corpus in *Commentary*, pp.7, 118-124.

only fragments exist of the Greek version.[326] The *BS*, as with the entire Enochic corpus (chapters 1-108), is extant only in Ethiopic (Ge'ez).[327]

The *BS* is an account of Enoch's visionary journeys throughout the cosmos and into the celestial throne room. The book presents at least two unique characteristics that are worth mentioning. The first applies to those segments within the writing that prominently feature the heavenly throne room and the great judgement. While the great judgement is frequently mentioned throughout *1 Enoch*, and we have explored several aspects thus far (16.1; 19.1; 84.4; 98.10), the *BS* features a distinctive principal figure that the writer refers as the 'Chosen One,'[328] 'Righteous One,'[329] 'Anointed One,'[330] and the 'Son of Man.'[331]

The other distinguishing attribute of this section of the Enochic corpus is worth mentioning because it concerns our examination of the term 'spirits.' Throughout the writing, the author consistently uses the appellation 'Lord of the spirits' as a divine epithet, which dependent upon the translation occurs well over one hundred times.[332] This represents a clear example whereby the *BS* author makes abundant use of an expression that occurs less than five times in canonical writings (Num 16.22; 27.16; Rev 22.6; also *cf.* 2 Macc 3.24).[333] It has been suggested that the expression in *1 Enoch* represents the ideas of a Priestly

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[326] See Nickelsburg's *Commentary*, p.13; J.T. Milik, 'Fragments grecs du livre d'Hénoch (Papyrus Oxyrhynchus xvii 2069), in *Chronique d'Égypte*:46 (1971), pp.321-343.

[327] According to Knibb and Nicklesburg, the Ethiopic version is a translation from a Greek translation of the Aramaic original that can be dated between the fourth and sixth centuries. For Nicklesburg's comments see *Commentary of 1 Enoch*, pp.15-16, and Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, Vol.2, pp.21-22. Among the nine Ethiopic I manuscripts belonging to the first recension the EMML 2080 (dating from the 14th century) and the Hammerschmidt – (15th century) hold more significance, as does the less primative Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23 (Ryl) among those of the second recension (Ethiopic II). See discussions by Knibb who makes extensive use of Rylands manuscript in *Ethiopic Enoch*, pp.1-6, 21-46 in light of Ara. And Gr. evidence available. Isaacs who makes primary use of the Tānāsee 9/11 manuscript, with support from the EMML 2080. See '1 Enoch,' in *OTP*, pp.5-7.

[328] Of Moses (Ps 106.23), David (Ps 89.3), Israel (Sir 47.22).

[329] Of Yahweh (Prov 21.12; Isa 24.16), Suffering Servant (Isa 53.11).

[330] Of Abiathar (1 Sam 2.35), see Ralph Klein, *1 Samuel*, WBC:10 (Waco: Word Books, 1983), pp.27-28.

[331] Of Jesus, primarily throughout the Gospels (Matt 8.20; 9.6; 10.23; 11.19; 12.8, 32, 40; 13.37, 41; 16.13, 27, 28; 17.9, 12, 22; 19.28; 20.18, 28; 24.27; 30, 37, 39, 44; 25.31; 26.2, 24, 45, 64; Mark 2.10, 28; 8.31, 38; 9.9, 12, 31; 10.33, 45; 13.26; 14.21, 41, 62; Luke 5.24; 6.5, 22; 7.24; 9.22, 26, 44, 58; 11.30; 12.8, 10, 40; 17.22, 24, 26; 18.8, 31; 19.10; 21.27, 36; 22.22, 48, 69; 24.7; John 1.51; 3.13, 14; 5.27; 6.27, 53, 62; 8.28; 9.35; 12.23, 34; 13.31), but also see Acts 7.56; Heb 2.6 and *cf.* Rev. 1.13; 14.14.

[332] Black notes that the title occurs at least 104 times in thirty-four chapters. See *1 Enoch*, pp.189-193, for his discusion on *Nomina Dei* in the Parables.

redactor, and its origin can thus be traced to its biblical source in the Old Testament (יהוה אלהי הרוחת, Num 16.22; 27.16).[334] Another theory is that the phrase represents the author's 'interpretative transformation' of the popular Jewish epithet 'Lord of hosts.'[335] However, what is most significant for our review is that when we exclude the use of the expression, the term *manāfcst* can be isolated to only four verses (39.12; 41.8; 60.12; 69.22).[336]

In his commentary, the *Book of Enoch,* Matthew Black divides the parables within the *BS* into three sections: (1) (chapters 37-44), (2) (chapters 45-57), and (3) (chapters 58-71). For the sake of clarity and to serve as a guide in structuring our discussion, we adopt this outline here.

6.1 *The First Parable, Chapters* 37-44 (39.12; 41.8)

The *BS* writer uses the term 'spirits' twice in the first section of his book (39.12; 41.8).[337] The introduction identifies the revelation as a 'vision of wisdom' given to Enoch and is followed by a brief outline of the patriarch's genealogy. Both are formats consistent with Old Testament prophetic writings and especially 'call' narratives (Isa 1.1; Jer 1.1-3; Ezek 1.1-3; Dan 8.1; Obad 1.1; Mic 1.1; Nah 1.1; Hab 1.1; 2.2; also *cf.* Rev 1.1-3). The author's use of this literary arrangement lends support to the hypothesis that he is drawing upon literary traditions present in Jewish religious writings. In (chapter 39), we find a retelling of the *BW* narrative on the heavenly Watchers. Although the 'holy children' are unnamed, the fact that they are 'holy' and descend from heaven is consistent with the Genesis narrative on the 'sons of God' (Gen 6.2-7). Further, the offsprings of the 'holy children' are identified as being one with the 'sons of men' (39.1). The text, though somewhat confusing, is suggestive nonetheless that a union between celestial and terrestrial beings spawns offspring.[338] The immediate reactions of indignation, anger, tumult and confusion, when

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[333] The divine appellation also appears on two separate Rhencia stones that paleography dates back to the late 2nd-early 1st century B.C.E. See Loren T. Stuckenbruck's monograph, *Angel Veneration and Christology*, pp.183-184.
[334] See F.-M. Abel, *Les Livres de Maccabées* (Paris, 1949), p.234.
[335] See Black, *1 Enoch*, p.191; also B. H. Streeter, who pens this phrase in *The Four Gospels* (London, 1951), p.372.
[336]For agreement see Isaac, *'1 Enoch'*, pp.31, 33; Black, *1 Enoch*, pp.44, 46. In 61.11 Knibb translates singular 'spirit,' *Ethiopic Enoch* p.150, as does Isaac, *'1 Enoch'*, p.42, and Black *1 Enoch*, p.58.
[337] See Black, *1 Enoch*, p.42.
[338] Black translates, 'their seed (*σπέρμα*) will become mingled with...' in *1 Enoch*, p.44.

combined with the divine judgement given by the 'Lord of spirits' (v.2), further confirm this parable is retelling the unholy alliance between Watchers and human females.

Enoch is then carried into the heavenly realm where he receives a vision of the celestial home of the righteous (vv.4-10). Enoch sees the righteous, angels and 'holy ones' dwelling together and praying together on behalf of humanity (v.5). While here, Enoch hears an angelic chorus singing the three-fold *sanctus* - holy, holy, holy - praising the 'Lord of spirits' (v. 12; *cf.* Isa 6.3; Rev 4.8). It is the Watchers (*cf.* 39.13; 40.2, 61.12, 71.7) standing before God who declare that 'he fills the earth with spirits.' It is difficult to immediately interpret what the writer means. Black argues that the author's world is full of angelic beings and disembodied 'spirits' of whom God is supreme.[339] However, we shall argue that the emphasis in this hypothesis is misplaced.

Thus far within the first section (37.1-39.12), a range of only thirty-two verses, the *BS* writer has used the appellation 'Lord of spirits' fourteen times![340] In contrast, angels occur once (39.5) as does 'holy children' (39.1), and the holy ones are mentioned twice (38.4; 39.5). However, the righteous are identified nine times,[341] nearly as frequently as the 'Lord of spirits.' Because Enoch addresses this first parable to 'those who dwell on the ground' (37.2), we can assume he is referring to human beings. In 38.2 we learn that the 'righteous'[342] are 'those who dwell on the ground' whose life and actions have been judged by the 'Lord of spirits.' The frequency of use within (chapters 37, 38 and 39) highlights the author's desire to emphasise the relationship between the 'Lord of spirits' and those *manāfest* who reside on the earth - namely human beings.

We can speculate further and suggest that the author is exhorting his audience to remember that they too are subjects of the 'Lord of the spirits.' He alone has filled the earth with *manāfest*. They are his chosen (38.2, 3, 4; 39.6, 7) people and will be judged according to their deeds (38.2). They must not forget that their eternal residence will be in heaven (39.6) as opposed to the earth. There they will dwell with celestial beings - holy ones and angels (v.4) - 'under

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339 Black, *1 Enoch*, p.198, n.12.
340 *1 En* 37.2, 4 (twice); 38.2 (twice), 4, 6; 39.2, 7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 12.
341 See 38.2 (twice), 3 (twice), 4, 5; 39.4, 6, 7.
342 Also referred to as 'righteous and chosen' in 38.2, 3, 4; 39.6, 7, as well as the 'righteous and holy' in 38.5.

the wings of the Lord of spirits' (v.7). From this perspective it is conceivable that *manāfest* in 39.12 represents the 'spirit' of man, the inner life force fundamental to human existence.[343] The implication is that the human spirit does not cease to exist after physical death, but carries with it the possibility of an eternal heavenly existence after judgement (20.3-12).

We also find the term 'spirits' located in (chapter 41), which continues the parable of Enoch's vision of the 'secrets of heaven' and the judgement of humanity (41.1). Again, Enoch has an opportunity to visit the dwelling place of the chosen righteous. However, this time he also views the final destination of agnostics – those who denied (*cf.* Ps 10.13; Rev 3.8) the name of the 'Lord of the spirits' (41.2; *ff.* 38.2; 45.1, 2; 46.7; 48.10) – and Enoch witnesses their torture and punishment (41.2). Throughout the following verses (41.3-7), the writer presents a stark contrast between terrestrial beings and celestial entities. Enoch points out the infallible order of the cosmos, which accepts and responds accordingly to its created purpose and order. He learns the secrets of lightning, thunder and wind, the clouds and dew (v.3). He visits the storehouses of the winds, hail, and mist (v.4). Finally, he views the chambers of the sun and moon, and the secrets of their rotations, movement patterns and directional sequences (vv.4-7). For Enoch, the cosmological order of the universe is a testament to the faithfulness of the elements in maintaining covenant relationship with each other, as well as the 'Lord of the spirits' (vv.5-6).[344]

In v.8, Enoch reiterates the movements of the sun and moon using imagery which includes opposing perceptual comparisons (light and darkness, sun and moon, righteous and sinners).

> '(a) For the shining sun makes many revolutions, for a blessing and for a curse, (b) and the path of the journey of the moon (is) for the righteous light, but for the sinners darkness, (c) in the name of the Lord who has created (a division) between light and darkness, (d) and has divided the spirits of men, and has established the spirits of the righteous in the name of his righteousness.'
>
> *1 En* 41.8

The rotations of the sun serve as a blessing or a curse, bringing warmth from the cold or sending out blistering heat that withers and destroys.

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[343] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.60.

[344] This theme of an orderly cosmos does conflict somewhat with Enoch 18.13-16 and 21.6 where 'stars' which transgressed against the cosmic order established by God, are consequently punished. However, Enoch does qualify this cosmic rebellion by stating that the transgression of these stars occurred 'from the beginning of their rising' (18.15).

Likewise, the moon is a source of light to the righteous or a cloak of darkness that shields the deeds of the wicked. As God has created both light and darkness, and divided them (Gen 1.4, 14, 18), likewise he judges and divides the *manāfest* of men into two opposing spheres – righteous and evil (*cf.* 1 Kgs 3.9) – light and darkness (1QS 3.13 *ff.*; 4). Thus, God causes the *manāfest* of the righteous humans to be so according to his own righteousness (1 Sam 26.23; Job 33.26; Ps 50.6; 102.17-18; *cf.* Matt 6.33). The *BS* writer concludes that no one is capable of preventing God's judgement (v.9), no angel or power (*cf.* Rom 8.38-9), for they too will be judged. As the writer distinguishes the 'spirits' as the 'spirits of men' we can conclude he is referring to the animating life-force essential to human existence.

6.2 *The Third Parable, Chapters 58-71* (60.12; 69.22)

The final textual references to 'spirits' occur in 60.12[345] and 69.22.[346] In (chapters 58-59), Enoch introduces the third parable, which he directs to the 'righteous and chosen' ones (58.1). Within this parable, Enoch obtains secret astronomical knowledge regarding lightning and lights (59.1), as well as thunder (v.2), and how these natural phenomena are used by God to either bless or curse (59.1, 2, 3). In chapter 60, the vision continues with Enoch's observance of activities occurring in the 'heaven of heavens' (v.1) where the angel Michael and an unnamed subordinate angel[347] serve as his *angelus interpres* (60.4, 5, 9, 11).

In vv.11-21, the subordinate angel reveals the seven mysteries of nature to Enoch: (1) thunder and lightning, (2) hoar frost, (3) hail, (4) snow, (5) mist, (6) dew, and (7) rain. (See Table 3B, p.209)

> [11]"Then the other angel who was going with me was showing me the hidden things: what is first and last in heaven, above it, beneath the earth, in the depth, in the extreme ends of heaven, the extent of heaven; [12]the storerooms of the winds, how the winds are divided, how they are weighed, how the winds divide and dissipate, the openings of the winds, each according to the strength of its wind; the power of the light of the moon and how it is the right amount, the divisions of the stars, each according to its nomenclature, and all the subdivisions; [13]the thunders according to the places where they fall, and the subdivisions of the lightnings according to their flashing of light and the velocity of the obedience of the whole array of them. [14]So the thunders have their (respective) moments of rest with patience; and (each thunder) is marked by its (respective)

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[345] Isaac translates 'winds,' p.41; Black translates 'wind-spirits,' p.56 also see p.228, n.12.
[346] Isaac translates 'winds,' p.49; Black translates 'spirits,' p.66 and p.249, n.22.
[347] Black suggests'the other angel' mentioned in vv.9, 11 is one of the subordinate angels introduced in v.4. See p.227, n.9.

> sound. Neither the thunder nor the lightning becomes disjoined one from the other; both go together in a single breeze and do not part. [15]For when the lightning flashes light, the thunder utters its sound; also, at that moment, the wind causes (the thunder) to come to rest and divides equally (the time) between each one of them. For the reservoir of their moments (of thunderings) is like the sand, (so) each one of them is restrained with a bridle and turned back by the power of the wind and driven in this manner all over the numerous corners of the earth. [16]Now, the sea breeze is masculine and strong and according to the power of its strength it holds back (the air) and, in this manner, is driven and dispersed among all the mountains of the world. [17]The frost-wind is its own guardian[348] and the hail-wind is a kind messenger.[349] [18]The snow-wind has evacuated (its reservoir); it does not exist because of its strength; there is in it only a breeze that ascends from (the reservoir) like smoke, and its name is frost. [19]And the wind and the mist do not dwell together with them in their reservoirs. But (the mist) has its own reservoir, for its course is glorious. It has light and darkness both in the rainy season and the dry season; and its reservoir is itself an angel. [20]The dwelling place of the dew–breeze is in the extreme ends of heaven and is linked together with the reservoirs of the rain in (both) its courses of the rainy season and the dry season; also the clouds of (the dew) and the clouds of the mist are associated feeding each other mutually. [21]When the rain-wind becomes activated in its reservoir, the angels come and open the reservoir and let it out; and when it is sprayed over the whole earth, it becomes united with the water which is upon the earth;'[350]
>
> *1 Enoch* 60.11-21

Knibb and Black argue that these winds are *manāfest* that control the phenomena of nature.[351] Black ascribes this peculiarity of elements under the control of 'spirits'[352] to literary personification. However, the *BW* writer describes the *manāfest* of angels as having the ability to take on various forms (19.1) or as having many different appearances.[353] Further, thus far in our exploration of the Enochic writings, we have consistently detected a movement whereby the term 'spirits' is used to mean an animating force or power (19.1; 22.3, 5, 9; 39.12; 41.8; 98.3; 98.10; 103.4; 103.8; 108.3, 6). This may explain why the writer would attribute these particular abilities to 'spirits' rather than to angels. Of course, we cannot be certain if the author uses the term *manāfest* to describe the power of God exhibited in nature or if he envisions celestial beings animating atmospheric phenomena.

It is only in v.17, according to Knibb's translation, that we find a conflation between spirit and angel where the 'spirits' of the 'hoar frost' and 'hail' are identified as angels.[354] Some clarification may be found in vv.19, 21, 22, and 23 which explains that angels reside in the storehouses of the elements

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[348] Lit. 'its own angel.' See Isaac, '1 Enoch,' p.41, n.h2.
[349] Lit. 'kind angel.' See Isaac, '1 Enoch,' p.41, n.i2.
[350] Translation taken from Isaac, '1 Enoch,' p.41. See Table 3B, p.209 for comparison with Knibb's translation in *Ethiopic Enoch*, pp.144-147.
[351] Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.144, n.12.
[352] Black also includes 'angels' although the text does not specifically state such. See p.228, n.12.
[353] See my discussion above, p.77.
[354] Although Isaac translates as 'guardian' and 'messenger' respectively, he acknowledges the literal translation from the Eth. is 'angel.' See '1 1Enoch,' p.41, n(s).h2 and i2.

(v.19), having responsibility for opening the gates of these celestial repositories and releasing the elements - presumably because they comprehend God's timing and measures for each element (vv.22-23).[355] Black's analysis lends support to this theory for he writes that the text as it stands 'makes little coherent sense.' He suggests this distinction in the text may suggest that these two 'spirits' have their 'own' special angel.[356] (See Diagram 3.1, p.212) Further, as we shall see in our review of Revelation, John depicts angels in a similar charge releasing the forces of lightning, thunder, and hail (8.5,7; 16.18, 21) with devastating results. The number of 'spirits'[357] the Enochic writer identifies also coincides with that found in John's Apocalypse.

In v.12, Enoch discovers 'how the *manāfest* (winds or spirits) are divided' and weighed based on the power of their *manfas* (spirit)). If we limit our initial exploration to vv.17-21 we might only identify six 'spirits'. However, Enoch's distribution of the 'spirits' begins in v.14 with the 'spirit of thunder and lightning.' We know this because the author takes great pains in clarifying how the, 'Neither the thunder nor the lightning becomes disjoined one from the other,' rather, 'both go together in a single breeze and do not part' (v.14).

The Enoch writer uses the next two verses (vv.15-16) to explain this enigma. We can determine the connectedness of the text by the perceptual imagery he uses, 'sand' and 'sea' (vv.15-16). Even the allusions of movement and motion 'turned back' (Ps 114.3, 5) and 'driven forward' suggest the tidal rhythm of the watery sea against a sandy shore. The writer uses this imagery again in v.16 to correlate the actions of the earthly sea with those of heavenly thunder and lightning. From this perspective we can argue that the author is using the phrase 'spirit of the sea' metaphorically to explain a heavenly phenomenon - the 'spirit of lightning and thunder.' Thus, by providing a metaphorical analogy that will be familiar to his audience, the author identifies the first of the 'spirits' as 'lightning and thunder,' meteorological phenomena generally associated with heavenly waters.

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[355] The translations supplied by both Knibb and Isaac support this interpretation. See Isaac, '1 Enoch,' p.41 and Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.147.
[356] Black draws support from Charles' rendering of the text and the Eth. which Knibb translates 'is its (own) angel.' See Black, p.229, n.17 and Knibb p.146.

The second spirit is 'hoar frost' and the third is the 'spirit of hail' (v.17). The next spirit is the 'spirit of snow,' which is also associated with 'frost' (v.18) and described as being 'like smoke'. The fifth spirit is the 'spirit of mist,' which is distinguishable from the 'spirit of snow/frost' because it resides in a different storehouse (v.19) and the seasons or period of day does not restrict its course. Black translates this spirit as the 'spirit of the storm-cloud' because the Ethiopic texts most frequently corresponds to the Hebrew term ערפל or ענן (dark cloud; cloud).[358] Mist is present throughout the four seasons and during both evening and daylight periods. The sixth and seventh 'spirits' are the 'spirit of dew' (v.20) and the 'spirit of rain' (v.21) respectively.

At this point, we can confirm an essential characteristic of all of these 'spirits'.[359] Primarily, they are all associated with water, and more specifically heavenly water that falls to or upon the earth from heavenly storehouses. We can determine that when this is considered, along with Enoch's opening statement regarding his observations in the 'heaven of heavens' (v.1), we can draw several conclusions.

First, the 'spirit of the sea' (v.16) should not be grouped with the heavenly *manāfest* which Enoch refers to in v.12.[360] Rather, it appears that this spirit is mentioned purely for the purpose of providing a comparative analogy with the 'spirit of thunder and lightning.' Second, the 'spirit of thunder and lightning' falls within the classification of heavenly *manāfest* because both phenomena are clearly associated with rainstorms. Third, six of these natural phenomena are present in some form within the canonical account of the defining event in Israel's history – the Exodus. Additionally, within the Exodus account the six phenomena listed can easily be placed within Enoch's descriptive categories of 'blessing' or 'curse' (59.1-3). (See Table 3A, p.208)

Later in our discussion, we will explore several of these elements, which are also present in John's Apocalypse. Of course, within the Exodus account we find the 'Angel of the Lord' (Exod 3.2, fire) and the 'Angel of God' (14.19, cloud) active in Israel's liberation story. Perhaps *BS* writer drew from these

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[357] Number based on the Knibb translation, Ethiopic Enoch, pp.144-147, and Isaac translation, '1 Enoch,' p.41.
[358] Black suggests the translation 'mist' owes more to the Gr. than the Heb. original. See his comments in *Apocalypsis Henochi Graece*, p.229, n.19.
[359] Or, 'winds.'

accounts an understanding of an active presence or 'spirit' at work within all natural phenomena through which God worked and exacted his purposes.

From the context of the Enochic parable, we can detect continuity concerning the writer's understanding of the purpose and function of 'spirits.' In the context in which we find the term *manāfest,* the 'spirits' appear to execute the will of the 'Lord of spirits' (59.1), whether that purpose be to curse or bless. We can also determine that the author perceived the purpose and function of the term *manāfest* to be secret knowledge (60.11). Their activities are restrained (60.15) until they are released from storehouses by angels (60.17, 19, 21) who are identified in the text as comprehending God's timing, measure and will (60.22).

In the Third Parable, the writer makes a distinction between groups of *manāfest* identifying at least two: (1) water and (2) winds, both groups are identified as 'springs' and 'winds' in 60.12. In 69.22 the author's use of the phrase 'all the winds and their paths' suggests the author is speaking of intensity as well as the directional courses which can be determined for 'water' and 'wind.' It seems unlikely that these represent two additional groups of 'spirits'. The text in 60.12 gives this indication when the *BS* author writes of the *manāfest* being 'weighed' and 'distributed,' and again in 60.22 with terminology such as 'fixed measures' when describing the dispersal of waters (*cf.* Isa 40.12; Jer 31.37; 33.22; Hos 1.10: 4 Ezra 16.57).

> [22]'Likewise the waters and their souls, all the winds and their paths of travel from all the directions of winds; [23]the voice of the thunder and the light of the lightning are kept there; [24]the reservoirs of hail, the reservoirs of frost, the reservoirs of mist, the reservoirs of rain and dew are kept there; [25]all these believe and give thanks in the presence of the Lord of the Spirits;' [361]
>
> *1 En* 69.22-25a

Here, in 69.23 we learn of the storehouses for the celestial elements – thunder and lightning, hail, hoar frost, mist, dew, and rain confirming at least six of the seven 'spirits' listed in 60.14-22. In v.23, the writer excludes the 'spirit of snow.' This may actually reflect the writer's aside in 60.18, '...and the spirit of the snow has withdrawn because of its power,' and may indicate an obvious

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[360] See Isaac, for 'see breeze' in '1 Enoch,' p.41.
[361] Translation from Isaac, '1 Enoch,' p.49. See n.d2 concerning the alternative reading of v.22, 'Likewise the waters, of the winds, and all the winds...'

linkage between snow and frost.[362] From this perspective, the author's use of *manāfest* in 69.22 is consistent with that in 60.12.

6.3 *Summary (Book of Similitudes)*

The *BS* provides the most diverse application of the term among the writings in the Enochic corpus. First, the term appears in the appellation 'Lord of the spirits' over one hundred times throughout the *BS*. The phrase may represent the author's 'interpretative transformation' of the epitaph 'God of the spirits of all flesh' (Num 16.22; 27.16). However, it also appears that the *BS* writer's understanding of the term *manāfest* included the meaning associated with the Hebrew word רוחות, especially that definition which we encountered in the rebellion and leadership appointment narratives in Numbers (16.1-50; 27.12-23). The phrase 'God of the spirits of all flesh' speaks of Yahweh as creator and God of all humans and living creatures. However, this perspective may have appeared too limiting in its ontological conception of God for the *BS* writer. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that in the *BS* the term *manāfest* also represents the human 'spirit' (39.12; 41.8), the inner life force fundamental to human existence, as well as the animating force of natural meteorological phenomena (60.12; 69.22).

Of course, we cannot be certain if the author intends his descriptions of meteorological 'spirits' to be interpreted literally, symbolically, or metaphorically. Nor, can we simply assume use of personification. What is clear, is that by associating the release, measure and timing of these phenomena with the dictates of God, the writer indicates that the 'Lord of spirits' actively governs the intricate ordering of the universe.

7. Conclusion (*1 Enoch*)

Several interesting conclusions can now be made based on our review of 'spirits' in *1 Enoch*. As one of the earliest writings of the Enochic corpus, the *BW* exhibits the most diverse use of the term 'spirits'. The author uses the term *manāfest* to represent the centre of moral and religious life (20.3, 6), the vital life force within humans (19.1; 22.3, 5, 9), and as evil celestial beings (15.8, 9, 10, 11,

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[362] A powerful or heavy snowfall is considered 'snow' and a light snowfall might be called 'frost.'

12; 16.1). The *BW's* focus on 'spirits' as evil celestial beings provides some explanation to the Greek version of *1 Enoch* 15.11 *'νεφέλας ἀφανίζοντα πνεύματα σκληρὰ γιγάντων τραύματα ποιοῦντα,'* ([they are] polluting [the] clouds, [the] spirits of strong giants who cause injuries [or wounds]).[363] This could refer to a spiritual pollution existing within the earthly troposphere where the evil 'spirits' are forced to exist without human bodies. This is the transparent atmosphere which borders the terrestrial plane and from which clouds are visible to the human eye. This theory is supported by the use of the verb *ἀφανίζω*, which also means 'to ruin' or 'to spoil.'

Further, in antiquity it was commonly believed that evil 'spirits' hovered over the earth, existing within its atmosphere. According to Gamaliel ben Pedahzur, 'the reason for holding fingers downward and extended while washing them in the morning is that the evil 'spirits' which hover about man in the night time may be washed away.'[364] While modern day scholars may classify this as antiquated superstition, the Enochic writings suggest the ancients believed it was possible for 'spirits' to exist without human form and roam throughout the earthly atmosphere. Also in *BW*, the writer identifies 'spirits' as invisible disembodied beings (15.11), that neither eat nor drink (15.11; *cf* Ps 50.12). Yet, the author attributes to them some human characteristics and boundaries, for 'spirits' are beings capable of protesting (22.5, 12), suffering and imprisonment (22.10).

A noticeable shift can be determined within the later Enochic writings, the *EE, ABE,* and *BS*. In these books the writers use the term *manāfcst* primarily to depict the life force essential to human existence (98.3, 10; 103.4, 8; 108.3, 6; 39.12, 41.8) subsisting within (39.12; 98.3, 10; 41.8; also *cf.* 15.10), as well as without human form (103.4, 8; 108.3, 6; also *cf.* 15.9; 16.1; human 'spirits' 22.3, 5, 9). Only in the earlier *BW* writing are the 'spirits' of angels depicted as having the ability to 'take on' many forms (19.1), a concept consistent with that described in canonical writings (Gen 18.2; Josh 5.13; Jdg 6.17, 22; 1 Kgs 19.5, 7; Dan 3.25, 28; Tob 5.4; Bel 1.36).

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[363] Knibb, translates 'spirits of giants wrong the clouds,' *Ethiopic Enoch*, p.101, n.15.11.
[364] See Jacobs, 'Superstition,' p.600. Howard Jacobson writes 'that the "evil spirits" should be suspected of being active at night is not strange.' *Cf.* T.Sim 4.9; Targ. Ps 91.5, and perhaps also Mishna Sabbat 2.5. See his note on *spiritus immundus* in *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum: Latin Text and English Translation*, Vol:2 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), pp.1118-1119.

In 17.1, Enoch is shown the place where angels take on human form. Presumably, the *BW* writer is also referring to human form in 19.1, for the Watchers are responsible for siring evil giant offspring with human females. *ABE* is unique in that the author is the only one within the corpus to develop fluidity between the use of the term 'spirits' as a source of human existence and the psychical seat of religious and moral life ('humble,' 108.7; 'pure,' 108.9; 'good,' 108.11). Here the 'spirits of the humble...who gave up their bodies...' acknowledges a sense of morality and possibly a former human existence.

Two meanings dominate the *BW* author's use of the term *manāfcst* – celestial beings and human life force. The author uses the term most frequently in his description of 'spirits' and their ability to influence human activity (15.12; 19.1). This theme associated with the application of the term is consistent throughout the corpus (41.8-9; 83.7; 84.4; 99.7). In 15.11 the evil 'spirits' of the giants are blamed for causing harm, destruction, war and sorrow. These are the same 'spirits of the giants (that) pollute the clouds.' In 16.1, the *BW* writer clarifies that these 'spirits' continue their destructive behaviour even though they no longer have corporeal bodies.[365] The inference of course is that evil continues due to the ability of evil 'spirits' to influence human behaviour. The *BW* links the unclean 'spirits' with idolatry (19.1), as does the *EE* (99.7; *cf.* Isa 19.3).[366] Even the *BS* author implies that 'spirits' can affect human actions (41.8-9). However, this influence is not without consequence. The *BS* writer concludes that God will judge the actions of both earthly and heavenly 'spirits' – some will experience torture as punishment (103.8), while others will be rewarded.

In the *BS* we find a further development in Enochic pneumatology as it relates to the meaning of the word *manāfest* (or Eth. *manfest*, Aram. רוחות, Grk. *πνεύματα*) as an animating life force. This meaning is further expanded to include not only human and angelic beings, but also cosmological elements. The *BS* writer presents these celestial 'spirits' as forces that permeate 'wind' and 'water.' The author classifies at least seven 'spirits' within the category of heavenly 'springs' and situates them within celestial 'storehouses' guarded by

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[365] Here Knibb acknowledges severe corruption of the Eth. mss and refers to the Gr. for a more suitable contextual interpretation. See Knibb, p.102, n.16.1.
[366] See discussion on Isa 19.2 in Chapter 2, pp.34-36.

angels. In the *BS* the author details the interaction between 'spirits' and angels. 'Spirits' infuse and animate the elemental forces, while angels are responsible for harnessing and releasing these forces. This may suggest the elementary stages of in the development of a pneumatological hierarchy relating to celestial beings, which distinguishes 'spirits' from angels, by assigning a more invasive and animating nature to 'spirits', albeit with angelic guardianship.

Spirit(s) in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

H.C. Kee attributes these testamentary writings to a Hellenised Jew[367] and dates the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* after 250 BCE but prior to the Maccabean nationalist revolt in 166-160 BCE.[368] Several dualistic concepts can be found in the *Twelve Patriarchs* such as: (1) An anointed king from Judah and an anointed priest from Levi, (2) 'spirits' of good and evil, as well as established concepts of (3) truth and error, light and darkness. These concepts can also be found in Qumran literature which flourished in the period beginning around 150 BCE, and lend support for dating the Testaments prior to or during the mid-second century.

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[367] He acknowledges Christian interpolations.

[368] See Kee, 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' OTP, pp.775-828, esp. pp.777-778; Uriel Rappaport, 'Maccabean Revolt,' *ABD*:4 (1992), pp.433-439; and Marinus De Jonge, 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *ABD*:4 (1992), pp.181-186. He follows R.H. Charles' assumption of original Jewish authorship, though Charles dates the text 109-107 BCE. See *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (London: Black, 1908), pp.l-liii. For discussions on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a Jewish writing see A.S. van der Woude, *Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran* (Assen, 1957), pp.190-216; for arguments of Christian interpolations and alternative dating arguments see Anders Hultgård,1977. *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches I. Interprétation des Textes,* Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis, History of Religions, HR, Vol.6 (Uppsala: 136877); and J. Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen,* AGJU 8 (Leiden: 1970). Also, George E. Ladd, who writes, '...although some scholars have argued that the Twelve Patriarchs *in toto* is a Christian production, the Christian passages are so obvious and interrupt the text so abruptly that it seems unlikely.' See 'Apocalyptic Literature,' in G.W. Bromily, ISBE, Vol.1, pp.151-161. For arguments on the writings as Christian documents see, M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study of their Text, Composition and Origin* (Assen: Van Corgum, 1953), as well as H.W. Hollander and M. deJonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary,* SVTP Vol.8 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), and J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea,* J. Strugnell, trans. (London: 1959), pp.34*ff.* Also see A.Yarbro Collins who considers 'all three versions (Greek, Armenian, Slavonic)of the text to be Christian in their present form,' in *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p.25; as does J.J. Collins who argues 'this work is certainly Christian in its present form, but there is also no doubt that it incorporates Jewish material.' See *The Apocalyptic Imagination,* p.133. Others argue the writings as Essene, see A. Dupont-Sommer, *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1953); M. Philonenko, *Les Interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960), and D. Flusser, 'The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *EJ* Vol.13 (1971), pp.184-186.

The prevailing date chosen by scholars who accept the narratives as Jewish (in their original form) is some time within the Maccabean period, probably during the reign of John Hyrcanus I, between 135/4-104 BCE, who succeeded his father John Maccabeus.[369] Further, it is difficult to ignore the obvious Christian interpolations throughout the work, e.g. *T. Ben* 3.8. Yet, it remains that most scholars tend to agree that there is little evidence to suggest the writings were composed by anyone other than a hellenised Jew, albeit with significant Christian glosses in the Greek,[370] Aramaic[371] and Hebrew[372] versions of the text. R. H. Charles argues that at least two Greek versions[373] derive from a Hebrew original. We will use his book, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as our primary text for the Greek.[374]

The use of the Septuagint throughout the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs indicates a *terminus a quo* for the literature after 250 B.C.,[375] a time period associated with the translation of the Septuagint. As both of these dates pre-date that assigned to John's Apocalypse the writings fit well within our scope of discussion. Further, as all of the Testaments, excluding the

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[369] See Scott T. Carroll, 'Hyrcanus,' in *ABD*:3 (1992), p.353; and G. Ladd, 'Apocalyptic Literature,' p.157.

[370] Kee's translation is based on five Greek manuscripts, two of which are the earliest available: Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I.24, ff. 203 r. – 261 v. (late 10th c.); Athos, Monastery of Koutloumous, Cod. 39 (catal. no. 3108), ff. 198 r. – 229 r. (11th c.); Città del Vatico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Graec. 731, ff. 97 r. – 166 v. (late 13th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci, I 33, ff. 182 r. – 205 v. (late 13th c.); Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, Cod. Graec. MS 547 (Gardthausen) = 770 (Kamil), ff. 1 r. – 70 r. (17th c.). His translation will serve as our primary text. See 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' in *OTP*:1, J. H. Charlesworth, ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1983), pp.775-781.

[371] Fragments of the Aramaic Testament of Levi, Cambridge ms T.S.16, fol 94 comprise six columns, while the Bodleian ms Heb c 27, fol. 56 preserves another four columns with at least 14 missing between the Cambridge ms and the Bodleian ms. Seven fragmentary copies of Aramaic Levi are preserved among the DSS (1Q21, 4Q213, 4Q213a, 4Q213b, 4Q214, 4Q214a, and 4Q214b). Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel make use of all these and supplement their translation with the fuller Greek versions. See their discussion in *The Aramaic Levi Document* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp.1-6.

[372] Hebrew fragments of the Testament of Judah, and a complete copy of Testament of Naphtali are preserved according to Kee with only occassional and fragmentary verbal parallels with the Greek manuscripts. See Kee, 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' p.776.

[373] Gr. *a* is comprised of three MSS: Città del Vatico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Graec. 731, ff. 97 r. – 166 v.; Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, Cod. Graec. MS 547 (Gardthausen); and the Mount Sinai MS. Grk *B* is comprised of six MSS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci, I 33, ff. 182 r. – 205 v.; Cambridge, University Library, Ff. I.24, ff. 203 r. – 261 v.; Città del Vatico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Graec. 1238, ff. 350 r. – 379 v. (end of 12th c.); Athos, Monastery of Koutloumous, Cod. 39 (catal. no. 3108), ff. 198 r. – 229 r.; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 938, Fonds grec 2658 (=Fontebl. – 2915), ff. I v. – 71 v. (11th c.); and Patmos, Monastery of John the Theologian, MS 411, ff. 178 r. – 20 v. (15th century).

[374] R.H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Oxford: OUP, 1960).

[375] See H.C. Kee, 'Testaments,' pp.777-778. Also see George E. Ladd, 'Apocalyptic Literature,' in *ISBE*:1, pp.151-161, esp. pp.157-158.

Testaments of Gad and Joseph, use the term 'spirits,' we will briefly examine all citations to the term throughout the literary corpus.

1. *Testament of Reuben* (2.1, 2; 3.2)

T. Reuben shares one of the closest commonalities with John's Apocalypse in that it specifically mentions seven 'spirits' (*ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων* 2.1; *cf.* Rev 1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6). However, *T. Reuben* speaks of seven 'spirits of deceit'[376] (2.1) that are established against all humankind. While Reuben's narrative does not specifically identify the origin of these 'spirits', we can presume that they are the same 'spirits' given by Beliar[377] attested to in eight of the other *Testaments* (*T. Levi* 3.3; 18.12; *T. Jud* 25.3; *T. Iss* 7.7; *T. Dan* 1.7; 6.1; *T. Ash* 6.2, 4; *T. Ben* 3.3), even though the number seven does not reoccur.[378] According to the *T. Reuben*, these seven 'spirits of deceit' (promiscuity, insatiability, strife, flattery/trickery, arrogance, lying, and injustice), also called the 'spirits of error' (3.2) are culpable in leading human beings to sin. Interestingly, as we will see later in our examination of 'spirits' in Revelation, the 'spirits of deceit' share similarities with human vices present in John's Apocalypse such as lying (Rev 3.9; 11.8; 14.5; 21.16) and deceit (12.9; 13.14; 18.23; 19.20; 20.3, 8, 10).[379] We might also add strife in the form of war (11.7; 12.17; 13.7; 17.14; 19.19) and sexual promiscuity in the form of fornication (9.21; 14.8; 17.2, 4; 18.3; 18.9; 19.2).[380]

There is little reason to suggest that *T. Reuben's* seven 'spirits of error' are those in John's Revelation (1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6) due to their association with Beliar. *T. Reuben* attributes all sin and inappropriate conduct to the seven 'spirits' (2.2), particularly those sins resulting from youthful indulgence,

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[376] Also elsewhere as 'spirits of error,' i.e. 3.2; *T.Sim* 6.6; *T.Jud* 14.8.
[377] Also called 'the Prince of error'(*T.Sim* 2.7), Satan (*T.Dan* 6.1).
[378] H.W. Hollander and M. De Jonge who make this observation in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), pp92-3.
[379] J.J. Collins, 'Testaments,' in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, Michael E. Stone, ed. (The Netherlands: Van Corcum, Assen, 1984), pp.325-355, esp. p.335.
[380] John links fornication with idolatry in 2.14, 20, 21 (*cf.* Wis. 4.12). See Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.186-188. However, the term 'fornication' is not used in the Old Testament texts. In Sir 23.16, 12 fornication is condemned as a form of sexual immorality. Adultery is the most frequently used metaphor for apostasy in prophetic books (see Jer 2:23–25; 3:1–13; 13.27; Ezek 16.15-58; 23.1-49; 43.7; Hos 1–3; 5.4; 6.10; Rev 2.20). This symbolism seems *très propre* as it represents the betrayal of exclusive marital fidelity. Material for support of this symbolism can be found in the Pentateuch

inexperience or ignorance. Thus, in Reuben's testament evil 'spirits' appear to have the ability to exploit human frailties in order to produce evil deeds (*T. Iss* 7.7; *T. Zeb* 9.7). It is possible that the writer's use of 'spirits' in this instance is simply another way of referring to the fallen state of human nature.

This is implied in the writer's identification of seven contrasting 'spirits' (*ἑπτὰ πνεύματα*, 2.3-9) given to all human beings at creation. These 'spirits' (life, sight, hearing, smell, speech, taste, and procreation) are qualities that effect sensory perceptions. The author's inclusion of an eighth spirit (sleep) in 3.1, disrupts any possible continuity with the Johannine Apocalypse. However, scholars have suggested continuity between this list and the Stoic division of the soul into eight parts (the five senses, progeny, and offspring).[381] From this perspective, it appears that the author is drawing a parallel between human sensations and vices. Thus, here it may be that 'spirits' in *T. Reuben's* represent the human mentality, whereby the human spirit is potentially sensitive and responsive, capable of accommodating 'good' qualities or 'evil' vices.

2. *Testament of Simeon* (6.6)

In *T. Simeon* (6.6) humanity is given authority over the evil[382] 'spirits (*τὰ πνεύματα*) of error' (*T. Levi* 18.12; *T. Ben* 5.2). As their 'prince of error,' Beliar commands these evil 'spirits' and in the *Testaments* he is depicted as the quintessential 'spirit (*πνεῦμα*) of error.' His demise occurs when he is tossed into an eternal fire (*T. Jud* 25.3; *cf.* Rev 20.3, 10, 14-15) by the 'powers of the hosts'[383] arrayed for the sole purpose of carrying out God's judgement (*T.Levi* 3.3). In *1 Enoch* 54.5-6, four archangels (Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel) destroy the hosts of Azazel – the servants of Satan – in similar fashion by tossing the evil 'spirits' into a furnace of burning fire (*cf. 1 En* 10.6). Later, in our review of John's Apocalypse we will see angels carrying out this same function in a similar manner.

(Exod 20:3; 22:19; 34:14) where Israel is betrothed to Yahweh in a covenantal relationship similar to marriage (Lev 26:12; Deut 26:17–18; 29:12;380).

[381] See Hollander and De Jonge, *The Testaments*, p.93.

[382] *T.Levi* 18.12 also calls them 'evil spirits,' and *T.Ben* 5.2 'unclean spirits.'

[383] In *2 En* 20.1 (see Slavonic Book of Enoch, 'J' or longer recension), 'powers' are one of the seven categories of angels, also *cf. T. Adam* 4.5; Matt 24.20; par. Mark 13.25and Luke 21.26; possibly 8.38; Eph 6.12; Col 1.16; Heb 6.5; 1 Pet 3.22; Pra of Aza 1.39.

However, here in *T. Simeon* evil 'spirits' are not destroyed, but are trampled (*καταπάτησιν*) and humans are given rule (*βασιλεύω*) over them. Earlier in the testament (6.2), the patriarch urges his offspring to avoid envious and obstinate (*φθόνον καὶ πᾶσαν σκληροτράχηλον*) behaviour. He advises that avoidance of these vices will promote longevity and guarantee that the numbers of his offspring are increased (*πληθυνθήσονται, cf.* Prov 28.28; Zech 10.8; Jer 23.3). The patriarch's emphasis on ethical conduct makes it more likely that the 'spirits of error' are merely the writer's way of referring to human vices, which he believes humans can avoid, and in fact can 'rule' over by righteous and moral behaviour. In this instance, it is conceivable that 'spirits' represent human mentality, specifically in a moral sense.

3. *Testament of Levi* (3.2, 3; 4.1; 8.2; 18.12)

T.Levi exhibits the most frequent use of the term 'spirits' (3.2, 3; 4.1; 8.2, 12). Beginning in (chapters 2 and 3), the writer gives an elaborate account of Levi's heavenly journey, whereby the patriarch is given an opportunity to explore several heavens[384] and observe their celestial occupants.

> [1']Listen, therefore, concerning the heavens which have been shown to you. The lowest is dark for this reason: It sees all the injustices of humankind [2]and contains fire, snow, and ice, ready for the day determined by God's righteous judgement. In it are all the spirits of those dispatched to achieve the punishment of mankind. [3]In the second are the armies arrayed for the day of judgement to work vengeance on the spirits of error and of Beliar. Above them are the Holy Ones. [4]In the uppermost heaven of all dwells the Great Glory in the Holy of Holies superior to all holiness. [5]There with him are the archangels, who serve and offer propitiatory sacrifices to the Lord in behalf of all the sins of ignorance of the righteous ones. [6]They present to the Lord a pleasing odour, a rational and bloodless oblation. [7]In the heaven below them are the messengers who carry the responses to the angels of the Lord's presence. [8]There with him are thrones and authorities; their praises to God are offered eternally. [9]So when the Lord looks upon us we all tremble. Even the heavens and earth and the abysses tremble before the presence of his majesty.[385]
>
> *T.Levi* 3.1-9

The writer of T.Levi describes the 'lowest heaven' (3.2), as the darkest of all the heavens as it is the vantage point from which human injustices are observed. The elements (fire, snow, and ice) which serve as weaponry in God's divine arsenal are stored here in this first heaven (3.2). They are God's

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[384] Yarbro Collins identifies two recensions of the Greek version, the earlier identifies three heavens and the later speaks of seven. She concludes that a Christian Greek redactor adds the motif of the seven heavens. See *Cosmology and Eschatology*, pp.25-26. There are seven heavens in the *Apoc of Abr*, chapters 8-10 discuss the third heaven as 'paradise,' the inheritance of the Righteous.
[385] Translation from Kee, 'Testaments,' pp.788-789.

instruments of judgement against humanity. Here too reside all *τὰ πνεύματα ἐι ἐκδίκησιν*[386] who punish humanity. (See Table 3C, p.210)

There is canonical support for the use of meteorological elements as divine weaponry. We see fire used in the destruction of the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah (Gen 19.24). Likewise, fire consumes the conspirators Dathan and Abiram (Num 16.35). Additionally, at least two of these elements, fire and hail (ice) serve as plagues against Egypt (Exod 9.18-29; Pss 78.48; 105.32). Job 38.22-24 mentions warehouses or treasuries (אוצר) where snow and hail are stored and Psalm 148.8 proclaims Yahweh's command over fire, hail, snow, frost and wind. In the writings of the prophets, Isaiah associates hail and whirlwinds with the strong hand of God, '...that sweeps away deceit and injustice' (Isa 28.2, 17), while Haggai speaks of hail as a blight from God that destroys the crops of those who turn away.

In the Apocrypha, the Wisdom of Sirach attests to God's command over snow, lightning (also associated with fire) and wind (43.13, 17); here too they are God's instruments of judgement (39.28-30). Even in the *BS*, Enoch claims to learn the secrets of lightning, thunder, winds, hail, clouds and dew when he visits the heavenly storehouses (*1 En* 41.3-4; *cf.* 60.11; 69.22-23). As we have seen in the late writings of the Enochic corpus, particularly the *EE* (100.13) and *BS* (60.17-2), the writers depicted 'snow-winds' and 'hoar frost,' along with other elemental forces as divine weaponry used to bless or curse humanity (59.1-3). As we shall see later, this literary tradition depicting atmospheric and natural elements as celestial weaponry is also present in John's Apocalypse.

In *T. Levi* we learn that there are at least four heavens, with some support in later texts for seven.[387] We know for instance that the celestial armies (*τῶν παρεμβολῶν*) who will execute God's vengence against Beliar and his 'spirits of deceit' (*τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης*) reside in the second (*τῷ δευτέρῳ*) heaven (3.3).[388] The author of *T.Levi* clearly separates those who are

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[386] See Hollander and de Jonge who concur with 'the spirits of afflictions' in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), p.136.

[387] Hollander and de Jonge argue quite strongly for seven heavens. See *Testaments*, p.137, n.3.3d.

[388] See Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, p.137, structural note 3.2. Also see Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, p.26. Jewish tradition links the archangels Michael with snow and Uriel with fire. On Michael, see Deut R., v.12 which identifies Michael as the 'prince of snow.' Also see M.W. Montgomery 'Michael,' in *JE*, Vol.8, pp.535-538; and Gustav Davidson, ed., *The Dictionary of Angels* (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1967), p.43. For Uriel see, See Ludwig Blau, 'Uriel,' in *JE*:12, p.163; and G. Davidson's 'Angel of Fire,' in *DOA*, p.29

associated with human affairs and celestial warfare from the other heavenly beings in the upper (*ἀνωτέρω*) 'holy heavens' and the Great Glory (3.3*c*-4).

Scholarly debate concerning the exact number of heavens generally focuses on verse 3*d*. Several versions of the *T.Levi*[389] identify four (*τὸν τέταρτον*) additional heavens are set apart by God in v.3*d*.[390] If this is the case, then we can easily identify the occupants of the next four heavens. In v.5 the archangels (*ἀρχάγγελοι*) are described as being in the heaven next to the one where the Great Glory resides. In this sixth heaven, presuming that God resides in the seventh heaven, archangels worship God and offer sacrifices on behalf of the righteous.[391] Verse 7 locates the angels who carry answers or responses to the angels of presence in the fifth heaven. And, verse 8 places 'thrones' and 'authorities' or 'powers' in the fourth heaven.'[392]

However, this configuration is not confirmed by the earliest Greek versions of *T.Levi*,[393] neither do we find any support for the seven heavens in the Aramaic fragments.[394] Therefore, based on the earlier witnesses to the text we can only conclude that the 'Great Glory' dwells in the 'Holy of Holies' or the uppermost heaven (3.4; *cf.* 114.10; 102.3). Is it yet possible to detect seven heavens in these earlier witnesses?

Along with God are the archangels who serve as celestial priests offering propitiatory sacrifices on behalf of the righteous and ignorant (3.5). Are they located in the uppermost heaven or in the heaven below? The text is unclear. We cannot be certain if the phrase *ἐν τῷ μετ' αὐτῶν* ('near this, with him'), actually means the same heaven, or the upper heavens in general. If the latter, then we could assume that sacrificial offerings are being conducted in the heaven immediately below the upper most heaven.

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[389] These include portions of the later mss. that comprise Gr. *B* as noted above in n.351: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci, I 33, ff. 182 r. – 205 v.; Athos, Monastery of Koutloumous, Cod. 39 (catal. no. 3108), ff. 198 r. – 229 r.; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 938, Fonds grec 2658 (=Fontebl. – 2915), ff. I v. – 71 v. This reference to the fourth heaven also appears in a second recension of the non-biblical Armenian MS A^B, from the Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. For full descriptions and details on compilations see R.H. Charles, *Greek Testaments*, pp.xii-xix.
[390] Earlier manuscripts simply identify that 'holy ones' reside above the heaven where the celestial armies are located. See Charles, *Greek Testaments*, pp.32-33.
[391] See Hollander and de Jonge who concur in *Testaments*, p.137, n.3.5-6.
[392] See Hollander and de Jonge who support this configuration in *Testaments*, p.137, n(s).3.7 and 3.8.
[393] See Table 3C, p.210
[394] See Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, pp.66-69

Another heaven is identified in v.7 as being directly beneath the heaven occupied by the archangels with priestly functions. In this heaven, angelic messengers carry 'answers' to 'the angels of presence of the Lord.'[395] Are the angels of presence and the priestly archangels identical? It does not appear likely, as the author separates the two, and specifies the capacity in which the archangels function. It stands to reason that in *T.Levi* the 'angels of presence' are those who stand closest to God, and may not be identical with the 'archangels' who offer sacrifices. In other words, it is safe to assume that the 'angels of presence,' as their title indicates, are located in the upper heaven with the Great Glory, while the priestly archangels who offer holy sacrifices are in the heaven below. If this were the case, then the angelic messengers would serve as intermediary messengers between these two groups of prominent angels.

In v.8 two additional groups of celestial beings are identified – 'thrones' and 'authorities.'[396] While these beings are said to offer continual praise to God,[397] it is less clear if they reside in a separate, lower heaven.[398] Again, the opening clause *''εν τῳ δὲ μετ 'αὐτῶν* 'makes it debatable if the 'thrones' and 'authorities' reside nearby in a separate heaven or if they are located in the upper heaven. If the author were by chance detailing a celestial hierarchy in reverse order[399] we would find (See Diagram 3.2, p.213):

7th Heaven – Great Glory (along with angels of presence)
6th Heaven – Archangels offering sacrifices
5th Heaven – Angelic messengers
4th Heaven – Thrones and Authorities
3rd Heaven – Holy Ones
2nd Heaven – Celestial armies
1st Heaven – Divine arsenal (snow, fire, ice), 'spirits of afflictions'

Thus, the only question that remains unanswered concerns the 'Holy Ones' (3.3). Do they reside in a separate heaven above the celestial armies? Are they a distinct class of celestial beings, or is this designation being used generically to denote all celestial beings who reside in the upper heavens

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[395] Loren Stuckenbruck makes this observation in *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in the Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1995), p.176.
[396] See Marinus de Jonge, 'Thrones, θρονοι,' in *DDD*, p.864.
[397] Hollander and de Jonge place these in the fifth heaven. See *Testaments*, p.137, n.3.7.
[398] Hollander and de Jonge place these beings in the fourth heaven. See *Testaments*, p.137, n.3.8.

outlined in the following verses 4-8? Are they identical with the 'holy spirit-gods' we found in Daniel (Ara. רוח-אלהין קדישין, holy gods; 4.8, 9, 18; 5.11, 14)?

In the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen 4.20), 'holy ones' are identified as those who reveal and show everything to Enoch, the father of Methuselah. The 'holy gods' in Daniel communicate with humans through dreams and visions, while no function in particular is assigned to the 'holy ones' here in *T.Levi*. Any further consideration of this point goes beyond the scope of our study. However, it is a relationship worthy of further investigation.

Scholars have argued that the motif of the three heavens present in *T.Levi* may in fact be a development of ancient Jewish and Babylonian traditions.[400] The Old Testament speaks of the 'heaven of heavens' (Deut 10.14; Neh 9.6; also *cf.* 3 Macc 2.15), implying a greater heaven over at least two others. Similarly, the Babylonian motif of three superimposed heavens includes an upper, middle, and a lower heaven with each one made of different precious stones.[401] Also, the 'suspended' or 'hanging waters' which the writer describes as separating the first and second heavens (2.7), may by the author's way of speaking about the early Jewish belief concerning heavenly waters above the firmament (Gen 1.7).[402]

It is possible that the *T.Levi* writer appropriated and revised the Babylonian motif to reflect the visionary experience related here concerning the patriarch. For the author not only outlines the composition of at least four heavens, but also describes its occupants. (See Diagram 3.2, p.213) 'Spirits' (*τὰ πνεύματα*) are clearly differentiated from angels by their location in the lower heavens along with meteorological elements and celestial armies. While 'holy ones,' 'thrones' and 'authorities,' archangels, and 'angels of presence' reside in the upper heavens near the Great Glory. This attempt to create a celestial hierarchy appears to correspond with that present in the *BS* and therefore the exact number of heavens seems less significant. Rather, we note that within the

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[399] Hollander and de Jonge argue this position in *Testaments*, p.137, n.3.3d.
[400] A. Yarbro Collins provides an in depth discussion on 'heavens' in chapter 2 of *Cosmology and Eschatology*, pp.21-54.
[401] Scholarly debate include those who argue that this concept presents a contrast with the basic Mesopotamian construction of the universe, which included the heaven and stars above, the earth in the middle, the cosmic waters and underworld below. See this discussion by W.G. Lambert, 'The Cosmology of Sumer and Babylon,' in Carmen Blacker and Michael Loewe, eds., *Ancient Cosmologies* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1975), pp.44-45; and Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, p.27.
[402] Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, p.27.

context of the vision *τὰ πνεύματα* are associated alongside meteorological elements and celestial armies.

In *T.Levi,* distinct functions are assigned to various members of the celestial hierarchy. For instance, the archangels offer sacrifices before God serving in a priestly capacity, while the thrones and powers offer continual praise in the form of an angelic choir. The celestial messengers carry responses to the angels of presence, while the celestial armies stand ever ready waiting for the day of judgement.[403] Also, it appears that the 'spirits' along with the meteorological elements play a role in the punishment of human beings (*cf. 1 En* 59.1-3). From this we can conclude that the 'spirits' are beings within the heavenly hierarchy of celestial beings, albeit in the lower echelon as they reside in the lowest heaven. The text is not explicit as to whether the 'spirits' function with, through or as the elements (fire, snow, and ice). However, it is safe for us to determine at this time that as they are linked in the same context as other celestial beings, then they too are understood as some form of heavenly beings, and are linked with God's divine entourage.

The writer's next use of the term 'spirits' is ambiguous (*T.Levi* 4.1) and commentators have openly admitted difficulty in interpreting the text.[404] While *πνεύματα* in this instance is once again linked with the elements (fire and water), the motif of the passage appears to be that of eschatological judgement whereby the 'invisible spirits' or 'winds' melt away along with the world, as all of the earth's constituent elements are destroyed. For this reason, scholars have suggested that it is more likely that *πνεύματα* should be translated 'winds' rather than 'spirits.'[405]

However, the preceding section (3.9-10) speaks of human susceptibility to sin continuously. Humans sin in spite of the God's greatness, whereby 'the heavens and earth and the abysses tremble before his presence.' Although all creation fears God, humans remain insensitive and continue to sin, further

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[403] *Cf.* T.Judah 25.2 where the author attempts to develop a similar celestial hierarchy. Hollander and de Jonge argue, 'there is, at least in the beginning, in the powers...' See *Testaments,* p.230, n.25.2.

[404] See Hollander and de Jonge, *The Testaments,* p.140.

[405] Hollander and de Jone, *The Testaments,* pp.136-40. Their decision is based on use of the word *τήκεσθαι* (from *τήκεται* or *τήκομαι,* to dissolve or be melted) and its connection with the final judgement (Ps 97.5; Mic 1.4; Jdt 7.14). However, Paul speaks of invisible thrones, rulers and powers in Colossians (1.16).

provoking his anger. The patriarch assures his offspring that '...the Lord will effect judgement,' on humanity (4.1a). This assertion introduces the patriarch's prophetic pronouncement, which is preceded by the prepositional phrase: 'Now therefore know that...[406]

> 'For even when stones are split,[407] when the sun is extinguished,[408] the waters are dried up,[409] fire is cow[er]ed down, all creation is distraught, invisible spirits[410] are vanishing, and hell is snatching spoils by the sufferance of the Most High,[411] men – unbelieving still – will persist in their wrongdoing. Therefore, they shall be condemned with punishment.'[412]
>
> *T.Levi* 4.1

Because the verse concludes with a judicial pronouncement we can assume that the predictive punishment is a result of humanity's continual sin. Incessant human sinfulness that continually provokes God's wrath is present throughout biblical literature (Isa 1.4; Jer 9.7; Ezek 23.42; Amos 9.8; Sir 47.23; *cf.* Rev 16.1- 21). However, in the early Enoch literature, the *BW* attributes 'the rise' of human sinfulness, slaughter and destruction to 'invisible spirits' (15.11).[413] Here the Levi narrative suggests that divine patience and tolerance prolongs hell's ability to increase its number of human spoils. In the *Testaments*, this is accomplished by humans succumbing to the wiles and seductions of Beliar's 'spirits of error' (*T. Reu* 3.2-9). The writer's prosaic approach sheds light on this interpretation. Consider the following poetic symmetry in *T.Levi* 4.1:

The stones split (*τῶν πετρῶν σκιζομένων*) The sun quenched (*τοῦ ἡλίου σβεννυμένου*)[414] The waters dried-up (*τῶν ὑδάτων ξηραινομένων*) (*πάσης κτίσεως κλονουμένης*)[416]	= All creation is shaken violently[415]

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[406] '*Νῦν οὖν γινώσετε ὅτι ...*' This Grk text taken from M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), pp.28-29, here called deJonge, *12 Patriarchs*. Also see Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, who translate 'Now know, therefore that...' pp.136, 139. Charles renders 'Now, therefore know that...' in *Testaments*, p.36, and Kee translates 'Know then that...' in *Testaments*, p.789.

[407] *Cf.* Ps 78.15; Matt 27.51; Jdt 16.15; and *1 En* 1.7 (the earth is 'rent').

[408] *Cf.* Ps 105.28; Isa 5.30; Matt 24.29; Rev 8.12; 16.10.

[409] *Cf.* Job 12.15; Isa 19.5; 42.15; 44.27; 50.2; Nah 1.4; *PssSol* 17.21; *AssMos* 10.6; *4 Ezra* 6.24.

[410] For 'winds' see Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, p.136. Charles translating earlier renders 'spirits', in his *Testaments*, p.36.

[411] *Cf.* 1 Sam 2.6; Job 24.19; Pss 9.17; 16.10; Isa 5.14.

[412] Translation (*T.Levi* 4.1) taken from H.C. Kee, *OTP*:1, p.789, from pp.782-828, hereafter referred to as Kee, *Testaments*.

[413] For 'invisible winds' see Eccl 11.5; Sir 16.21; *SibOr* II 207.

[414] The Cod.Graecus 547 (Gardthausen) and 2170 mss have '*ὅτι τῶν οὐρανῶν*;' see critical apparatus in de Jonge, *Greek Text*, p.28, n.IV.1.

[415] My personal preference would be a translation along the lines of 'all creation is turmultuous' or '...violently chaotic...' as it more appropriately describes the elemental chaos taking place.

The fire cow[er]ing (*τοῦ πυρὸς καταπτήσσοντος*)[417]

Invisible spirits vanishing (*τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμάτων*[418] *τηκομένων*)
Hell despoiled (*του ᾅδου σκυλευομένου*)[419]
The Most High suffering (*ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει*[420] *τοῦ ὑψίστου*)
(*κολάσει κριθήσονται*)
Men unbelieving, unrighteous
(*οἱ ἀθρωποι ἀπιστοῦντες...ἀδικίαις*)

= They will be condemned and punished.

Through poetic symmetry and dualism, the text displays two distinct groups in each stanza. The first links the eruption of the earth - the 'stones split' - with chaotic atmospheric elements. Note the literary duality - water and fire, earth and sky. Rocks are to the earth as the sun is to the sky, while water and fire are opposing natural elements. In the second stanza, the writer's duality includes 'spirits' and flesh (humanity), as well as hell and heaven. The incorporeal 'spirits' that will be consumed (*τήκομαι*, be melted, dissolved, or consumed) are a fitting contrast to the corporeal humans who continue to sin in their disbelief. Additionally, it is the endurance of the Most High, representing heaven, that allows hell, or its 'spirits of deceit' to plunder further and despoil. Consequently, God will judge and punish humans, and presumably 'spirits' as well. It seems unlikely that the writer is extending judgement and punishment to the rocks, sun, water and fire. From this perspective, it seems highly improbable that the writer's use of 'spirits' means 'winds.'

In Isaiah's love-song of the unfruitful vineyard the prophet links the increased appetite of Sheol with God's righteous judgement upon the rebellious nation of Israel (Isa 5.14). The *BS* also speaks of the fallen human condition and their rebellious nature, whereby although they witness and experience severe torment yet they refuse to believe in the 'Lord of spirits' (67.8-10). We will find this aspect of unbelief linked with persistent sin also present in John's

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[416] Here I draw upon the Hollander and de Jonge translation. Verb form from *κλόνος*, meaning to confuse, be in turmoil, or rush about wildly. For 'distraught,' see Kee, *Testaments*, p.789. Charles translates 'troubled,' in *Testaments*, p.36.
[417] Other mss have *καταπτίσσοντος*, see critical apparatus in de Jonge, *Greek Text*, p.28, n.IV.1.
[418] The Cod.Graecus 547 (Gardthausen) and 2170 mss have *κτισμάτων*.
[419] The verb *σκυλεύω* literally means 'to strip,' 'plunder,' or 'despoil.' This Hollander and de Jonge translation is awkward for one could assume that hell is *being* plundered, rather than *gathering* plunder. Consider Charles who renders 'Hades taketh spoils,' *Testaments*, p.36; and Kee for 'hell is snatching spoils,' *Testaments*, p.789.
[420] I prefer the alternative meaning of the verb *πάσχω* 'to endure.'

Apocalypse (Rev 16.9, 11.21). Here, in *T.Levi* the writer uses a similar analogy to stress his point, for he foresees a time when human sinfulness will persist, in the midst of chaos, even without the intervention of invisible evil 'spirits.'[421]

Within *T.Levi* these 'spirits of error' which continually lead humans astray will be permanently vanquished by God's celestial army (*T.Levi* 3.3; Joel 2.11; *1 En* 1.4; *cf.* Rev 20.9) on the day of final judgement (Isa 34.8; Jdt 16.17; *Pss Sol* 15.12; *1 En* 22.11, 13). However, in this instance, the patriarch speculates that even when they vanish (*T.Levi* 4.1), human sin will continue. This interpretation appears quite fitting, especially as in the *Testaments* evil 'spirits' entice humans to sin. Thus, Levi's eschatology includes a period of chaos during which human sinfulness will persist. Perhaps he foresees a time when human sin will no longer be blamed on external forces. Rather, they will continue to sin because unlike the heavens, earth, and abyss, they no longer fear the presence of God (3.9; Deut 14.23; Rev 14.7; Sir 17.8; *cf.* Rev 11.13; Ps 102.15; Isa 59.19; Jer 33.9).

We also find that 'spirits' are mentioned in the section of *T.Levi* that discusses eschatological judgement, the new priesthood, and restoration (18.1-14). In v.7, the 'spirit of understanding and sanctification' will rest upon a new kingly priest (Isa 11.12; *cf.* Wis 7.7; Sir 39.6; *4 Ezra* 5.22), while the 'spirit of holiness' will be upon his saints (v.11). The saints who will eat from the tree of life (v.10; *cf.* Rev 22.2, 4, 19), and his children will have the power to trample evil 'spirits' (v.13). There is nothing within the context of the text that suggests these children of the Lord (18.13) are angels or divine beings such as the בני־אלהים ('sons of God' or 'sons of gods,' Gen 6.2, 4). Rather, it appears that this ability to trample evil 'spirits' (*T.Sim* 6.6; *T.Zeb* 9.8; *cf.* Lk 10.19; 11.14-22) is given to those who are literally Levi's children that follow the righteous kingly priest.

However, v.12 is suspect due to Christian interpolation. While language concerning the binding of Beliar is present in Isaiah (24.22-23), it also appears in the Gospels (Mark 3.27; Luke 11.14-22). Further, the motif of trampling evil 'spirits' also appears in the Gospels (Luke 10.19; 11.14-22), and as we shall see in Chapter Four, Jesus' disciples and followers receive authority to cast out evil 'spirits' (Matt 10.8; Mark 3.15; 6.13; 16.17). If v.12 represents a

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[421] See R.H. Charles who draws this conclusion, p.36, n.4. He translates *δοράτων πνευμάτων* as

Christian gloss, and it probably does, then this might explain *T. Levi*'s similarities with *T.Simeon* (6.6) and *T. Zebulun* (*cf.* 9.8). The similarities do not end here. As the family unit was considered an ideal model for social structure in the *ANE*, members of covenantal societies and religious communities often described themselves as the children of their ancestors, religious or political leaders (e.g. Isa 17.3, 9; 29.22-23; Ezek 37.16). This motif is also present in Gospel writings (*cf.* Matt 3.9; 17.25; 23.37; John 8.32).[422] However, we cannot be certain if the *T.Levi* author or Christian editor is drawing from OT or NT examples. Further, in *T.Levi*, the patriarch envisions a new priest who will bind Beliar and empower his offspring to tread upon evil 'spirits'. The association between Beliar as the leader of fallen angels or evil 'spirits' is present in the *Testaments*, yet can be isolated to *T. Simeon* (6.6) and *T. Zebulun* (9.8).

While the context of v.12 makes it highly probable that the evil 'spirits' being described are celestial beings, the content is suspect. We cannot be certain if this is the intent of the original author or one of the *Testaments'* Christian editors. Alternatively, the 'spirit of understanding and sanctification' along with the 'spirit of holiness' can be interpreted as representing a moral and religious lifestyle, whereby the 'spirit' is the moral centre of human mentality.[423]

4. *Testament of Judah* (16.1; 20.1)

The term 'spirits' only occurs twice in *T.Judah*. It is used once in 16.1 where four evil 'spirits' (*τέσσαρα πνεύματα πονηρά*) - desire, passion, debauchery, and greed - are associated with the evil effects of drunkenness. In 20.1 where the author writes of two 'spirits,'[424] the 'spirit of truth'[425] and the 'spirit of error' (*T.Jud* 14.8; *T.Reu* 3.2; *cf. T.Ash* 6.5), he aligns the 'spirit of error' with Beliar (*T.Jud* 25.3) and the 'spirit of truth' with God. This duality may be explained by what appears to be a metonymic meaning of *πνεῦμα* as a formless,

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'invisible spirits.' See *Testaments*, p.36. Also *cf.* Isa 34.4, where the hosts of heaven are consumed.

[422] In the New Testament, Christians were sometimes called children by their Church leaders (Gal 4.19; 2 Tim 1.2; Phlm 1.10; 1 John 2.1, 12, 18, 28); this is a tradition which can be traced to Jesus (Matt 9.2; Mark 2.5; 10.24; John 13.33; 21.5).

[423] *Cf.* E.D. Burton, *Spirit*, p.59.

[424] *Cf. Treatise on the Two Spirits* III.13-IV.26, which also deals with 'the two spirits' God has given humans.

[425] *Cf.* 1QS 4.21; John 14.17; 15.24; 16.13; 1 John 4.6.

penetrating force or power, in this instance with the ability to influence. David Hill, in his work on *Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings*, identifies the *Testament's* use of *πνεῦμα* as being similar to that which hypostatises 'wisdom' in sapiential literature (Wis 7.22). He writes,

> '...'spirit' (like 'wisdom') may denote divine power, active in the sphere of the intellect, and enabling the righteous to know and to accomplish the will of God: in other words, the function of the Spirit is to build up morality and increase knowledge of God.'[426]

When we examine a metonymic use of *πνεῦμα* within a framework of cosmic duality,[427] the same concept would apply to a 'spirit of error' – namely Beliar. In this instance, the 'spirit of error' is aligned with Beliar and appears to act as a power (or powers) functioning on Beliar's behalf similar to the 'spirit of wisdom' (Deut 34.9; Isa 11.2; Wis 7.7) or 'spirit of knowledge' (Isa 11.2) or 'spirit of understanding' (Sir 39.6). We certainly see a contiguous hierarchy in (chapter 25) where the angel of presence, the powers, the earth and sea, and even the mountains follow God's lead in blessing individual patriarchs. The *Community Rule* describes the 'spirit of truth' and the 'spirit of wickedness' as two warring 'spirits' within the hearts of humans. Within the sphere of ignorance and sinfulness, or in Judah's example drunkenness, the 'spirits of error' act as the power of Beliar to prompt and entice humans to act in a manner that accomplishes his will, rather than God's.

5. *Testament of Issachar* (4.4)

In *T.Issachar* the 'spirits of error' (*τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης*, 4.4) have no power over the person who 'walks in singleness of heart' (4.1, 2). In this instance, the patriarch identifies beautiful women as those responsible for corrupting the minds of men by evoking the various vices (perversion, envy, malice, avarice, greed). While the author associates these human failings with the power of the 'spirits of error' (*cf. T.Reu* 2.1; *T.Sim* 3.1; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T.Dan* 5.5; *T.Naph* 3.3; *T.Ash* 6.2), he also intimates that they come from 'the deceit of the

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[426] *Greek Words*, pp.220-221.
[427] Russell argues these as 'two spiritual forces in the universe.' See *Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, p.238.

world'. In this way, the author clearly characterises the 'spirits of error' in terms of ethical behaviour particularly as they relate to moral and religious life.[428]

6. *Testament of Zebulun (9.7)*

The 'spirits of error' also appear in *T.Zebulun* (9.7) as beings capable of deceiving the 'children of men' because they are 'flesh.' Here again, as in *T.Reuben*, we see that author does not perceive sin as inherent in human beings. Rather, the 'spirits of deceit' are capable of leading humans astray. The fact that the text acknowledges that humans are susceptible because they are 'flesh' may suggest that the 'spirits' are not, and this works to their advantage in their adversarial activities against God's human creation. Also, the Greek verb form used here, *πλανάω* (to deceive)[429] means to mislead or deceive someone – thus, a form of seduction applies more so to this interpretation rather than discriminate choice. The verb is used similarly in *T.Judah* 12.3 whereby the patriarch's drunkenness is a perceived human frailty that causes him to succumb to Tamar's seduction, and in *T.Naphtali* 3.1, where flattery (*cf. T.Reu* 3.4) is identified as one of the devices Beliar uses to beguile the human soul. Here again, the author may be employing a metonymic use of *πνεύματα*, referring to the persuasive powers of Beliar as active in the world (*cf.* 6.2).

7. *Testament of Dan* (1.7; 4.5, 6; 6.1)

In 1.8 *T.Dan* introduces the 'spirit of anger' as one of the 'spirits of Beliar' that was at work *within* him (1.7). Here we are faced with a new concept on the interrelationship between humans and 'spirits', making it difficult to determine if it is Christian or Jewish. Verse 1.7 translates as follows:

> 'And one of the spirits of Beliar was at work *within*[430] me, saying, "take this sword, and with it kill Joseph...[431]
>
> *T.Dan* 1.7

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[428] See Hollander and DeJonge, *Testaments*, p.243, n.4.6cd and p.245, n.4.6. Also see, Charles, *Testaments*, pp.106-107, n.6.

[429] Hollander and De Jonge connect this tradition with that concerning Adam and Eve (Gen 3.13) and other apocalyptic literature (*ApSedr* 4.6; *ApMos* 15.1, 23.5; 39.2). See *Testaments*, p.271.

[430] I italicise for emphasis.

[431] Kee, *Testaments*, p.808. Alternatively, Hollander and De Jonge translate, 'And one of the spirits of Beliar conspired with me saying...' *Testaments*, pp.277-278. Charles translates 'And one of the spirits of Beliar stirred me up, saying...' *Testaments*, p.124.

Previously, the 'spirits of Beliar' in the Testaments have consistently been presented as external powers used to seduce and ensnare humans through some form of deception. This translation suggests a co-joining between the human and evil spirit, and may suggest that the author also understood 'spirits' to have penetrative or invasive abilities.[432] This is not typically associated with angels, and if true would act as a definitive factor distinguishing 'spirits'[433] and angels. The Hollander and De Jonge translation provides a similar interpretation.[434] This aspect of conspiratorial cooperation is also seen in *T.Reuben* (3.6). However, in *T.Reuben* it occurs between the 'spirits of error,' rather than between humans and 'spirits'.

In *TDan* 6.1, the patriarch warns his offspring to guard themselves against 'Satan and his spirits' (T.Levi 9.9). This popular theme occurs elsewhere in the *Testaments* (T.Levi 3.6; 5.6; T. Reu 2.1-2). However in v.2 Dan acknowledges that his children, and consequently the people of Israel have an angelic mediator who stands in opposition to Satan and his kingdom, while interceding on Israel's behalf (*cf. T. Levi* 5.5-6). The testament does not name the angel; however, *T.Levi* portrays archangels residing in the third heaven, the celestial Holy of Holies where they offer propitiatory sacrifices on behalf of the righteous. Later, we will find an angel acting similarly during our review of John's Apocalypse (Rev 8.3).[435] In *T.Dan* the mediating 'angel of peace' (*cf. T. Ash* 6.5) stands in opposition to Satan on behalf of Israel (v.2). We cannot be certain if this is a genuine title, or simply a functional association based on the author's belief, for the 'angel of peace' is not mentioned in canonical literature (*cf. 1 En* 40.8). What we can note is the adversarial link between Satan and his 'spirits' (*τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ*), and Israel's angelic mediator. This suggests that here *πνευμάτων* means celestial beings who act on Satan's behalf.

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[432] See discussion in Testament of Judah above.
[433] Only one other instance displays this form of 'invasion' by an evil spirit (1 Sam 18.10). All other examples associate this type of 'invasion' with the Spirit of Yahweh (Judg 14.6, 19; 15.14; 1 Sam 10.10; 11.6; 16.13).
[434] Charles translates *συνήργει* as 'stirred.' However, the etymology of the term suggests that it possibly stems from *συνῶ* (*συνωμοσία*) with a basic meaning of bringing together. However, it is more likely that the synchronic use of *συνεργέω* (to cooperate, work together with) is meant here. For support see Barr, *Semantics*, pp.158-159; and Silva, *Biblical Words*, pp.35-58.
[435] See above, *Testament of Levi.*

8. *Testament of Naphtali* (3.3)

In *T. Naphtali* we find 'spirits of error' (*πνεύμασι πλάνης*) in 3.3 described as 'spirits' which Gentiles emulate through acts of idolatry. The patriarch encourages his offspring to be as the sun, moon, and stars[436] (3.2; *cf.* Ps 143.8; Ep. Jer 1.60), which do not alter their order, yet, fulfil the purpose for which they were created. In doing so, they obey and praise God. Likewise, humans are God's creations; they too are to acknowledge his sovereignty through faithful adherence to the Law and worship. Those who worship idols or alter God's Law have wandered away from their created purpose (Ps 119.21; Prov 21.16; Isa 57.9-10; Jer 14.10; Hos 8.8-9; 9.17). *T.Judah* also links the worship of false gods with evil 'spirits' (*T.Jud* 23.1). Because the author relates the influence of evil 'spirits' with idolatry and abandoning the Law, in this instance we may presume 'spirits' represent that aspect of human mentality which informs religious and moral conduct.

9. *Testament of Asher* (6.2)

In this testament, the patriarch exhorts his children to a life of truth and 'singleness of mind' (1 Chr 28.8; 29.9, 19; *cf.* 1 Kgs 17.1; Rev 3.15-16). Because the human will is subject to external influences, the author highlights the human actions that mirror those of the 'spirits of error' (6.2). Double-minded persons are 'two-faced' because they practise evil, and approve of those who act in a similar vein (v.2). They do not love God's laws (Ps 119.113; *cf.* Jas 1.7), instead they focus on evil as if it were good (v.3). And, according to *T.Asher*, the double-minded person (Ps 119.113; Jas 1.7; 4.8; *cf. 1 En* 70.3) will be punished in double measure, because their evil actions aid the 'spirits of error' in their struggle against humankind.

Thus, we may have here another example of the metonymical use of 'spirits' as the power (or powers) of Beliar, which act as an intrusive force with the ability to exploit human nature, its weaknesses or strengths to a purposeful end. Further, it appears that the 'spirits of error' also have the ability to entice humans to act on behalf of or against other human beings, based on the will of the spirit. For example, in canonical and wisdom literature, 'wisdom' is a spirit

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[436] *Cf.* Jude 13, where the deepest darkest void has been reserved for 'wandering' stars.

capable of influencing human actions (Wis. 1.6; 7.7, 22; *cf.* Deut 34.9; Isa 11.12; Dan 5.11) as a holy spirit from God (Wis 7.22).

Through Asher's discussion on single-mindedness, the author depicts cosmic duality, and the influence 'spirits' exert on human behaviour – there are two paths, two dispositions, two types of actions, two approaches to how humans will live their lives, and ultimately two ends.[437] In the Apocalypse, we will find similar duality expressed in John use of the terms 'hot' and 'cold' as metaphors in his pronouncement against the church of Laodicea. Here in *T.Asher*, the author links 'spirits of error' with abandonment of God's commandments (6.1, 3) and the Law (6.3), which as we have seen also speaks to the human spirit as the seat of religious and moral influence. However, in *T.Asher* the patriarch warns that the ability to recognise the angels (*ἄγγελοι*) of the Lord and Satan (6.4) comes only in the end when the human soul is faced with eternal torment or joy based on 'whom it...served in its desires and...works' (6.5). Thus here, 'spirits' are celestial beings.

10. *Testament of Benjamin* (5.2)

In *T.Benjamin* the patriarch encourages his offspring to be confident in the knowledge that their fear of God shelters them against the 'spirits of Beliar' (3.3-4; *cf.* Rev. 14.7), for unclean 'spirits' flee from those who do good (5.2; *cf.* Jas 4.7).[438] Similarly, Beliar flees from those who keep God's law and observe his commandments (*T.Dan* 5.1). The 'spirits of Beliar' attempt to derange humans by resorting to tactics of oppression and tribulation. Here Benjamin specifically speaks to the example of his brother Joseph, and the slavery he endured as an act of the 'spirit of Beliar' (3.4). Although this act was committed by Joseph's brothers – 'the plot of men' – the text certainly infers that the brothers' actions were influenced by Beliar.

11. Conclusion (*Testaments of 12 Patriarchs*)

In the *Testaments of the 12 Patriarchs* one of the most common representation of 'spirits' is as the 'spirits of error' who play a central role

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[437] Hollander and de Jonge link duality with *διαβούλιον*, the internal desire or 'inclination.' For this discussion, see *Testaments*, pp.338-339.
[438] Vanquishing evil spirits through apotropaic measures (Tob 6.8, 18); also, good spirits flee from evil (Wis 1.5).

within the kerygmatic testimonies of the patriarchs. 'Spirits of error and deceit' are prominent throughout the literature (*T.Sim* 6.6; *T.Levi* 18.12; *T.Jud* 20.1; *T.Iss* 4.4; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T.Ash* 6.2). If one is not careful, the cosmic duality expressed in its admonitions regarding the 'spirits of error,' might easily be dismissed as 'prelogical' and 'prescientific' views and opinions.[439] Rather, it appears that in some instances there is a clear conflation of the two worlds, with the material and spiritual intricately intertwined, seemingly interactive. Not only are heavenly beings aware of worldly activities, but humans are also kept aware of heavenly activities through revelatory experiences, and prophetic pronouncements in the form of kerygmatic traditions passed on from one generation to the next.

Nor, is it simply a case where heavenly activities are mirrored on earth. Rather, in some instances, the authors of the *Testaments* appear to present celestial beings as having the ability to *manipulate* and incite terrestrial activities. 'Spirits,' metonymically expressed as the power (or powers) of Beliar appear to influence or possibly infiltrate the thoughts and actions of humans (*T. Jud* 16.1; *T. Zeb* 9.7; *T. Dan* 1.8; *T. Ben* 3.3). This is similar to the examples of evil 'spirits' found in the OT which torment (1 Sam 16.14, 15), deceive, entice (1 Kgs 22.22-23), and even at times possess humans (1 Sam 18.10; 19.9). However, the 'spirits' in the OT come from God (Judg 9.23; 1 Sam 16.14-16, 23; 18.10; 19.9; 1 Kgs 22.22-23; *par* 2 Chr 18.21, 22), rather than Beliar or Satan. In fact, Satan requires divine permission from God to act against one of his subjects (Job 1.12; 2.6).

This is not the case in the *Testaments*, where Satan appears as a rebellious celestial adversary, acting autonomously to disrupt the plans and purposes of God. Interestingly, a metonymical use of the term 'spirits' also appears in the *T.Levi* where the term takes on the meaning akin to celestial beings with the ability to animating or release elemental and cosmic forces in the lower heavens, a concept also present in *1 Enoch*. Yet, *T.Levi* remains ambiguous as to exactly how they interact. We are told only that they function as the divine weaponry of God. Further, in several instances the term 'spirits' appears to represent celestial beings (*T. Levi* 4.1, 18.12; *T. Dan* 6.1; *T. Ash* 6.4), generically grouped with angels or other heavenly beings.

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[439] Joanne K. Kuemmerlin-McLean, 'Magic: Old Testament,' in *ABD*:4 (1992), pp.468-471.

There are only two core meanings of the term 'spirits' as applied in the *Testaments.* Most frequently the term represents celestial beings, while in other instances the term is nearly demythologised, clearly being used to represent human mentality (*T.Reub* 2.1, 2; *T.Sim* 6.6; *T. Iss* 4.1, 2; *T.Jud* 16.1; 20.1; *T.Iss* 4.4; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T. Naph* 3.3). When referring to the psychical functions of humans, the term appears to represent that aspect which informs moral and religious attitudes thereby governing human actions.

What is immediately noticeable is the absence of this understanding of 'spirits' in *T.Levi,* the testament in which the term occurs most frequently. Further, *T.Levi* is the only testament whereby human activities *stimulate* the behavior of heavenly beings (3.2-5). Good 'spirits' aid the human struggle against evil by observing human activities and reporting their findings to superior angels and at God's instruction, 'spirits' respond by deploying cosmic weaponry to punish the wicked on earth (3.2). Celestial armies stand constantly ready to destroy Beliar and his followers (v.3) at God's behest, while angels offer prayers and oblations on behalf of those who defy the enticements of Satan (v.5), as well as for the weak and ignorant who succumb to them. Perhaps these two anomalies reflect the ideas of the testament's Christian redactor. We cannot say with any certainty.

The invasive quality that appears in the *Testaments* is not simply a convergence between the spiritual and material worlds. Rather, it appears as a perpetual *mêlée* existing within the framework of a celestial and terrestrial matrix, good and evil, light and darkness. These formless 'spirits', though invisible and undetectable to the human eye (*T.Levi* 4.1), can be depicted through human actions which betray their influence. Thus, one is able to observe someone acting 'inhumanly' or outside what is considered to be 'normal' or created behavior. This understanding can be viewed in juxtaposition with the 'supernatural' charismatic behavior attributed to the *rûaḥ* of Yahweh in ancient Hebrew texts (Jud 14.6, 19, 15.14; 1 Sam 10.10; 16.13; 19.20, 23, etc.).[440]

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[440] See discussion on 'Early Hebrew Concepts of Spirit and Spirit of God,' in Chapter 2, pp.29-31.

Spirit(s) in the *Book of Jubilees (BJ)*

The prologue to *Jubilees*[441] identifies the writing as a revelation disclosed to Moses by God (1.1, 4-5) and an 'angel of presence' (1.20; 2.1; cf. 30.17-21; and 48) while on Mount Sinai.[442] Modern scholarship aligns the writing with haggadic literature or midrashic expositions, [443] identifying the *BJ* as an early commentary on the canonical book of Genesis and the early (chapters 1-20)[444] of Exodus. Scholars differ on whether the writing is pre- or post-Maccabean. However, based on a general scholarly consensus it appears safe to date the book between 170-150 BCE.[445]

The *BJ* is considered the work of a single priestly author[446] based on its emphasis on the sacred solar calendar and religious festivals (*Weeks* - 22.1-6; *Tabernacles* - 16:20–31; 32:4–7, 27–29; *Unleavened Bread* - 18:18–19; 49:22–23; *Atonement* - 34:18–19; and *Passover* - 49:1–22). Other priestly concerns espoused by the writer include Sabbath laws (2.1, 17-33; 50.6-13), sacrifices (3.27; 4.25; 6.1-4; 21.7-16; 32.4-6), circumcision (15.25-34; 20.3), separation from other nations (22.6-18; 25.4-10; 30.13), and impurity (3:8, 10–14; 6:37; 7:20–21; 11:17; 16:5–6; 20:3–7; 21:21–23; 22:16–23; 23:14, 17, 21; 30.13-15, 22; 33.12-14). Additionally, the status assigned to Levi (31.12-17; 32.1, 3-9; 45.16) and his descendents make priestly authorship highly probable.

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[441] The writing is also referred to under various titles such as the *Little Genesis* (Gr.), *The Book of the Division(s) of the Times* or *Divisions* (Eth.), the book of the *Divisions of the Times for Their Jubilees and Weeks* (Heb., CD 16.2-3), and possibly the *Apocalypse of Moses* (Gk., Syr.). See James C. Vanderkam, 'Book of Jubilees,' in *ABD*:3 (1992), pp.1030-1032.

[442] G.W.E. Nicklsburg, 'The Bible Rewritten and Expanded,' in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*, Michael E. Stone, ed. (Netherlands: Van orcum, Assen, 1984), p.97.

[443] See R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees: Or, Little Genesis* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1902), pp.xlvii-lvi; Matthew Black, 'The Inter-Testamental Literature,' *in A Companion to the Bible*, T.W. Manson, and H.H. Rowley, eds. (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, rev. ed., 1963), pp.71-89, see esp. pp.83-84; O.S. Wintermute, *Jubilees*, in OTP, Vol.2, J.H. Charlesworth, ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1985), pp.39-40; and J. Vanderkam, 'Book of Jubilees,' pp.1030-1032.

[444] J. Vanderkam, 'Book of Jubilees,' pp.1030-1032.

[445] See James C. Vanderkam, tr., *The Book of Jubilees: Book V*, CSCO, Vol.511 (Lovanii: Aedibus E. Peeters, 1989), p.vi; also J. Goldstein, 'The Date of the Book of Jubilees,' *PAAJR*:50 (1983), pp.63-86. On the progressive writing and growth of the writing see Gene L. Davenport's chapter entitled A Brief History of the Growth of Jubilees, in *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), pp.10-18; and Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, pp.77-79.

[446] See R.H. Charles who attributes the writing to a single source defending Pharisaic Judaism in *The Book of Jubilees or The Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), pp.xliv-lvi. Also, James C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: SAP, 2001), pp.17-18. Solomon Zeitlin supports one author, but argues the writer was neither a Pharisee nor Sadducee. See his discussions in 'The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Its Significance,' *JQR* (1939-40), pp.1-31, esp. p.10; and 'The Book of 'Jubilees' and the Pentateuch,' *JQR* (1957-58), pp.218-235).

The suggested evolution of the text is that it was first written in Hebrew and then translated into Greek and Syriac, with the Greek text later being rendered into Latin and Ethiopic.[447] However, the entire text is extant only in Ethiopic, which is essential for our discussions.[448] The fragmented Hebrew text discovered among the *DSS*, and in other caves *4QJub* (4Q216-228),[449] now considered to be the oldest available manuscripts of *Jubilees* text, will be used to augment our investigation. Thus, these two versions will serve as the primary textual basis for our discussions.

The are several citations which mention 'spirits' in the *BJ* (2.2; 10.5, 13; 11.4, 5; 12.20; 15.31, 32; 23.28, 31). All of these occur within the first twenty-three chapters of the writing. This also holds true for the author's use of Holy Spirit (1.21, 23), Watchers (4.15, 22; 10.4), angels (2.2, 18; 4.15, 21; 5.1, 6; 15.27, 32; 17.11; 26.21), and 'God of the spirits' (10.3).[450] Only in (chapter 31) can we locate the term outside the first half of the book where it is used to represent celestial beings (angels - 31.14) and the Spirit of prophecy (31.12). As our study focuses primarily on the use and understanding of 'spirits' we will confine our examination the term identified in the earlier chapters.

1. The Creation Narrative (2.1-16)

The term *manāfcst* (2.2) occurs quite early on in the *BJ*. The 'angel of presence' instructs Moses to write a complete account of creation. Such an inference suggests the introduction of new revelatory knowledge.[451] Thus, it appears fitting for the angelic narrative to open with depicting an hierarchical structure of celestial beings, an aspect not included in the Genesis creation account. The angelic narrative also provides an explanation as to when, and if God created 'spirits' and angels.[452] According to the *BJ*, on the first day God

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[447] See Vanderkam, 'Jubilees,' *ABD*:3, p.1030.
[448] All translations of Eth from James C. Vanderkam, trans., *The Book of Jubilees*, Vol:V, CSCO (Leuven: Peeters, 1989), hereafter referred to as *Eth. Jubilees*. Heb. text and translations taken from 4Q*Jub*, DJD, Vol:XIII, in this document referred to as *4Q216*.
[449] See Harold Attridge, Torleif Elgvin, Jozef Milik, Saul Olyan, John Strugnell, Emanuel Tov, James Vanderkam, and Sidnie White, *Qumran Cave 4: VIII Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, DJD:XIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p.2.
[450] This appears to be an epithet similar to that found in Num 16.22; 27.16.
[451] Vanderkam argues that the angel's opening words may allude to the problem posed in Gen 2.2, that God completed creation on the seventh day. See *The Book of Jubilees*, p.28.
[452] The absence is notable simply because both angels and spirits can be found in the Pentateuch (Gen 19.1, 15; 28.12; 32.1; Deut 18.11; *cf.* Num 16.22; 27.16).

created all the *manāfest*[453] which serve (or worship) before him.[454] Following this pronouncement, the *BJ* writer lists groups of angels and classifications of 'spirits.' Thus, from the onset of this narrative on creation, the hierarchical structure of celestial beings appears significant to the author. Within the hierarchy 'angels' appear to be one of many groups of 'spirits.'[455]

The first two groups of 'spirits' the author identifies are the 'angels of the presence' (*T.Levi* 3.5, 7; 1QH 6.13; 1Q28b 4.25-26;[456] 4Q400 1.4, 8;[457] singular: *Jub* 1.27, 29; *T.Jud* 25.2; also *cf.* Tob 12.15; *1 En* 40.3;) and the 'angels of the holiness.'[458] These two groups are mentioned again in v.18 as angelic beings who keep the Sabbath. Both groups appear together again (15.27) where they are distinguished as celestial beings circumcised 'from the day of their creation' (15.27). They are also identified as being present when God sanctified Israel as his people (Exod 31.13). In 31.14, the 'angels of presence' are distinguished among the 'holy ones' as spiritual beings serving in God's heavenly sanctuary. Presumably, here as in the Septuagint, the term 'holy ones' is being used generically to mean God's angelic entourage (Deut 33.2, 3; Ps 89.5, 7; Dan 4.17; Zech 14.5; Jdt 1.14; Sir 45.2). If this is the case, then the generic use of the term 'spirits' may be a way of describing their ontological state - they are all spiritual beings – rather than to a distinct group of celestial beings.

The author of the *BJ* places these two groups – 'angels of presence' and 'angels of holiness' – at the top of the angelic echelon among all the celestial beings.[459] (See Diagram 3.3, p.214) It is worth noting, that the *BJ* author does not identify the names of these angels as the authors of *1 Enoch* (40.2, 9-10; *cf.* 20.1- 7). Further, the prominent placement of 'angels of presence' is appropriate considering it is an 'angel of presence' (2.1) that discloses the revelation to Moses, and as 'angels of presence' were believed to have access to

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[453] The Eth. term *manāfest* used interchangably with 'spirits' throughout the Book of Jubilees.
[454] The Gr. text '*τὰ πνεύματα τὰ λειτουργουντα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ* supports the Heb. Gr. preserved in Epiphanius, *Περὶ Μέτρων καὶ Σταθμῶν* (*Concerning Weights and Measures*) 22, in Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, p.11, n(n) 2-3. Also, this phrase appears in the Tg. Yer. I, Gen 1.26, where the creation of angels occurs on the second day rather than the first. For the Heb. text cited '*זאת כל הרוחות המשרתים לפניו* see (4QJub[a]) 4Q216, Col V.5. This Heb text, and all others taken from DJD:13, *Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*, p.13.
[455] '[ואת המים ואת כל הרוחות המשרתים לפניו מלכי] הפנים ומלכי הקו[דש]' fragmented text, see 4Q216 5.5, in DJD:13, p.13
[456] 'כמלאך פנים.'
[457] 'משרתם פנים.'
[458] Charles and Wintermute translate 'angels of sanctification.'
[459] Charles identifies these as the 'two chief orders of angels,' *Jubilees*, p.12, n.2.

God. Therefore by attributing the discourse to one of these angels, the writer further authenticates his message.[460]

The next groups of angels either serve with, on behalf of, or as *manãfcst* that infuse and animate natural phenomenon. When we examine the Hebrew text we find that the author identifies at least six specific areas that link angels with meteorological elements.

(1) Angels of the *manãfest* of fire
(2) Angels of the winds[461]
(3) Angels of the *manãfest* of the clouds of darkness, snow, hail and frost[462]
(4) Angels of the sounds[463]
(5) Angels of the storm winds[464]
(6) Angels of the *manãfest* of cold and heat and of winter and summer.[465]

It is not clear in the text if this final group (6) comprises a single grouping or two. Are the 'spirits' of cold and heat also the 'spirits' of winter and summer? Or, as the plural form is being used are the 'spirits' of cold somehow aligned with winter? If so, then are the 'spirits' of heat aligned with summer? The author does not make this distinction. Also, do the angels of the winds and the angels of the storm winds function as two separate groups? In this instance it would appear so, as the author makes this distinction.

1.1 *'Spirit(s)' of fire*

This spirit does not appear in the listing of *manãfest* previously discussed in *1 Enoch* 60.[466] However, fire is commonly associated with celestial

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[460] See Gene L. Davenport, *The Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees*, p.12.

[461] The Eth. includes *manãfest* and reads 'angels of the spirits of the winds.' This reading is also present in the Gr. ms of Epiphanius, but not in the earlier Heb. See Table 3D – Jubilees 2.2, p. 211

[462] 'Snow' appears in the Gr. ms of Epiphanius, and does not appear in the Eth. MSS C and D. The element 'snow' appears in *1 En* 60.18, but does not appear in a similar list recorded in 69.22-23. Further, Eth. MSS A and B further distinguish 'clouds of darkness and everything...' See alternative translations offered by Vanderkam, pp.7-8; Wintermute, p.55; and Charles, p.13.

[463] The Eth. reads 'depths.' Charles emends his translation to read 'voices' to agree with the Epiphanius Gr. text. See Wintermute, *Jubilees*, who translates 'resoundings,' p.55, n.2d. Eth. and Gr. mss also distinguish the sounds as 'thunder and lightning.'

[464] This category is omitted in both the Eth. and Gr. mss.

[465] The Eth. mss add *manãfest* and read 'angels of the spirits of cold and heat.' Both the Eth. and Gr. mss. add 'autumn and spring' to complete the list of seasons

[466] Epiphanius text and Syriac offer no parallel to this group of spirits. See Vanderkam's note on 2.2, p.7. However, the group is found in 4Q216, V.6 'ומ[לכי רוחות האש' where textual notes acknowledge that the Ethiopic text alone attests to the 'angels of spirits of the fire.' See DJD:13, p.15.

beings in the biblical text (Judg 6.21; Ps 104.4; *par.* Heb 1.7; *cf.* Matt 3.11; *par.* Luke 3.16), as the 'spirit of the Lord' (Judg 15.14) and the presence of God (Exod 13.21; 14.24; 19.18; 24.17; Lev 9.23; 10.2; Deut 9.3; Ps 50.3; Isa 29.6; 66.15; Heb 12.29). Even the 'angel of the Lord' appears as a flame of fire (Exod 3.2 *cf.* Judg 13.20; Pr Azar 1.26). In our review of the Apocalypse, we will find that John continues this tradition by frequently associating angels with fire and at times ascribing to them complete authority over this element.

1.2 *Angels of the winds*

Here the Ethiopic manuscript is not supported by the Hebrew text. The Hebrew cites this group as the 'angels of the winds (or spirits) that blo]w,' (ם[ומלכי הרוחות הנושבי]; 4Q216, 5.6).[467] In line 8 of the same we find 'the angels of the [storm] winds,' or alternatively, 'the angels of the spirits of the storm' (ולמלכי הרוחות [הס]ערים). The phrase 'spirits of the winds' is present in *1 Enoch* (60.12; 69.22) grouped with other *manāfest* (water or springs, breezes). Alternatively, we find 'winds' linked with angels in only one instance in canonical literature.

In Psalm 104, the psalmist calls the 'winds' (רוחות) God's מלאכיו (messengers, or angels; 104.4, *par.* Heb 1.7; *cf.* 1QH 1X.10-11). Thus, we find this is a rare usage for throughout the OT 'winds' often have a metonymical use, referring to a general direction in space, or geography (Jer 36; Ezek 37.9; Dan 7.2; 8.8; 11.14; Zech 2.6; 4 Ezra 13.5; 15.39also *cf.*, Matt 24.31, *par.* Mark 13.27).[468] Whirlwinds, or 'storm-winds' are also associated with Yahweh (Job 38.1; 40.6; Pss 77.18; 107.25, 29; 148.8; Isa 29.6; Jer 23.19; 30.23; Ezek 1.4; Jon 1.4; Nah 1.3; Zech 9.14), the heavenly ascent of prophets (2 Kgs 2.1, 11), and heavenly chariots (Isa 66.15; Jer 4.13; Sir 48.9).

Old Testament writings leave little doubt that God controls the wind(s) (Gen 8.1; Exod 10.13, 19; 14.21; 15.10; Num 11.31; Pss 78.26; 107.25; 135.7; 147.18; 148.8; Isa 11.15; Jer 4.11; 10.13; 51.1, 16; Ezek 13.13; Hos 13.15; Jonah 1.4; 4.8). Only in the NT do we find a notable shift whereby Jesus and angels have authority over the winds. We must bear in mind that in the OT רוחות (*manāfest,*

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[467] The final *mem* is consistent with the Epiphanius' Gr. citation and the Syr. See DJD:13 textual notes on line 6 (2.2), p.15.
[468] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.54.

πνεύματα) holds a dual meaning referring to both 'winds' and 'spirits.' Consequently, here the writer clearly uses 'angels of the *manāfest* of the winds' to avoid confusion. This also suggests that angels act in conjunction with the 'spirits' of the winds. Likewise, the two groups of angels, whether the 'angels of the winds that blow' or 'angels of the storm-winds'[469] could be placed within the same category – 'the angels of the spirits of the winds.' It is highly probable that the scribal omissions of this group in the Ethiopic and Greek reflect an attempt to correct what may have been perceived as textual redundancy.

1.3 *Angels of the 'Spirit(s)' of the clouds of darkness, ice, hoar frost, dew, snow, hail, and frost.*

In *1 Enoch* 60.19 and 69.23 we found the 'spirit of mist' (ערפל, dark thick cloud, or ענן, cloud) also described as being 'glorious' in both light and darkness. Black, in his commentary on *1 Enoch*, argues that this particular 'spirit' is associated with the 'glory' (כבוד) for 'God dwells in the storm-cloud.'[470] From this we can suggest that darkness provides an adjectival description to cumulus clouds in general. Throughout the Exodus narrative, and other OT accounts the 'cloud' is clearly associated with the presence of God (13.21; 14.19, 24; 16.10; 19.9; 24.16; 33.9; 33.10; 35.5; 40.34, 35, 38; *cf.* Lev 16.2; Num 11.25; 12.5; 14.14; 16.42; 17.7; Deut 1.32-33; 5.22; 31.15; 1 Kgs 8.10, 11; *par.* 2 Chr 5.13, 14; Ps 99.7; also Ezek 10.4; 2 Macc 2.8). The prophets continue this association in their literature (Isa 19.1; Ezek 10.3, 4), as does John in his Apocalypse.

However, the writer of *Jubilees* associates angels and *manāfest* with the 'clouds of darkness.' This is not unusual, as darkness is also associated with God (Jer 13.16) and frequently used to indicate his presence in biblical literature (Exod 14.20; Deut 4.11; Ps 18.11; Isa 5.30; Sir 45.5; *cf.* Num 9.15, 16; Ezek 10.4; 30.18; 32.7). Even the 'day of the Lord' is depicted by 'clouds of thick darkness' (Joel 2.2; Zeph 1.15; *cf.* Eccl 12.2). Thus, 'clouds of darkness' act as an indication of God's presence, provide a natural covering to conceal his true likeness (2

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[469] The Hebrew text is the only ms that list this group of angels. See DJD:13 textual note, 4Q216, V.1, 7-8, p.5. Also see Charles, *Jubilees*, p.44, n.5.
[470] See Black, *1 Enoch*, p.229, n.19.

Sam 22.12; Pss 18.11-23; 97.2), and depict the sense of foreboding prophets associated with God's wrath and final judgement.[471]

The *Jubilees* writer also associates these angels and *manāfest* with the elements of ice, hoar frost, dew, snow, and hail. The Hebrew text alone adds ice, hoar frost, and dew (4Q216, 5.7).[472] All of these elements excluding dew are aspects of rainwater in a frozen state. We have already seen this tradition present in *BS*, where angels release the 'spirits' of snow, hail, and frost (*1 En* 60.17-18, 21; 69.23) at the behest of the 'Most High who is in heaven' (60.22). The OT psalmist also preserves this tradition in his declaration that the snow, hail, and frost accomplish God's command (Ps 148.8; *cf.* Sir 43.13, 17). There is little doubt that these elements come from God (Pss 78.47, 48; 147.16, 17; Hag 2.17; Sir 43.19) as the writer of Job consigns the elements within celestial storehouses (38.22) in heaven.

We find snow and hail depicted in the Exodus narrative as one of God's plagues sent against Egypt (9.33; Ps 105.32; Wis 16.16, 22; *cf.* Exod 9.23, fire and thunder).[473] Dew is frequently depicted as a sign of blessing and God's good favour (Gen 27.28; Exod 16.13-14; Num 11.19; Deut 33.28; Judg 6.37; Ps 133.3; Hos 14.5; Zech 8.12;), whereas ice is associated with his breath (Job 37.10; *cf.* Job 38.29) and anger (Wis 16.22). While snow,[474] hail,[475] and frost[476] appear independently throughout biblical literature, they frequently appear grouped in a variety of combinations.[477] Each of these environmental elements (snow, hail, and frost, as well as dew, ice, and hoar frost) are by-products of water in various stages of liquidation and solidification, and belong to the same grouping of by-products of the heavenly springs (*1 En* 60.22).

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[471] *Cf.* Isa 2.12; 13.6, 9; 34.8; Ezek 7.19; 13.5; 30.3; Joel 1.15; 2.11; Amos 5.18; Zeph 1.14; Zech 14.1. Also see H.E. Dosker, 'Day of the Lord,' in *ISBE*:1, p. 879; Richard H. Hiers, 'Day of the Lord,' in *ABD*:2 (1992), pp.82-83; and K.J. Cathcart, 'Day of Yahweh,' in *ABD*:2 (1992), pp.84-85.

[472] The text is considerable shorter than other texts (Eth. and Epiphanius Gr. citations) and may indicate that that the words ומלאכי רוחות once belonged before ולשלג (snow). See *DJD*:13 textual notes on 4Q216, V.7, p.15.

[473] Snow only appears in the descriptive phrase 'white as snow' to describe the curse of leprosy placed on Miriam (Num 12.10; *cf.* Exod 4.6; 2 Kgs 5.27).

[474] See 2 Sam 23.30, *par* 1 Chr 11.22; Job 6.16; 37.6; Pss 68.14; Prov 25.13; Pr Azar 1.46; 1 Macc 13.22.

[475] Exod 9.18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 34; 10.5, 12, 15; Ps 105.32; Isa 28.17.

[476] Jer 36.30; Zech 14.6; Wis 5.14; 16.29; Sir 3.15; Bar 2.25. For 'hoar frost' see Exod 16.14; Ps 147.16; Job 38.29.

[477] For 'ice and snow' (Job 6.16; Wis 16.22;), 'snow...frost' (Ps 147.16), 'hail, snow, frost' (Ps 148.8), 'snow...rain' (Prov 26.1; Job 37.6; Isa 55.10), 'snow...hail' (Job 38.22;), 'hail...rain' (Ps 105.32; Wis 16.16, 22), 'hail...frost' (Ps 78.47), 'frost...water' (Wis 6.29), 'frost and ice' (Sir 43.19).

1.4 *Angels of the sounds*[478]

The term 'spirits' is absent in the Ethiopic, Hebrew and Greek citations of the *BJ*. In this instance the BJ writer notably distinguishes his groupings of angels, spirits and meteorological elements from those we have already examined in *1 Enoch*.[479] First, let us consider the following. The Hebrew text simply lists '...the angels of the sound[s],'[480] which differs from the Greek[481] and Ethiopic[482] texts.[483] It appears that the transcribers of these later manuscripts edited the text to further identify the sounds as thunder and lightning. If these are glosses, we cannot determine if this was done for the sake of clarity,[484] or to establish continuity between Jubilees and the Enochic writings. Alternatively, is it possible that the Ethiopic and Greek transcribers were working from a different Hebrew manuscript which identified the sounds? At this point, we can conclude that at some point the *Jubilees* text underwent editorial changes during the transcription.

Secondly, the phrase 'thunders and lightnings' only appears a solitary time in biblical literature as a descriptive metaphor for God's voice (Job 37.4). The singular form of the phrase – thunder and lightning – appears twice in the OT (Exod 19.16, 'קלת וברקים'; 20.18, 'את־הקולת ואת־הלפידם'); and in both instances is associated with Yahweh's presence. If indeed the *BJ* is the work of a priestly author, the absence of the term *manāfest* and the identification of the sounds as 'thunder and lightning' may reflect the writer's difficulty in ascribing sounds so decisively linked with Yahweh to generic heavenly 'spirits.' Thus, the term 'spirits' and identification of the type of sounds made are omitted in the Hebrew manuscript. (See Table 3D, p.211)

Next, the use of angels linked with the sounds of 'thunders and lightnings' or in this instance the sounds of Yahweh's voice would fall within the acceptable parameters of the Jewish tradition for angels frequently act as agents of God's will and speak on his behalf as celestial messengers. In fact, the

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[478] Wintermute translates 'resoundings,' see *Jubilees*, p.55, n.d. Charles, translates 'voices,' in *Jubilees*, see his note on *'angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning,'* p.13.
[479] For 'spirit of thunder and lightning' see *1 En* 60.13-15.
[480] The Heb. (ומלכי הקולו[ת]). The Heb קל also = voice, sound, noise.
[481] Epiphanius Greek citation includes, *'ἄγγελοι φωνῶν Βροντῆς'*
[482] '...the sounds of the thunders and the lightnings,' preserved in only one ms. See Vanderkam, *Eth Jubilees*, for *sounds*, p.8, n.2.2.
[483] See 4Q216, textual notes, Ll.7-8, p.15.
[484] See DJD:13 textual notes on 4Q216, V.7-8, p.15

BJ writer retells several OT narratives whereby angels perform actions formerly attributed to God (38:10; 10:22–23; 14:20; 19:3; 32:21; 41:24; 48:2).[485] Only in later manuscripts do we find an evolution of the *Jubilees* text to include 'angels of the sounds of the thunders,'[486] and 'angels of the sounds of the thunders and the lightnings.'[487] It is possible that John detected this minute nuance in the *BJ* text, for as we shall discuss later, he too equates thunder and lightning with the presence of God and angelic activities (Rev 4.5; 8.5; 11.19; 16.18).

If these angels are metaphorically linked with God's voice, then should we consider them to be greater angels? Although, in 2.2 the author writes of 'all the spirits which serve before him,'[488] it appears that certain angels are ranked higher than others. Elsewhere in the *BJ* the author identifies the 'angels of presence' and the 'angels of holiness' as the 'two great kinds' of angels (2.18). They are distinguished from other angelic beings by keeping the Sabbath (2.18), circumcision, and their ability to enter and remain in God's presence (15.27). However, the *BJ* makes no further mention of the 'angels of the sounds of thunders and lightnings' that would allow us to place them in a higher category of celestial beings. Thus, we conclude that these angels fall within this third grouping of lesser angels who serve with or on behalf of 'spirits.'

1.5 Angels of the storm winds

There are only a few examples in canonical literature where winds are associated with storms. As we mentioned above, both the Ethiopic and Greek manuscripts omit this. However, in at least three biblical instances, the storm and strong winds are associated with God's wrath and punishment (Isa 17.13; Jon 1.4; *4 Ezra* 13.27-31).

1.6 *Spirit(s)' of cold and heat and of winter and summer*

The Ethiopic '*manāfest* of cold and heat' are also present in Hebrew (ומלכי הרוחות לקר ול]חום) text. Cold and heat are polar opposites – a dichotomy, which the *BJ* author uses to express a perfect harmonious state of cosmic

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[485] See Carol Newsom, 'Angels (Old Testament),' in *ABD*:1 (1992), pp.248-253.
[486] Epiphanius Gr.
[487] Eth ms.44. See Vanderkam, *Ethiopic Jubilees*, note 2.2, p.8
[488] The phrase also appears in *Tg. Yer. II*, Gen 1.26.

balance. The two often appear as antitheses in text (Gen 8.22; 31.40; Pr Azar 1.45). Yet, they do not always refer simply to calendrical seasons.[489]

For instance, in biblical literature 'cold' (קר) expresses climatic or physical temperatures (Job 24.7; 37.9; Prov 25.25; Jer 18.14; Nah 3.17; Zech 14.6; Sir 43.20; *4 Ezra* 7.41), as well as well as a metaphorical description of God's disposition (Ps 147.17). Further, 'heat' (חם) is also used to express time (Gen 18.1; 2 Sam 4.5; Isa 4.6; 18.4; Jer 36.30; Bar 2.25), bodily afflictions (Job 30.30), psychical disposition (Ezra 3.14; Hos 7.5; Nah 1.6; Zeph 3.8), and natural phenomena (Pr Azar 1.44), as well as climatic temperatures (Gen 31.40; Job 24.19; Isa 4.6; 18.4; Jer 17.8; Jdt 8.3; Sir 14.27; 8.16; 43.3, 4, 22).

The *BJ* text differs between the Hebrew and the Ethiopic and Greek. The Hebrew mentions only two seasons (winter and summer), while the Ethiopic and Greek identify four (winter, spring, autumn and summer).[490] Only the Hebrew and Ethiopic agree in use of the term 'spirits' (Eth. *manāfest*; Heb. רוחות). From a dualistic perspective, cold is to winter as heat is to summer (Gen 8.22; Pr Azar 1.45; *cf.* Ps 74.17; Zech 14.8). Even when the other seasons are added – spring and autumn also serve as comparable opposing seasons.[491] For just as spring is not winter or summer, but falls in between the two seasons of cold and heat, so the autumn season is neither summer nor winter.

It is clear the *BJ* author supported a solar calendar based on 364 days (6.32), whereby his audience is charged not to corrupt or change it in any way (6. 34; *cf.* 1.14; also 6.36, 27). As Jewish festivals had agricultural ties, the *BJ* writer's warnings attempt to prevent cultic holidays from being celebrated at the wrong times within the agrarian cycle.[492] According to the text, each solar year consisted of twelve months comprised of 52 weeks. Each month consisted of 30 days (4.17; 5.27; *cf.* Gen 7.24; 8.3; also *Jub* 6.29-30), with four intercalary

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[489] See *1 En* 82.9-20 for the names of celestial leaders for the four seasons.
[490] Both incorporate the four seasons, but it different sequence. Eth (winter, spring, autumn, summer) lists the seasons in their sequence of occurrence. *Cf.* the Gr. list (winter, autumn, spring, summer).
[491] *Cf.* Philo's *Her.* XLII, 208, where he writes 'Hot is opposite to cold, and dry to wet...winter to summer, autumn to spring, for the one is blooming and the other fading.' Translation taken from C.D.Yonge, *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1993), p.293.
[492] See James C. Vanderkam, 'Calendar: Ancient Israelite and Early Jewish,' in *ABD*:1 (1992), p.814-820; and Wintermute, *Jubilees*, p.39.

days interpolated at the beginning of each quarter (*Jub* 6.23).[493] Thus, for the *BJ* author a perfect calendrical balance consisted of four climatically opposing seasonal quarters in *two* groups – one of 'cold' and one of 'heat.'

1.8 Summary (*Jubilees* 2.2)

Thus far in *Jubilees* 2.2 we have identified the initial structuring of a simplistic angelic hierarchy. (See Diagram 3.3, p.214) Two groups of angels are distinguished from all others based on their created status (circumcision), observance of the Sabbath, and service in the heavenly sanctuary of the Most High. A third group of angels appear to function as, with or in the service of seven cosmic 'spirits': (1) fire, (2) winds, (3) clouds of darkness, hoar frost, dew, snow, hail, and frost, (4) sounds, (5) storm winds, (6) cold and (7) heat. Although the relationship between the angels and 'spirits' is unclear, the author clearly classifies all celestial beings as 'spirits who serve ' before God. Thus, these beings are obedient and good heavenly creatures.

What our examination has been able to determine is that in biblical literature, the natural phenomena depicted here are closely allied with God – his presence, actions, or commands. The priestly writer of *Jubilees* would surely have been aware of this connection. Also, it is possible that the *Jubilees* author and the *BW* writer shared elements of a common angelic ideology, believing angels to be celestial beings capable of taking on various forms (*cf.* 1 *En* 17.1; 19.1). However, if this were the case then the phrase 'angels of the spirits of...' would be unnecessary. We know that the author's decision to cluster these two words – angels and spirits – together in the same phrase holds some significance.[494]

It is possible that here the term 'angels' is being used in its basic lexical sense as 'messengers' assigned to serve the meteorological 'spirits.' Thus, we would have the 'messengers of the spirit of fire.' In this instance, these celestial messengers would operate on behalf of or in conjunction with 'spirits' to accomplish certain objectives. We find celestial messengers in *T. Levi* (2.7) with

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[493] See Charles, *Jubilees*, pplxvii-pplxviii; and Vanderkam's review of 'Calendars,' in *ABD*:1, esp. pp.115-116.

[494] Nida and Louw point out the need to pay particular attention to meanings of terms clustered in various ways, particularly when working with different lexemes with related meanings. See their discussion on the different meanings of lexemes in *Lexical Semantics*, pp.42-44.

the sole purpose of communicating responses to the angels of presence. Further, in *1 Enoch* (60.17-22) celestial beings (messengers/angels) guard (66.1-2), release (60.21), and measure the heavenly waters (60.22).[495]

By having various ranks of 'spirits,' angels and celestial messengers the writer eliminates any attempt to diminish the status of the Most High by equating him with lesser deities in the pantheon of gods worshipped in the *ANE*, particularly those associated with natural phenomena.[496] These rankings also retain the supreme authority of God. God is the creator of all celestial beings – 'spirits' and angels alike – as well as the meteorological elements. Thus, all serve in his employ and thereby fulfill only his commands.

The author's culminating affirmation follows at the end of the sentence with 'all the spirits in heaven, on earth, and in every place.'[497] This phrase does not mention angels. However, as the culminating phrase, it refers back to the writer's opening statement where he identifies all that was created on the first day. From this perspective the *Jubilees* author further ascribes supreme authority to God as the creator of the angels and 'all the spirits' in heaven, on earth, and in every place.[498]

2. 'Spirit(s)' in the Watchers Narrative (10.1-14)

In the author's retelling(*Jub* 10.5, 13)[499] of the fallen angels' narrative found in the *BW* (*1 En* 1-36),[500] the narrative opens with the sons of Noah informing their father that demons are leading the people astray, blinding and killing his grandchildren. They request his intervention (*Jub* 10.1-3a). Noah

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[495] *Cf. 1 En* 80.6 where the 'chiefs of the stars' err when they change the course of stars and seasons.

[496] Such as Girra, the Sumerian fire-god, or the three Phoenician gods Phos (light), Pyr (fire), and Phlox (flame) identified by Philo in *Phoenician History*, Eusebius, *PE* 1 10.9. See 'Fire אש' in *DDD*, pp.331-332. Adad, the Mesopotamian god of lightning was worshipped by Tiglath-Pileser I, his emblem – the bronze lightning bolt – was immediately set up in conquered cities. See 'Lightning ברק' in *DDD*, pp.519-520. Barad was the ancient Canaanite deity of hail. Some scholars suggest that Ps 78.48 and Isa 28.2 record Yahweh's employment of Barad to inflict plagues against Egypt. See 'Barad ברד' in *DDD*, pp.160-161; A. Caquote, 'Sur quelques démons de L'Ancien Testament,' *Sem* 6 (1956), pp.53-68. In ancient Babylon Hadad was god over the winds, while in Greek mythology the four winds were the sons of Astraeus and Eos. See 'Wind-Gods' in *DDD*, pp.898-900. Also, Hesiod, *Theog.* 375-380; and H. Hunger, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, (Wien: Hollinek, 1975), pp.426-427.

[497] See Vanderkam, *Jubilees*, pp.7-8.

[498] Vanderkam, *Jubilees*, pp.7-8.

[499] This section of the *Jubilees* text does not appear in 4QJubilees.

[500] Charles identifies verses 10.1-9 as a fragment of the Apocalypse of Noah. See his discussion in *Jubilees*, p.78, n.X.1.

petitions God, addressing him as 'God of the spirits which are in all animate beings' (10.3*b*; *cf.* Num 16.22; 27.16).[501] He implores God to intervene and not allow the evil 'spirits' to destroy the earth and rule over his offspring. In v.5 Noah calls the Watchers 'the father of these (evil) spirits' and attests that evil 'spirits' were created for the sole purpose of destruction. To avoid demonic rule over humans, God instructs the angels of presence to bind each one (10.7, 1).

The appellation Noah ascribes to God acknowledges Yahweh as creator and Lord over all creatures. However, the fluidity of the term *manāfest* that we observed in *1 Enoch* is such that here in *Jubilees* the author may be suggesting that God's spirit exists in all humanity. Further, Noah's petition to God acknowledges that if unbridled evil continues the patriarch foresees earth's destruction. If indeed the Watchers are the 'father of evil 'spirits,' this indicates that the writer perceives evil as being external and foreign to the created state of humans. Only God's intervention can restore order by eliminating evil.

However, in the following verses (10.8-10) Mastema (*cf.* Hos 9.7, 8; 1QM 14.9),[502] the leader of the demons, also appeals to God. After which God permits one tenth of Mastema's demons to remain for the sole purpose of exercising 'power on earth before the satan' and leading the sons of men astray until the Day of Judgement (*Jub* 10.8-11). As a precaution against human extermination by these evil *manāfest*, God commands the angels of presence to instruct Noah in the preparation of horticultural remedies for various diseases (10.13). Noah records the medicinal cures in a book, which he gives to his son Shem prior to his death (v.14).

This portion of the *Jubilees* text also lends support to the *BS* narrative. Here, as in the *Similitudes*, God permits evil *manāfest* to tempt humans and lead them astray (*1 En* 69.4, 6; *cf.* Judg 9.23-24).[503] Divine permission allows them to

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[501] See Wintermute for 'God of the spirits which are in all flesh,' *Jubilees*, p.75; and Charles for 'God the spirits of all flesh,' *Jubilees*, p.79.

[502] Mastema occurs in connection with Belial. See CD 16.5 and 1QM 13.11 for the 'angel of hostility' or 'angel Mastemah.' For discussions on alternate translations see P.J. Kobelski, *Melchizekek and Melchireša*, CBQ:10 (Washington: Catholic Bible Association of America, 1981), p.45; and K. Berger, 'Das Buch der Jubiläen,' *JSHRZ* (1981), p.379. Also as a designation for Belial in 4Q385-89; 4Q390 1.1-11; 2.1-7.

[503] The fallen angel Yequn (a derivation of יקום, meaning 'the rebel') leads astray the children of 'the holy angels.' See Knibb's note on 69.4 in *Enoch*, p.160. In 69.6, Gadreel (from גדריאל, 'God is my helper,' *cf.* 1 Sam 18.19; 2 Sam 21.8) is attributed with leading Eve astray, teaching humans to kill,

accuse humans (*1 En* 40.7), as well as attack and fight them (15.11, 12; *cf.* 1 Sam 16.14-15; 18.10; 19.9) until their judgement on the 'day of the great consummation'[504] (*Jub* 16.1). There is little doubt that here the *manāfest* are fallen celestial beings supporting the narratives documented in both the *BW* and *BS* accounts.[505] However, again we find that a more simplistic angelic hierarchy is being established in the *BJ*, especially among the evil 'spirits.' The author groups these 'spirits' under the leadership of Mastema. This differs from the *BW* where several leaders are named among the Watchers (*1 En* 6.1-8) who are attributed with leading humanity astray (8.1-4).

3. The Rise of War and Evil (11.1-24)

A narrative account of the descendents of Shem (*cf.* Gen 9.11-21) opens (chapter 11). The narrative explains the onset of warfare (*Jub* 11.2-3), slavery, and idolatry (v.4). The *BJ* author attributes idolatry to the 'spirits of the savage ones'[506] who teach humans to make statues and graven images (*cf. T.Jud* 23.1). Evil *manāfest* also seduce humans into committing sins and transgressions against God (*cf. T.Jud* 16.1; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T.Dan* 1.8; *T.Ben* 3.3). In v.5, the *BJ* author identifies Prince Mastema as the source of the iniquitous upheaval. The writer identifies the *manāfest* as being under his command and control. They are sent out to exert his power among humans, and to affect human actions in committing every kind of error, sin, and transgression (11.5). Thus, sinful human activities are once again attributed to evil 'spirits.' As we established in our review of *Jubilees* 10.1-14, there is little doubt the *BJ* writer is referring to fallen celestial beings under the direction of a single leader – Mastema.[507]

4. Abram's Prayer (12.19-20)

In the opening section of (chapter 12), the author retells the story of the Abram (Gen 11.26-12.1). The writer expands the narrative to include the patriarch's unsuccessful attempts to turn his father from idolatry (*Jub* 12.1-8),

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and the construction of warrior weaponry (the sword, breastplate, and shield). For a discussion on use in the OT and Qumran writings see 'Mastemah משטמה' in *DDD*, pp.553-554.
[504] See Knibb's translation from Eth., in *Enoch*, p.102.
[505] See Burton, *Spirit*, p.60.
[506] So: '...malignant spirits,' in Charles, *Jubilees*, p.87. '...cruel spirits,' in Wintermute, *Jubilees*, p.78.
[507] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.60.

his marriage to Sarai (*Jub* 12.9; Gen 11.29), destruction of a local pagan temple, and burning of pagan idols (*Jub* 12.12-14). The author also supplies details concerning the early death of Abram's brother, Haran, (*Jub* 12.14; Gen 11.28) along with the patriarch's relocation from Ur to the lands of Lebanon and Canaan (*Jub* 12.15).

In this brief section of the narrative the *BJ* writer firmly establishes Abram as one of Noah's descendents who not only questions idolatrous practices (11.16; 12.1-8), but also turns from idolatry (11.17), and attempts to persuade others to do likewise. It is within this setting that we encounter Abram's prayerful vigil (12.19-21). Here the patriarch acknowledges to Yahweh that evil *manāfest*[508] rule[509] the thoughts of humanity. Abram petitions God for assistance to ensure that neither he, nor his offspring are misled or coerced into straying from the worship of God (v.20).

In this instance the author's use of term is unclear. For to suggest that evil 'spirits' exert control or influence over human thoughts may simply be the author's way of describing an evil inclination or an amoral mentality existing within the nature of human beings.[510] It may simply be the author's way of stating that the patriarch believed humans were allowing themselves to be ruled by evil thoughts rather than good (2.29; 3.17, 23; 7.24).

As tempting as this conclusion appears, it cannot be the case. Throughout the author's retelling of the Genesis story, he has constantly depicted evil as an external influence holding sway over the activities of humanity. Consider the following: (1) The *BJ* opens with Moses praying that the spirit of Belial will not rule over God's people (*Jub* 1.20). (2) It is the serpent that persuades Eve to disobey God (3.17, 19), and the serpent is cursed and reaps God's anger forever (3.23). (3) The rejection of Cain's sacrifice and the acceptance of Abel's incite Cain to jealousy and the eventual murder of his brother (4.2). (4) The angels of the Lord enter the earthly realm, marry human females, and produce evil offspring (5.1; 7.21), their actions erupt havoc, violence and wickedness on earth (5.2-3; 7.22-24). After God purifies the earth and humanity through the flood, Noah's sons are led astray by demons (7.26-7).

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[508] Several Eth mss read 'spirits of the evil ones.' See Vanderkam, *Ethiopic Jubilees*, p.72, n.12.20.
[509] Vanderkam, *Jubilees*, p.73. Also Wintermute, *Jubilees*, p.81. '...have sway over the thoughts of men's hearts,' in Charles, *Jubilees*, p.95.

(5) Demons mislead Noah's grandchildren (10.1) and exercise authority over them (10.3). (6) Mastema obtains God's permission to retain one tenth of his followers in order to 'exercise the authority' of his will among humankind (10.8). (7) The evil 'spirits' instruct Noah's offspring in arts of war, as well as how to manufacture weapons and idols (11.2-5).

While a duality exists, it exists between good and evil. Evil is personified as the 'spirit of Belial' (1.20). Good remains an eschatological hope for God's creation only possible through a just and holy spirit (1.20, 21), which will be given to humans (1.23). Here Abram represents the initial stirrings of that hope, anticipated by Noah (10.3-4) and requested by Moses (1.20) in earlier chapters. From this perspective perhaps *manāfest* (12.20) represent celestial beings permitted by God to tempt and entice humans to commit sinful acts.

5. Laws Concerning Circumcision (15.25-32)

We also find 'spirits' in verses 31 and 32 during the author's discourse on circumcision. First, in 15.31 the author reiterates God's supreme authority over all creation by acknowledging that God made *manāfest* and all the peoples of other nations – all belong to God. The *manāfest* were created for the purpose of ruling over foreign nations (*cf.* Deut 32.8-9; Sir 17.17)[511] and to prevent them from following him.[512] Alternatively, God alone rules over Israel – he alone protects and guards them against angels, *manāfest*, and powers. In this way the author solidifies Israel's place of distinction from among other nations in God's heart and divine plan. The act of circumcision is the external sign of Israel's covenantal relationship with God (15.26), and signifies Israel's placement alongside the angels of presence and the angels of holiness (15.27).[513] Here again, it is probable that *manāfest* are celestial beings.

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[510] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.59.
[511] Charles suggests this may be the meaning behind Dan 10.13, 20, 21; and 12.1 whereby all the nations, including Israel fall under the patronage of a guardian angel. See *Jubilees*, pp.111-112, n(n).31-32.
[512] See Vanderkam, *Ethiopic*, p.93, n.15.31. This appears to conflict with the author's narrative thus far where spirits exercise rule over Noah's descendents.
[513] See Charles, *Jubilees*, p.111, n.27.

6. Punishment, Repentance and God's Blessings (23.22-32)

Our final textual reference to 'spirits' in the *BJ* is located within the angel's predictive narrative on God's judgement and punishment of Israel. The chronicle opens with the death and burial of Abraham (23.1-7). The narrative quickly progresses providing an explanation on the decline in the human life span (vv.8-15), and vivid descriptions of the evil wreaked by the future generations of Israel (vv.16-21). The angel foretells how God's punishment will evoke repentance and Israel's return to God's laws and commands (v.26). Israel's return to the right way will reap God's blessings - long life, peace, and joy (v.27). During this time, the angel confides, there will be no satan or evil one to destroy, for God will expel his enemies and punish those who have afflicted the righteous (v.30).

Undoubtedly, the words of the angel express the author's eschatological expectation in some form of spiritual existence for the righteous after death.[514] Although 'their bones will rest in the earth...their *manāfest* will be very happy' (v.31). The joy their *manāfest* experience will come from the knowledge of God's justice and kindness. Whether the author speaks of resurrection as a spiritual existence after death (v.30)[515] or an intellectual comprehension that allows the deceased to rest peacefully after death is uncertain at this point. First, let us consider the following. In v.29 the author indicates that humankind (v.27) will 'complete and live their entire lifetimes' in peace and joy. This appears to speak of human existence on earth. To state that their lives are complete implies physical death - when one completes human life they die.

Next, the entire lifetime of the righteous will be a time of blessing and healing for there will be no satan or evil one to bring destruction. Initially, the absence of evil, blessing and healing speaks to an eschatological expectation that the author yet hopes to experience. This is also present in his predictions of restoration and blessing - returning to the law, increased life spans, etc. - prior to physical death. However, it is Israel's return to the law and righteous ways which prevent satan and evil ones from destroying God's people and

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514 Charles, *Jubilees*, pp.150-151, n.30.

515 '...they will rise and see great peace.' Vanderkam, *Ethiopic*, p.149. Charles and Wintermute, '...they will rise up and see great peace.' See *Jubilees*, p.151 and p.102, respectively. Charles argues for a 'blessed immortality awaiting the spirit' as in *1En* 92.3; 103.3,4.

their lands[516] for their lives will again fall under God's divine protection (15.32; 21.20, 21).[517] According to *Jubilees,* Israel's covenant relationship with God has a conditional contingency whereby if covenant is kept, Israel will not be uprooted from the earth, i.e., exterminated as the people of God (6.13-14; 15.26-28). Thus during some future time the author anticipates God will heal his people (23.30) through the restoration of covenantal relationship.

Only after healing occurs will the righteous 'rise' to see God's peace and witness his expulsion of all of his enemies. They will also see God's punishments and curses inflicted on their own enemies as well (v.30). Hence, the righteous will witness this aspect of judgement, offer praise, and be eternally happy. At this point, the author informs us that 'their bones (the righteous) will rest in the earth' and 'their spirits will be very happy' (v.31). It is possible the author is calling to mind Israel's righteous forefathers who have already died and foretold of Israel's waywardness, or others who have simply died in faith. We have already seen a Jewish tradition preserved in *BW* that upholds a belief in special resting places for all 'spirits of the dead' (*1 En* 22.9).

In *BW,* the angel Raphael identifies at least three areas (22.10-14), in addition to a location designed especially for the righteous ones who have died in faith (22.3-4, 9). One is designated for 'spirits' that cry out for justice against their enemies' (22.12), while another is for the unrighteous who will suffer judgement and torment until the Day of Judgement (22.10-11). The final place the angel describes is for the unrighteous persons who will suffer eternal torment, and their 'spirits' will not rise (v.13). Based on the *BW* description these last three are within close proximity. Consequently, those who cry out, will have an opportunity to witness the judgement of their enemies. While *BW* specifically states that those, whose 'spirits' will not rise, *Jubilees* clearly acknowledges that the righteous who have died in faith will rise, even though their bones are buried in the ground. It is highly probable that in this instance, the author is writing of human 'spirits,' specifically, the inner life force fundamental to human existence which continues after death.[518]

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[516] In *Jub* 11.11, 18, Mastema sends ravens to eat the seed and destroy the crops of Terah's father.
[517] The covenant is 'forever and ever,' *Jub* 15.32.
[518] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit,* p.60

7. Conclusion (*Jubilees*)

Throughout our review of *manãfest* in the *BJ* we have detected the prominence of the term's application to represent evil celestial beings (10.5, 7, 13; 11.4,5; 12.20; 15.31, 32) grouped under the leadership of Mastema. Consistent with the OT, these 'spirits' exercise Mastema's influence and rule over human beings by divine permission (*Jub* 10.8-9). The creation of a just and holy spirit within humankind remains an eschatological hope presupposed in the opening chapter of the *BJ* (1.20, 21, 23) and chronicled throughout in the petitions of the patriarch to both God and his people. God's people are encouraged to adhere to God's laws and commandments,[519] and to live in the right way (7.34; 23.26).

This is the single occurrence in which the term 'spirits' can be understood to mean the 'spirit of man'[520] or 'life force' (23.31). In this instance the author writes of an eschatological hope, where the enemies of God and his people will be destroyed and the 'spirits' of the righteous who have died will rejoice. We can detect here a similarity between the *BJ* and *BW*. Both appear to share a common tradition whereby the 'spirits of the dead' have a resting-place until the Day of Judgement (*Jub* 23.31-2; *1 En* 22.1-4), and they will ultimately witness God's retribution upon their enemies (*Jub* 23.30; *1 En* 22.7, 12). Both traditions also support some form of 'rising'of the human spirit after death (*Jub* 23.30; *1 En* 22.13). Although the term resurrection is not used, the notion that some form of life or existence continue after death is present.

The third category of 'spirits' in the *BJ* can be found in the author's retelling of the creation narrative. In (2.2) 'spirits' are aligned with cosmic elements. Seven categories of 'spirits' (fires, winds, clouds, waters [snow, hail, frost], sounds, cold and heat) are aligned with natural elements. Here as well, we have seen a similar tradition in the Enochic writings. However, the *Jubilees* author organizes his listing of 'spirits' is such a way as to provide a simplistic hierarchical structure of celestial beings. Thus, we find celestial messengers or angels who appear to function with or in the service of seven cosmic 'spirits.' The relationship existing between the messengers/angels and the cosmic 'spirits' is unclear because the author generically classifies *all* celestial beings as

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[519] See *Jub* 1.24; 6.10, 13, 1420, 32; 7.31-32; 15.11, 25, 28-29; 20.3, 8; 21.5, 16, 18-19, 20, etc.

'spirits' in God's employ. It is worth noting that here again we have identified seven 'spirits,' or seven groups of 'spirits' that are aligned with and obedient to the 'God of the spirits' (10.3).

The author's understanding of the 'God of the spirits' holds in delicate tension his perception of a supreme Lord over all 'spirits' – those 'spirits' that are in animate beings,[521] as well as those 'spirits' that animate or infuse the natural elements of the cosmos. Our examination indicates that throughout biblical literature, specific natural phenomena are closely allied with God – his presence, actions, and commands. The *BJ* writer expresses his interpretation of these texts by eliminating any possible confusion between the 'God of the spirits' and the cosmic deities worshipped by foreign nations. The 'God of the spirits' has supreme authority; he is the creator of all 'spirits,' celestial and human – even the 'spirits,' which animate or infuse the cosmic elements.

Spirit(s) in *4 Ezra*

The book called *4Ezra*[522] is the final apocalypse we will examine in our review of 2nd temple Jewish pseudepigrapha literature. The writing has long been identified as a Jewish apocalypse probably written between 70-100 C.E. As an apocalypse that is contemporary with Revelation, *4 Ezra* falls within the scope of our inquiry. [523] The writing's popularity within early Christianity[524] has accentuated debates on the document's literary unity.[525] However, it is

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[520] I refer to Burton's use of the phrase in *Spirit*, p.58.

[521] Vanderkam translates, 'God of the spirits which are in all animate beings…' See, *Ethiopic*, p.58. Charles follows Num16.22; 27.6 by translating, 'God of the spirits of all flesh,' in *Jubilees*, p.79. Wintermute translates, 'God of the spirits which are in all flesh,' in *Jubilees*, p.75.

[522] Also called *2 Esdras* and the *Apocalypse of Ezra*.

[523] For dating the writing prior to 100 C.E. see Bruce M. Metzer, *The Fourth Book of Ezra*, OTP:1, p.520; Jacob M. Myers, *I and II Esdras*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 1986), pp.129-131. For arguments on later (190 C.E.) and earlier (81-96 C.E.) dates, see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, pp.9-10.
Also see Michael E. Stone, 'The Concept of the Messiah in 4 Ezra,' in J. Neusner, ed., *Religions in Antiquity*, (Leiden: 1968), pp.295-312, *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, Her. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), pp.21-22; 'Some Remarks on the Textual Criticism of IV Ezra,' *HTR*:60 (1967), pp.107-15; and A.F.J. Klijn, ed. *Der lateinische Text der Apokalypse des Esra*. TU:131 (Berlin: 1983), p.523.

[524] Several citations of *4 Ezra*, deemed spurious and indubitable, appear in Christian writings – the *Epistle of Barnabas* 12.1 (*4 Ezra* 5.5a); 4.4 (12.10); Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 1.22; (14.21-22; 14.37-47); Tertullian, *De resurrectionis* 7 (7.52); and *De praescr. Haer.* 3 (8.21; *cf.* Jer 32.19); Cyprian, *Test. Libri III ad Quirinium* 3.29 (5.9; *cf.* Isa 59.14-15); Ambrose of Milan, *De bono mortis* 10 (5.42bc); 10-11(7.78a-102). *sat.* 1.2 (10.14). See Stone, *Commentary on the Book of Fourth Ezra*, pp.1-2, 9. This commentary henceforth referred to as *Fourth Ezra* throughout this discussion.

[525] See Richard Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen: 1889); G.H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (London: 1912); H. Gunkel, 'Das vierte Buch Esra,' in E. Kautzsch, ed., *Die*

now generally accepted that *4Ezra* is the work of a single author who made use of preexistent literary materials and popular religious traditions.[526] Often called the *Jewish Ezra Apocalypse,*[527] the book is comprised of (chapters 3–14). Two additional sections - *5 Ezra* (chapters 1–2) and *6 Ezra* (chapters 15–16) - frame the writing, but are not integral parts of the Jewish apocalypse and are generally considered as Christian writings.[528] The *Ezra Apocalypse,* is divided into seven sections, referred to as Visions: (1) Vision 1 (3.1-5.19), (2) Vision 2 (5.21-634), (3) Vision 3 (6.35-9.25), (4) Vision 4 (9.26-10.59), (5) Vision 5 (11.1-12.39), (6) Vision 6 (13.1-58), and (7) Vision 7 (14.1-51). There is a solitary citation in which we find the term 'spirits' in the apocalypse (7.80).

1. The Third Vision (6.35-9.25)

The textual reference, which includes the term 'spirits' (7.80) occurs in Vision 3, which can also be divided into much smaller sections. These sections are generally isolated by a series of questions posed by Ezra and the responses, when provided, given by an *angelus interpres*:

The Third Vision

6.35-37	Introduction
6.38-59	Question – *Concerning Israel's inheritance*
7.1-16	Response
7.17-25	Question & Response – *Concerning the fate of the wicked*
7.26-44	The Coming Messiah, Resurrection, and Judgement
7.45-74	Question – *Concerning those who are saved*
7.75-99	Question & Response – *Concerning the state of the soul*
7.100-115	Question – *Concerning intercession of the righteous*
7.116-131	Question & Response – *Concerning Sin*
7.132-8.3	Question & Response – *Concerning God's Mercy*
8.4-19*a*	Question – *Concerning the human life span*
8.19*b*-36	Ezra's prayerful petition
8.37-62*a*	Question – *Concerning humanity*
8.62*b*-9.22	Question & Response – *Concerning signs of the coming judgement*
9.23-25	Final injunction

Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testament, Vol. 2, (Tübingen: 1900), pp.331-401; J. Keulers, 'Die eschatologische Lehre des vierten Esrabuches,' *BibS(F)*:20 (1922), pp.46-54; and E. Brandenburger, *Die Verborgenheit Gottes im Weltgeschehen,* ATANT:68 (Zürich:1981).

[526] See M. Stone, 'The Concept of the Messiah in 4 Ezra,' in J. Neusner, ed., *Religions in Antiquity,* (Leiden: 1968), pp.295-312, and Fourth Ezra, Her. pp.21-22. Also, J.M. Myers, *I and II Esdras,* pp.119-120. For arguments as a compilation see Richard Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1889); G.H. Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse* (London: Pittman, 1912), and especially W.O.E. Oesterley, who builds on the work of both, yet with less detail in *II Esdras: The Ezra Apocalypse,* WC (London: Methuen, 1933), pp.xi-xix.

[527] Referred to throughout as the *Ezra Apocalypse.*

[528] Michael Stone, 'Second Book of Esdras,' in *ABD*:2 (1992), pp.611-614; and *Fourth Ezra,* p.21; J. Myers, *I and II Esdras,* p.119.

The term 'spirits' is located in 7.80, the section that documents the seer's questions concerning the final state of the human soul (7.75-99).

1.1. *Concerning the state of the soul* (7.75-99)

In this section of Ezra's third vision, the scribe seeks to determine what happens to the human soul after physical death, and he asks whether the soul will rest until creation is renewed or suffer torment (v.75)? After the *angelus interpres* assures Ezra that his destiny is not linked with those who will experience torment (vv.76-77), he delivers a brief teaching on death (vv.78-99).

First, we are informed that the Most High decides when a person will die. This is accomplished by his divine decree at which time the 'spirit'[529] leaves the human body and returns to the one who gave it – namely God (v.78; *cf.* Zech 12.1; also Job 10.12; 12.10; Ps 31.6; Isa 42.5). At this stage, in the presence of the glory of the Most High, the spirit is judged as being one who fears God or as one who has shown scorn, rebelled against God and despised his laws (vv.78-79). Next, we learn that the 'spirits'[530] of rebellious, spiteful persons who have 'hated those who fear God' (*cf.* 2 Chr 19.2; also see 1QH 15.17-19; 1QpHab 2) are destined to 'roam in torment,' and will not enter the habitations[531] where the 'spirits of the righteous' will dwell (v.80).[532]

The angel's introductory statement alerts the reader that the 'spirits' he is referring to are human 'spirits.' Thus, from the onset his response to Ezra seeks to detail the destiny of all human 'spirits,' both the righteous and wicked. Additionally, we learn that the spirit to which the angel refers is in a body, and only after death is it allowed to return to its creator.[533] Further, we find in this section several verses, which clearly identify these as human 'spirits.' For instance, they are able to observe the peaceful habitations of the righteous guarded by angels (vv.85, 95; *cf. 1 En* 100.5; *2 Apoc Bar* 30.2; 23.4; also see Ps

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[529] Both Metzer and Myers render 'spirit,' while Stone translates 'soul' from the Eth., noting that Lat., Syr., and Aram. render 'spirit.' See *Fourth Ezra*, p.235, n.78h.
[530] Metzer, p.539; Myers, p.213.
[531] Stone translates 'treasuries,' p.235. 'Treasuries (or storehouses) of the souls' are also mentioned in 4.41; 7.32; and 7.95. One Aram. ms. includes, 'those souls will come to hell and to torment, and for them and their kind a place has been set apart.'
[532] See Myers, on habitations as 'the dwelling place of the righteous after death,' p.237, n.80. Also see W. Oesterley, *II Esdras*, his note on habitations in v.80, p.88.

91.11).[534] In this way, the author avoids any potential confusion between the 'spirits' who roam in torment and the angels who guard the righteous. Finally, the author specifically identifies these roaming 'spirits' as those who 'sinned while living' (v.88). Thus, it appears that the term 'spirits' in 7.80 represents the vital life force within humans given by God.[535]

2. Conclusion (*4 Ezra*)

This is perhaps one of the most unambiguous examples of an author's use of the term 'spirits' that we have encountered during our review of Jewish apocalyptic literature. The author's perspective of 'spirits' is linked with his theology and eschatology. Thus, the Most High God creates and sustains all human life, and he alone determines when it shall end and how it shall spend eternity. 'Spirit' is the life force within humans that comes from God and continues after physical death by returning to its creator source for judgement, along with receiving its resulting rewards or punishments. It is possible that due to *4Ezra*'s late date, the author presents a more simplistic and well-defined tradition that makes a clear distinction between angels and 'spirits'. In *4Ezra*, angels are celestial beings who tremble before God (4 *Ezra* 8.21) and guard heavenly dwellings (6.3; 7.85, 95). They also teach (2.44; 4.1; 5.15; 5.32; 7.2; 10.33) and care for (5.15; 10.30) God's prophets. Accordingly, 'spirits' are only linked with humans – their earthly existence and afterlife (7.80; *cf.* 6.26).[536] And, the spirit of life within humans is specifically linked with its creator – the Most High God.

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[533] The concept that the human spirit comes from God is present in OT writings (Gen 6.3; Job 27.3; 33.4; 34.14; Ps 104.30; Isa 42.5; *cf.* Gen 2.7).
[534] The Eth 'the souls of the righteous guarded by angels in profound quiet in their chambers,' see Stone, *Fourth Ezra*, p.236, n(n).85a-b.
[535] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.58.
[536] *Cf.* 'spirit' in *4 Ezra* 3.3; 6.37; 12.5 which refer to the human spirit within Ezra; also 'spirit of understanding as the seat of human mentality in 5.22 and 14.40. The author's use of spirit in 6.39, 41 speaks of God's spirit at creation. One final reference, 14.22, could also mean the Spirit of God, *cf.* Ps 51.11. *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, pp.56-61.

Excursus 2A
Philo Judaeus, Flavius Josephus, and Pseudo-Philo

The writings of Philo, Josephus and Pseudo-Philo are by no means considered to be apocalyptic literature in style or content. Further, there is scholarly agreement that Josephus wrote *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* after the destruction of Jerusalem and the 2nd temple. Further, the dating of Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is disputed, with scholars arguing for a late 1st or early 2nd century C.E. date. Irrespective, our analysis of Jewish literature would be incomplete without a brief review of these writings and any significant insight they give to our review of the term 'spirits.' Philo Judaeus makes frequent use of the Greek word *πνεῦμα* (spirit) throughout his writings. These textual references cite the various meanings applied to the term such as air,[537] a breeze,[538] or more specifically a storm or strong wind,[539] but then also as the divine spirit breathed into humans,[540] as breath itself[541] being that which is fundamental to physical human life.[542] In some instances Philo's use of the term *πνεῦμα* appears to represent an incorporeal state of existence or pervasive cosmic power.[543] However, the term *πνευματικός* is used with this meaning (spiritual, or also spirit) as well.[544] Likewise in Philo's writings *πνεῦμα* also represents the Spirit of God,[545] his Holy Spirit,[546] and the Spirit of prophecy.[547] Most notably what we find in Philo's writings is his complete exclusion of the plural form *πνεύματα*.[548] The only exceptions are where the word 'spirits' occurs in Philo's quotation

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[537] *Opif.* VII, 29; VII, 30; XII, 41; XXVI, 80; XXXVIII, 113; *Leg I.* XIII, 42; XXIX.91; *Leg III.* LV, 161; *Cher.* XXXI, 111; *Sacr.* XXIX, 97; *Det.* VII, 17; *Gig.* II, 10; V, 22; *Deus.* XVIII, 84; *Plant.* V, 18; VI, 24; *Ebr.* XXVII, 106; *Her.* XLIII, 208; *Congr.* XXIV, 131; *Decal.* IX, 33; *Spec I.* LV, 301; LXII, 338; *Spec IV.* XXIV, 123; *Aet.* XXI, 111; *Prov II.* 45; *QG II.* 59.

[538] *Leg III.* XVII, 53; *Deus.* VI, 26; *Somn II.* II, 13; XIII, 86; *Praem.* VII, 41; *Prov II.* 43.

[539] *Opif.* XIX, 58; XXVI, 80; XXXVIII, 113; *Leg III.* LXXIX, 223; *Cher.* IV, 13; XI. 37, 38; *Det.* XXIII, 83; *Post.* VII, 22; *Gig.* II, 10; *Deus.* XII, 60; XXI, 98; XXXVI, 175; *Agr.* XL, 174; *Plant.* VI, 24; *Migr.* XXVII, 148; XXXIX, 217; *Congr.* XXIV, 131; *Somn II.* IX, 67; XIII, 85; XX, 143; XXIV, 166; *Abr.* VIII, 43; XIX, 92; *Ios.* VII, 33; *Mos I.* VIII, 41; XXXII, 179; *Mos II.* XXII, 104; *Spec I.* IV, 26; LV, 301; LIX, 322; *Spec II.* XVII, 71; *Spec II.* XXVIII, 153; *Spec IV.* VI, 27; *Prob.* XIV, 97; *Aet.* III, 11; XXIV, 125; XXVI, 139; *Flacc.* XIX, 155; *Legat.* XXVII, 177; *Prov II.* 43; 45; 47; *QG I*, 51; *QG II.* 28; 59.

[540] *Opif.* XLV, 135; L, 144; *Leg I.* XII, 37, 42; *Leg III.* LV, 161; *Det.* XXII, 80; XXIII, 84; *Gig.* VI, 26; XI, 67; XII, 53, 55; *Deus.* I, 2; VII, 35; *Plant.* VI, 24; *Her.* XI, 55; XII, 57; *Her.* LIII, 265; *Mos I.* XXXI, 175; *Decal.* XXXIII, 175; *Spec IV.* VIII, 49; *QG I*, 51; 90; *QG II.* 28; 59.

[541] *Leg III.* IV, 14; *Det*, XXII, 81; *Deus.* XVII, 84; *Mos I.* XVI, 93; *Mos II.* XLVIII, 265; *Decal.* IX, 33; *Spec I.* I, 6; LXII, 338; *Spec IV.* XXIV, 123; *Praem.* XXV, 144; *Aet.* XXI, 111; XXIV, 127; *Legat.* IX, 63; XVIII, 125; *QG II.* 59.

[542] See J. Levison, *The Spirit in First Century Judaism*, p.62.

[543] *Gig.* II, 9; VI, 26; *Somn I.* VI, 30; *Somn II.* XXXVIII, 252; *Aet.* XXIV, 125; *QG II.* 59.

[544] *Abr.* XXII, 111; *Aet.* XVII, 86; *QG I*, 51; 92; *QG II*, 12; and possibly *Aet.* XXIV, 125.

[545] *Leg I.* XIII, 33; *Gig.* V, 19, 22, 23; VI, 24, 28, 29; *Mut.* XXI, 123 (*cf.* Num 14.24. See Burton, *Spirit*, pp.56-57, on the effects of the Spirit of God.). Also, *Ios.* XXI, 116.

[546] *Gig.* V, 23; *Virt.* XXVI, 135; XXXIX, 217.

[547] *Fug.* XXXIII, 186; *Mos I.* XXXI, 175; L, 277; *Mos II.* XLVIII, 265; *Spec IV.* VIII, 49.

[548] See Peter Borgen, Kåre Fuglseth, and Ronald Skarsten, *The Philo Index: A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p.285.

of Numbers 27.16.[549] Initially this absence of 'spirits' appears extraordinary until one considers Philo's frequent association between *πνεῦμα* and higher mental abilities in humans, specifically reason and intellect.[550] His use of *πνεῦμα* in this manner, while yet incorporating the familiar myriad of applications listed above, suggest a strict compliance with the term's usage in Jewish OT literature. The plural form of the term of *πνεῦμα* is not mentioned. Thus, our observation concludes that Philo's writings reflect an understanding of 'spirit' depicted in the OT, apart from his perspective of *πνεῦμα* as the source of human reason and intellect. His writings add nothing to our exploration of 'spirits' particularly as a background for John's use and meaning of the term 'spirits' in his Apocalypse.

As we have already detected the absence of these terms in Philo's writings, likewise we find only a sparse usage in the works of Flavius Josephus.[551] The only instances where the term *πνεύματα* occurs is in his writing *Antiquitates Judaicae*.[552] Here in his historical retelling of the exodus and Korah's rebellion, *πνεύματα* are strong 'winds,' a familiar usage we have already encountered in our previous examination of the term *πνεῦμα* in Chapter One. Additionally, we find similar meaning of the term[553] in his accounts concerning the prophets Jonah and Daniel. A single occurrence of *πνεύματα* can be found in *Bellum Judaicum*, to mean demons. The context in which we find the phrase '*ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα*'[554] appears to suggest that demons are the 'spirits' of evil people, which enter, possess, and kill living beings if not expelled. The existence of evil 'spirits' is a recurring theme in Jewish OT literature and in writings from the 2nd temple period. This we have already documented in our investigation along with the belief that evil 'spirits' possess the ability to influence human activities. While previously we could only detect a hint of the invasive ability applied to the meaning of the term 'spirits', Josephus provides at least one instance in which the term 'spirits' is used with the verb *εἰσδυόμενα* (from *εἰσδύνω* [*εἰς-δύνω*]; to get with or go into) means the 'spirits' enter into humans and require expulsion.[555]

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[549] *Post.* XIX, 67; *Agr.* X, 44; *Virt.* X, 58; The LXX reads '...*κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς*...' although Borgen's *Philo Index* does not list Philo's use of *πνευμάτων* in quotations as such. Borgen, Fuglseth, and Skarsten, *The Philo Index*, p.285.

[550] *Fug.* XXIV, 132; XXXII, 182. *Cf.* Burton who discusses the use of רוח in his study on *Spirit*. He notes its use 'rarely, and only in late writers...' as a term to indicate the seat of human mentality. See p.59. Also, *Somn I.* VI, 30; *Somn II.* XXXVIII, 252; *Mos II.* VII, 40; *Spec I.* XXXV, 171; LI, 277; *Prob.* V, 26; *QG I*, 90; *QG II.* 59.

[551] The term *πνεύματα* appears only once in *Bellum Judaicum*, and *πνευμάτων* occurs only five times in *Judean Antiquities*.

[552] Referred to here as *Ant.* See *πνευμάτων* in Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, *A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josepus*, Vol:3 (Leiden: Brill, 1979), pp.434-435.

[553] Also *cf. Ant.* XVI, 62.

[554] "*τὰ γὰρ καλούμενα δαιμόνια ταῦτα δὲ πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδυόμενα καὶ κτείνοντα τοὺς βοηθείας μὴ τυγχάνοντας αὐτη ταχέως ἐξελαύνει κἂν προσενεχθῇ μόνον τοῖς νοσοῦσι.*" Gr. text taken from Josephus, *The Jewish War*, Books I-III, H. St. J. Thackeray, trans., Loeb Classical Library (London: Heineman, 1927), pp.556-558.

[555] Josephus suggests evil spirits can be exorcised through use of a particular plant – 'rue' – possibly a reference to either the *ruta graveolens* or *ruta bracteosa*. See *Josephus*, Vols.I-III, pp.556-557, n.a.

In *Pseudo-Philo* we find the term 'spirit' in the singular form. The phrase, *spiritus sanctus* (Holy Spirit, XXVIII, 6), represents the divine inspiration which comes from God's upon the leader Cenaz and impels him to prophesy.[556] This too we have seen in our overview of OT writings. A second use of *spiritus* occurs in the author's retelling of the call of Samuel (LII, 1-13; 1Sam 3.1-4.1), whereby the priest Eli fears that the voice the young boy hears is that of a *spiritus immundus* (impure spirit, v.3).[557] Like the writings of Philo Judaeus, the *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* by Pseudo-Philo makes no mention of 'spirits' in the plural form. What we can note from this brief examination is that the pneumatological language in these philosophical and historical writings, does not venture beyond the conventional applications presented in Jewish canonical literature. Thus, these writings, although clearly Jewish, provide minimal new insight to our investigation on 'spirits,' and thus require little more than our brief perusal here.

Spirit(s) in the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS)

Our review of 'spirits' in the *DSS* will be particularly pertinent to our investigation, as scholars have heretofore suggested the significance of angelology in better understanding the traditio-historical use of *πνεῦμα*, particularly the angelology present in Jewish literature from the 2nd temple period.[558] In his commentary on the *Book of Revelation*, David Aune proposes that the term 'spirits' is frequently used as a synonym for angels in apocalyptic writings and the Qumran texts. However, thus far our examination of the term 'spirits' in Jewish apocalypses and historical writings from this period appears to indicate a more prevalent use of 'spirits' to denote demons and cosmic phenomena. We shall see if this tendency remains consistent in our review of 'spirits' in the *DSS* writings.

Another reason the *DSS* writings hold significance for this study is that the Qumran community can more accurately be described as an 'apocalyptic or eschatological movement'[559] active during the 2nd century BCE. Noteable

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[556] See Howard Jacobson's discussion on usage of the Hebrew verb שלח in *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, Vol:2, pp.809-810. *Cf.* similar usage in 1Sam 10.10; Judg 14.6, 19; 15.14.

[557] See Jacobson's translation and note on *spiritus immundus* in *Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, Vol:1, p.179; and Vol:2, pp.1118-1119.

[558] See my Introduction which notes the work of Dix, "The Seven Archangels and the Seven Spirits," and Schweizer, 'pneuma'.

[559] See L. H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Study of the Rule of the Congregation*, SBLMS Vol:38 (Atlanta:GA, Scholars, Press, 1989), pp.25-51. For a full discussion see J.J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Routledge, 1997) and a more brief review in 'Apocalypticism and Literary Genere in the Dead Sea Scrolls,' in Peter W. Flint and James C.

Jewish apocalypses (the books of Daniel, *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testament of Levi*) have been preserved among the myriad of manuscripts discovered in various caves.[560] However, as we have included these writings in our review thus far, we need not consider them further here.

The *DSS* writings comprise a vast library which distinctly portray the Qumran community's diverse interest and desire to preserve numerous manuscripts that represented various theological and ethical positions. Some of the manuscripts even predate the settlement itself and its inhabitants. Thus, scholars conclude that many of the text found in the Qumran caves were not written by the community. [561] From this perspective, we will attempt to examine the term רוחות as it occurs in writings composed by the Qumran community, as well as in those writings that have been edited and integrated into community manuscripts, and those adopted into their libraries.

John J. Collins, a contemporary scholar of apocalyptic literature, has already noted that few sectarian apocalypses have been found among the *DSS* writings. Using a 5-point criteria: (1) pseudonymous author, (2) visionary journeys, (3) *angelus interpres*, (4) heavenly court, and (5) predictions of eschatological judgement, Collins places at least two writings within this literary genre.[562] Unfortunately, the authors of both writings - *The New Jerusalem* text (1QNJ)[563] and the *Visions of Amran* (4QVisions of Amran)[564] - make no use of the term 'spirits' and contemporary scholars tend to agree that these two apocalypses are not Qumran writings.

Vanderkam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, Vol:2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp.403-430, esp. p.405. D. Aune makes note of this in his article 'Qumran and the Book of Revelation,' in Peter W. Flint and James C. Vanderkam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, Vol:2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), pp.622-648, esp. p.625.

[560] Our investigation will not entertain the current debate regarding those writings preserved among the *Scrolls* classified as Danielic writings – *The Prayer of Nabonidus* (4Q242), 'Son of God' document (4Q246), the *Pseudo-Daniel* mss (4Q243-245), and the Four Kingdoms Apocalypse (4Q552-553).

[561] See Armin Lange's article on criteria for determining Qumran sectarian texts. 'Kriterien essenischer Texte,' in J. Frey and H. Stegemann, eds., *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (Bonifatius: Paderborn, 2003), pp.59-69; and C. Hempel, 'Kriterien zur Bestimmung „essenischer Verfasserschafft" von Qumrantexten,' in J. Frey and H. Stegemann, eds., *Qumran kontrovers: Beiträge zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer* (Bonifatius: Paderborn, 2003), pp.71-88.

[562] See Collins, 'Apocalypticism and Literary Genre,' p.417.

[563] Comprises 1Q32; 2Q24; 4Q232; 4Q554; 4Q555; 5Q15; and 11Q18.

[564] Comprises 4Q543; 4Q544; 4Q545; 4Q546; 4Q547; and 4Q548.

Likewise, David Aune in his article 'Qumran and the Book of Revelation,' uses a comparable descriptive criterion for apocalypses.[565] He suggests that the revelatory dialogue and eschatological character of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (4QpsEzek)[566] bring this 'composition very close to the apocalyptic genre,' yet he excludes it as a sectarian writing.[567] While *Pseudo-Ezekiel* may not be a Qumran writing, it is the only one among these three writings that uses the term רוחות. Thus, we consider the text worthy of closer examination.

Collins also identifies several writings among the *DSS* as having apocalyptic themes.[568] These writings are (1) The Damascus Document (CD1), (2) Treatise of the Two Spirits (4Q259), (3) The War Scroll (4Q492-496), (4) The Thanksgiving Hymns (1QH), (5) 11QMelchizedek (11Q13), (6) and Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (Mas 1k, 4Q400-408, 11Q14,). We must clarify that these writings are not considered apocalypses, but do emphasise one or more themes present in apocalyptic writings.

For instance, early speculation suggested that the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400-408, 11Q17) might be considered an apocalypse due to its interest in heavenly beings and the heavenly world.[569] While further study has proven otherwise, the writing definitively depicts the community's interests in the heavenly world and angelic beings. In a similar vein, the *War Scroll* (4Q492-496) unites earthly priests and militia alongside angelic warriors in preparation for an eschatological battle against the forces of the 'sons of Darkness.' However, the instructions on battle preparations resemble those found in

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565 '*Apocalypse*, a type of literature which consists of a pseudonymous autobiographical report of a supernatural revelation mediated by an angel or other heavenly being concerning the end of the work (in some apocalypses the visionary ascends to heaven, while in others the heavenly revealer comes to earth).' See D. Aune, 'Qumran and the Book of Revelation,' p.624.

566 Comprises 4Q385; 4Q386; 4Q387; 4Q388; and 4Q391.

567 Aune, 'Qumran and the Book of Revelation,' p.628. Note Collins, who distinguishes *Pseudo-Ezekiel* as a 'fragmentary apocalypse' that paraphrases passages from the Book of Ezekiel. See 'Apocalypticism,' p.421. Also, J. Strugnell and D. Dimant, '4QSecond Ezekiel,' *RevQ*:13 (1988), pp.45-58; D. Dimant and J. Strugnell, 'The Merkabah Vision in Second Ezekiel,' *RevQ*:14 (1990), pp.331-348; and the General Introduction in Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4, XXI Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, DJD:30 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), p.1.

568 It appears that the inclusion of all five characteristics substantiates a writing as an apocalypse, while other writings that depict only some of the characteristics listed are considered to have themes or traits particular to those found in apocalypses.

569 See H. Stegemann, 'Die Bedeutung der Qumranfund für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik,' in D. Hellholme, ed., *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12-17, 1979* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1983), pp.518-519. Collins makes this observation in 'Apocalypticism,' pp.419-420.

ancient military manuals[570] rather than apocalyptic visions. Thus, we will spend some time analysing the use of 'spirits' in these writings (CD1, 1QH, 4Q492-496, 4Q259, 1Mas 1k, 4Q400-408, 11Q13 and 11Q14[571]). We should acknowledge here that scholars question if certain texts, i.e. the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are in fact Qumran writings. Further, today modern scholars tend to agree that although the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* has been assimilated into the *Rule of the Community* (4Q255-264), it is a non-Qumran document.

Alongside this group of literature displaying apocalyptic themes are those writings that make infrequent use of the term 'spirits' and initially may appear outside the purview of this study. However, as an apocalyptic community, it stands to reason that presumably many, if not all of the writings adopted into the community's library will include at least one or more apocalyptic themes. Thus, we shall quickly peruse communal texts which make use of the term 'spirits.' These will include: 1QHymnic Compositions (1Q36) and Cantena A (4Q177). Three other manuscripts also cite רוחות; however we cannot be certain if they are Qumran writings. Nonetheless, we will consider these as well: Non-Canonical Psalm (4Q381), the Ritual of Marriage (4Q502), and the Song of the Sage (4Q510-511). Additionally, the term רוחות appears in three writings from the Qumran library, which we will briefly examine. They are: The Copper Scroll (3Q15) and the Targum of Job (11Q10)

In reviewing all of these writings, we draw on the research of Arthur E. Sekki[572] for our discussion. Sekki's study attempts to clarify the meaning and use of the Hebrew term רוח in the non-biblical *DSS* manuscripts – sectarian and non-sectarian writings. While our study is limited to the use of 'spirits,' Sekki's research will be valuable as it examines both the singular and plural forms of רוח.[573] In several instances, we will find that the term 'spirits' is used repetitively throughout the *DSS* with a consistent contextual meaning. In these instances it appears prudent to look at these texts collectively, rather than on an individual basis within their specific compositions. Also, we may find some

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[570] Collins makes this analogy in *Apocalypticism*, p.422. However, Geza Vermes disputes this in *An Introduction to the Complete Dead Sea Scrolls* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), p.38.
[571] Which may or may not be related to the *War Scroll*.
[572] A.E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, SBL (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989).
[573] His taxonomy located on pp.225-239 is particularly helpful and will be referred to throughout our review.

examples are redundant and add nothing new to our discussion. When this occurs we will draw upon our previous discussions.

As *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is presumably the only writing that makes use of the term 'spirits' and bears close resemblance in content and character to an apocalypse, we will begin our examination of the *DSS* with this document.

1. Pseudo-Ezekiel (4Q385, 4Q386)

While the extant passages in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* make no use of sectarian language,[574] eschatological issues are addressed and the Hebrew term for 'spirits,' רוחות occurs in two of the fragments which rewrite the canonical prophecy (4Q385, frg.2, 1.7; 4Q386, frg.1, 1.8; 2.9) found in Ezekiel 37.1-28. The context in which the writer applies רוחות in 4Q385 (ארבע רוחות השמים) is similar to that found in Ezekiel 37.9[575] (מארבע רוחות), and consistent with its traditional use in Old Testament literature. In the 4Q385 fragment, the term רוחות is located in the third unit of the fragment (lines 5-9) which rewrites Ezekiel's vision of dry bones. Like Ezekiel 37.9, the 4Q385 text also uses both the plural and singular form of the noun:[576]

7. [מלמעלה ויהי כן] ויאמר שוב אנבא על ארבע רוחות השמים ויפחו רוח

Translation:

7. [from above.' And it was so.] And He said: 'Prophesy once again over the four winds of heaven and let them blow breath[577]

In this passage, the prophet is being instructed to prophesy to the winds. Here רוחות is depicted as a life-giving force that will breathe or blow (נפח) life into the dead bones ([בהרוגים ...], line 8; *par.* Ezek 37.9). In the vision these bones are revived and form a large crowd (lines 8-10; Ezek 37.10). Devorah Dimant suggests that 4Q385 is a fragment of a commentary on the Vision of Dry Bones, placing it within a new eschatological context embraced by the

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574 Dimant, *Parabiblical and Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, p.1.

575 As this text does not fall within the apocalyptic section Ezekiel (chapters 40-48), we did not cover the contextual use of 'spirits' in 37.9. Thus, our inclusion here.

576 Dimant notes that the singular 'fits better with the space at the end of the line...' and 'is also closer to the original picture of Ezek 37.9,' *Parabiblical Texts*, p.27, n.L.7.

577 English translation provided here, and all others on *Pseudo-Ezekiel* taken from Dimant, *Parabiblical and Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, p.24.

Qumran community.[578] In 4Q386 (frg. 1, 1.8) we find רוחות used in a similar manner.

7. [השמים ויפחו בם ויאמר אלי שוב הנבא] על ארבע רוחות

Translation:
7. [but there was not breath in them. And He said to me: 'Prophesy once again] over the four winds

Although both texts (4Q385, 4Q386) make similar use of רוחות, the two lines display differences while the context and meaning is the same. The blowing winds are the life-giving breath that comes from God and animates human bodies. While these fragments may be the remains of commentaries preserving an outlook on resurrection,[579] we cannot be certain the Qumran community supported this perspective, and the meaning remains unchanged.

2. The Damascus Document[580]

Cited as a collection of laws that also present a review of Israel's history,[581] the first copies of the Domascus Document (CD-1) were discovered in the *geniza* of the Ezra Synagogue in Cairo in 1896, nearly fifty years prior to the fragments preserved among the *DSS* in Caves 4, 5, and 6 (CD-A). The document has two principal sections: (1) An exhortation (cols. 1-8, 19-20) and (2) a collection of laws (cols. 9-14, 15-17). Use of רוח occurs in the legal section (12.2), which records sectarian rules concerning the Sabbath and religious festivals (10.16-12.6).

In 12.2 we encounter the 'spirits of Belial' (*Jub* 1.20, 10.3, 6; 12.20; 20.8), synonymous with the 'spirits of Beliar' (*T. Levi* 3.3; 18.12; *T. Jud* 25.3; *T. Iss* 7.7; *T. Dan* 1.7; 6.1; *T. Ash* 6.2, 4; *T. Ben* 3.3).[582] Pseudepigraphic writings identify Belial as the leader of all evil 'spirits' (*T. Jud* 25.3; *T. Sim* 6.6; *T. Zeb* 9.8), or demons. Here, as in *Jubilees*, Belial and evil angelic beings are associated with

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[578] See Dimant's analysis, *Parabiblical Texts*, pp.31-33.
[579] Dimant argues that the rewritten canonical vision reserves resurrection as a reward for the righteous, rather than speaking metaphorically to the restoration of the entire nation of Israel. See her comments, *Parabiblical Texts*, p.32.
[580] Also called the Zadokite Fragments, the Zadokite Document, and the Damascus Covenant.
[581] See Collins, 'Apocalypticism,' p.421. Also see James C. Vanderkam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), pp.55-57; and Vermes, *Introduction to the DSS*, pp.35-37.
[582] S. David Sperling, argues 'The regular form in the Pseudepigrapha, Beliar...may be a punning explanation of the Devil's name as 'lightness' because, in opposition to God's way, Belial's is the way of darkness (T.Levi 19.1). See, 'Belial בליעל 'wickedness',' in *DDD* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), p.170. Also, see Theodore J. Lewis, 'Belial,' in *ABD*:1 (1992), pp.654-656.

apostasy (line 3).[583] According to *CD-A* any man or woman dominated by these demons[584] has gone astray from the teachings of the community. Their actions are believed to defile the Sabbath and the holy festivals (line 4) and they are judged according to the community's laws concerning divination and necromancy (line 3).

However, judgement in this instance is not reserved for a future eschatological event. It is handled within the community and it is not so severe as to require immediate exile. Rather, the individual is given an opportunity to be cured (רפא, to heal or remedy). The text does not explain exactly how the healing occurs, what procedures to use, or if any exorcisms were in fact conducted and what they entailed. It does note that the process included a seven-year period of observation (שמר, to guard or observe) by members of the community (line 5). At the conclusion of this period the individual was allowed to rejoin the congregation (line 6). This seems to suggest that falling under the influence of the 'spirits of Beliar' was not considered a permanent condition from which restoration was believed impossible.

3. The Thanksgiving Hymns[585] (1QH,[a] 4Q427-432)

The *Thanksgiving Hymns* are so called due to the use of the introductory verb 'אודך ' ('I give you thanks') that frequently occurs at the start of the hymns. Many of the hymns resemble biblical Psalms, yet their style and form appear to profess the thoughts and experiences of the individual writer rather than that of the community as whole.[586] Some of the hymns are written as prayers of thanksgiving and petition, as well as poems that praise God as creator and source of salvation.

There are several instances in *1QH* where the term 'spirits' is preserved (4.17, 23; 5.3, 14, 28; 6.11; 9.10; 11.18, 22; 16.12; 19.13; 24.6; 25.4, 6). Many hymns present a dualistic concept regarding 'spirits' (4.17, 23; 11.18, 22; 16.12; 19.13;

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583 Fragments from Caves 1-4 were used in our review of spirits in the *Book of Jubilees*, see comments above. The number of manuscript fragments preserved attests to the book's popularity among the Qumran. According to Geza Vermes, these fragments represent approximately 12 manuscripts of the book among the *DSS*. See *Introduction to the DSS*, p.181, and *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Cleveland: Collins World, 1978), p.210.

584 See Arthur E. Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, pp.156-157.

585 Also called *The Hymns*.

586 See Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp.62-64; and Vermes, *Introduction to the DSS*, pp.45-47.

25.4, 6), while others place 'spirits' within a heavenly cosmology (5.3, 14, 28; 9.10-11). These we will consider as a group. One of the hymns (6.11) mentions 'spirits of man,'[587] a usage we have already explored (*1 En* 23.31; 39.12), and need not repeat it here in our review of the *DSS* writings. The last fragment among the hymns (24.6) is incomplete[588] preventing any clear interpretation of the writer's use and meaning of the term 'spirits'.

3.1 *'Spirit(s)' and Dualism* (4.17, 23; 11.18, 22; 16.12; 19.13; 25.4, 6)

Within each of these instances, the author's contextual use of the term 'spirits' appears in what might be considered a dualistic battle between good and evil. For instance, in 1QH 11.7-12 the psalmist uses the metaphor of childbirth to express this duality. The woman's first birth is a son who is a wonderful counsellor (line 10), while the next son is a serpent (line 12) executing deeds of terror. The title wonderful counsellor (מלא יועץ, line 10) and 'wise men' (חכמיה, line 14) suggest an allegorical comparison to two schools of wisdom. First, there are those who follow the wise ones of the 'spirits of the serpent' (רוחי אפעה, line 18) and are locked in the pits of Sheol and Abaddon (line 16). Alternatively, there are those who allow their depraved spirit (רוח נעוה, line 21) to be purified by adhering to the wisdom of the 'spirits of knowledge' (דעת רוחות, lines 22-23). These encounter a different fate as they associate their birthright with that of the wonderful counsellor and are the congregation of the 'sons of heaven' (בני שמים, line 22), thus, taking their place among the heavenly hosts.

In 1QH 11.18-22 (4Q432, frg.4, 1.7) the 'spirits of the serpent' are juxtaposed with the 'spirits of knowledge,' with one representing false knowledge, and the other being a source of good or heavenly knowledge. The 'spirits of the serpent' can quite easily be equated with evil 'spirits,'[589] who lead humans into eternal exclusion and separation from God. It would then follow

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[587] Or, 'man's spirit' according to Sekki, *Ruah at Qumran*, see his taxonomy on p.230 and discussion on pp.129-131.

[588] Sekki acknowledges the fragmentary state of the text and that the use of spirits here could refer to either demons or angels. He argues for 'evil angels or demons,' in *Ruah at Qumran*, pp.157-158.

[589] Sekki identifies the text as ambiguous, but argues that its construction (plural, masculine, genitive) indicates that the writer is referring to demons. See *Ruah at Qumran*, p.151.

that the 'spirits of knowledge' are good[590] and provide wisdom that ensures placement in and among the heavenly community. However, although the duality is obvious it does not necessarily dictate that the 'spirits' are demons and angels.[591] Instead, an allegorical reading of the text would suggest 'spirits' as a way of describing religious dispositions or even human mentality.[592]

The phrase 'spirit of knowledge' (רוח דעת, Isa 11.2) occurs only once in canonical literature to describe the talent and abilities of the artisan Bezalel (Exod 31.3; 35.31). In all of these instances, the singular form of רוח is used in conjunction with אלים or יהוה, and scholars agree that here the term 'spirit' represents the Spirit of God. In the hymn 1QH 11.22, initially it appears that the meaning of the phrase רוחות דעת is celestial beings as the 'host of holy ones' and 'sons of heaven' are also mentioned in line 22. The author first acknowledges that God has purified his depraved 'spirit' (line 21) and given him a place in the everlasting height (line 19), which may simply be another way of speaking about heaven.

However, we also find the collocation 'spirit of knowledge' in the *Community Rule* (1QS 4.4), where it is identified as one of the foundations of the 'spirit of the sons of truth.' The text is clear that the 'sons of truth' exist in the world and not heaven (line 6). If this is the case, then it is quite possible that the authors of 1QS 4.4 and 1QH 11.22 are both speaking of divine revelation (1QS 4.6) that enlightens humans as they struggle to choose between good and evil. The author provides two key points that support this interpretation in 1QH 11.22. First, the psalmist gives thanks that God has saved him from the pit, Sheol of Abaddon (line 19). Second, the author speaks of hope for humans in the everlasting community (line 20). This, is why the psalmist can later boast that humans with 'spirits of knowledge' praise God and testify of his goodness and wonders to others. From this perspective רוחות appears to

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[590] Sekki argues they are angels in *Ruaḥ at Qumran*, pp.159-160, 228.

[591] For angels see Sekki, *Ruaḥ*, pp.159-160. See his list of scholars who support this finding, pp.158-159, n.41. However, some scholars have suggested that this use of רוחות may refer to members of the community. See W.D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit,' in K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (New York: Harper, 1957), pp.157-182, esp. p.177 and E. Schweizer, 'Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, spätjüdischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testaments,' in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology: Essays in Honor of C.H. Dodd* (Cambridge: 1956), pp.481-501, esp. p.493.

[592] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.59.

represent a religious disposition, that is, the knowledge of what is considered good and evil, and the ability to discern between the two.

We find support for this interpretation in 1QH 4.17 and 4.23, where the psalmist praises God for the 'spirits' which God has placed with him (1QH 4.17). His praise speaks of God's grace and forgiveness, as well as his justice, patience and power. In fact, it is God's power that strengthens the writer, giving him insight and knowledge (4.21-23), which prevents him from sinning against God by empowering him to oppose his own evil inclinations.

3.1.1 Good 'spirits'(1QH 16.12) – In this hymn the psalmist writes of 'spirits of holiness' (רוחות קודש). In line 12, the author descriptively links these 'spirits' with the 'flame of searing fire,' and by doing so has led some scholars to identify these 'spirits' as cherubim (Gen 3.24).[593] We must take this into consideration, along with the fact that the author also positions the 'spirits of holiness' in direct parallel with the 'powerful heroes' (גבורי כוח, line 11) who protect the fruit of a hidden 'tree of life' (lines 5-6). Therefore, we too can conclude that it is possible that the 'spirits of holiness' to which the author refers are celestial beings.

3.1.2 The 'spirits' (1QH 19.13) – In this hymn the term 'spirits' is linked with the heavenly hosts (צבא) as beings who have perpetual existence in the presence of God. The author calls this group an 'everlasting community' (line 12), and writes of his aspirations to join this 'community of jubilation' (line 13). Only those who are purified from every impure abomination and depraved spirit can hope to be raised from the dust and united with God's sons of truth (line 11). As the psalmist links 'spirits' with the heavenly hosts in perpetual existence, it is possible that here 'spirits' represents celestial beings.[594]

3.1.3 Evil spirits (1QH 25.4, 6) – The expression of good and evil through the use of רוחות continues in 1QH 25 (vv.4, 6). Here we find two groups

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[593] See Sekki, *Ruaḥ*, p.162 where he also draws attention to the work of F. Nötscher on this topic in *Zur theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte*, Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 10 (Bonn: Hanstein, 1956), p.75.

[594] There appears to be scholarly consensus on this meaning of רוחות. See Sekki, *Ruaḥ*, p.148, n.11.

of evil 'spirits' named the 'spirits of wickedness' (רוחות רשעה, line 4) and the 'spirits of injustice' (רוחות עולה, line 6).

4. ער ע[ו] למ ורוחות רשעה תביה מא [...]
5. ולוא יהיו עוד ותשם מקום רש[עה...] כול
6. רוחות עולה אשר יושרו לאבל [...]

Translation:
4. for ever. You will make the spirits of wickedness dwell away from [...]
5. and they will no longer exist. You will destroy the place of wick[edness...] all
6. the spirits of injustice who have been oppressed by sorrow [...][595]

According to the text, the 'spirits of wickedness' will be forced by God to dwell away from some group or location, and ultimately will no longer exist (lines 4-5). Their place of wickedness will be destroyed, which in some way is also associated with the 'spirits of injustice.' While the full meaning of this portion of the text remains unclear, we can determine based on lines 1-3, that God is exacting judgement on behalf of his congregation of holy ones. If the holy ones in line 3 are angelic beings, and we suggest they are, then it is quite probable that the 'spirits of injustice' are demons. In lines 11-12, the author distinguishes humans from angels by referring to them as 'flesh' (בשר) and 'land dwellers' (וביושבי האדמה על האדמה).

From this perspective it appears that in the hymn the psalmist positions 'holy ones' (angels) in opposition to the 'spirits of wickedness' and 'spirits of injustice.' Within this context רוחות may be demons or evil 'spirits.' Perhaps in this instance, the terms רשע (wicked, 1QH 25.4) and עול (unjust, 1QH 25.6) are used to qualify or describe the 'spirits.'[596]

3.2 *'Spirit(s)' and Cosmology* (5.3, 14, 28; 9.10-11)

Two hymns link 'spirits' with cosmic themes and imagery. Concerns with heavenly beings and activities are characteristic of apocalyptic writings, and thus make these hymns particularly interesting.

3.2.1 Council of 'spirits' (1QH 5.3, 14, 28) - Although the hymn is called a hymn of thanksgiving, it clearly has components suitable for inclusion in a

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[595] See Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*, Vol.1 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), p.200-201.
[596] Alexander, 'Demonology,' p.332.

creation hymn (lines 13-19*b*). The first (5.1-12) and final (5.26-28) portions of the hymn are fragmented, and in some instances, only a phrase or word is preserved (lines 28-29). Further, Sekki's study does not mention these examples. Thus, we proceed cautiously and without a guide in our review. In line 3 the author's reference to 'the council of spirits' is preserved. Its context does not appear to mean human 'spirits' as the hymn repeatedly contrasts human and heavenly wisdom (lines 6, 8-9, 19-20). Consider:

2. [...] ולהבין פ'תאים[...]שי עולם
3. [...ד]עת ולהבין אנוש בשר וסוד רוחו[ת...]ש התהלכו

Translation:
2. [...] and to make the simple understand [...] eternal
3. [...] of knowledge, to make the man of flesh understand, and the council of the spirits [...] they walked[597]

The collocation 'man of flesh' could simply be another way of speaking about human beings. If a dualistic contrast is being presented between heavenly and earthly knowledge, and we believe it is, then the 'eternal [...] of knowledge' and the 'council of spirits' are celestial beings. This is confirmed in lines 13 and 14:

13. [ר]ע *Blank* ואלה אשר הכ [ינוחה מקדם עולם] לשפוט בם
14. את כול מעשוך בטרם בראתם עם צבא רוחיך וערת [קדושיך ע]מ רקיע קודשך ו[כו]ל

Translation:
13. a bad de[ed] *Blank* These are those [you] fou[nded before the centuries,] to judge through them
14. all your works before creating them, together with the host of your spirits and the assembly of [your holy ones, wi]th your holy vault and [al]l

In line 13, the author writes of beings who were created before time. Presumably, the psalmist draws from Genesis 1.26 when writing of beings who not only observe, but quite possibly act as collaborators with God in his creation. These beings are also linked with God's 'host of spirits,' 'the assembly of holy ones,' and the hosts of the 'holy vault' (lines 14-15). Clearly, the author envisions a heavenly court. In line 28, only a very short fragment is preserved which does not aid much in our discussion other than to confirm that the 'spirits' to which he refers are associated with God:

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[597] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*:1, pp.150-151.

28. [...] רוחיך ו.[...]

Translation:
28. [...] your spirits and [...]

The author's use of רוחיך (your spirits) in line 14 is repeated here in line 28, acknowledging 'spirits' aligned with God. When we consider the author's use of רוחיך, the dualistic contrast he presents between heavenly and earthly knowledge (lines 2-3), and the terminology used to describe heavenly beings (holy ones, hosts), it appears highly probable that in each of these instances the term 'spirits' represents celestial beings.

3.2.2 Eternal spirits (1QH 9.10-12) – Scholars offer differing opinions on the meaning of רוחות in line 10 of this creation hymn,[598] and Sekki suggests the author bases this hymn on a literal understanding of Ps 104.4. However, it is also possible that the author of 1QH 1 is borrowing cosmic concepts of creation and imagery from *1 Enoch, T. Levi,* and the *Jubilees* – all of which are apocalypses preserved among the *DSS*. Consider the following passage from 1QH 9, lines 7 through 12:

7. ובחכמתכ[ה] ה[כינותה...] עולם ובטרם בראתם ידעתה {כול} מעשיהם
8. לעולמי עד [מבלעדיכה לא] יעשה כול ולא יודע בלוא רצונכה אתה יצרתה
9. כול רוח ו.[...] ומשפט לכול מעשיהם *Blank* ואתה נטיתה שמים
10. לכבודכה כול [אשר בם ה]כינותה לרצונכה ורוחות עז לחוקיהם בטרם
11. היותם למלאכי ק[ודש...] לרוחות עולמ בממשלותם מאורות לרזיהם
12. כוכבים לנתיבות[ם וכול רוחות סערה] למשאם זקים וברקים לעבורתם ואוצרות

Translation:
7. In your wisdom [you] es[tablished] eternal [...]; before creating them you know {all} their deeds
8. for ever and ever. [Without you no]thing is done, and nothing is known without your will. You have fashioned
9. every spirit and [...] and the judgement of all their deeds. *Blank* You have stretched out the heavens
10. for your glory. Everything [which it contains] you have [es]tablished according to your will, and powerful spirits, according to their laws, before
11. they became h[oly] angels [...] eternal spirits in their realms: luminaries according to their mysteries,
12. stars according to [their] circuits, [all the stormy winds] according to their roles, lightning and thunder according to their duties and well-designed storehouses[599]

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[598] Sekki makes note of scholarly opinions. See his comments and note, *Ruaḥ*, p.177, n.14.
[599] See Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*:1, pp.158-159.

In line 7, we learn that God has established something eternal, which the author considers to be personal entities - hence the plural, masculine form - but, also because the author acknowledges in the hymn that God knows their deeds. When we consider these two aspects, a reference to them as eternal ones, and the fact that God forever knows their deeds, we can conclude that it is highly probable that in line 7, the author is speaking of angelic beings or 'spirits.' However, we cannot be certain.

Further, lines 8 and 9, establish that God has fashioned (יצר, to form, fashion, or frame) every spirit. This concept is similar to *Jubilees* 2.2 where God is credited with the creation of heaven and earth, and all of the 'spirits' that minister before him. Here in 1QH 9.8-9 the image is somewhat reversed, in that the author begins by exhorting God as the one who fashioned every spirit, and then positions the heavens as being 'stretched out' for God's glory.

In the following lines 10-12 the author identifies the 'spirits' as 'powerful' beings who perform functions or act according to laws established by God. Next, the hymn mentions a primordial time, when 'spirits' existed before they became angels, or cosmic 'spirits' functioning under divine cosmic laws pertaining to luminaries, stars, winds, lightning and thunders, and resided in storehouses (Job 38.22; 18.1; 41.4; 60.17, 19, 21; 69.23; *T.Levi* 3.2).

Is this an ontological statement concerning 'spirits'? It is not clear if the author envisions these 'spirits' being transformed into angels at some later time, or if they are merely being assigned angelic functions. Nor, can we be certain if this represents the author's understanding on the primordial existence of 'spirits.' As we have seen in the books of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, it is quite possible that here the psalmist is grouping 'spirits' into categories - angelic 'spirits,' cosmic 'spirits,' etc. - as they are all given respective realms (line 11), duties and dwellings (line 12). In this particular hymn all that we can determine with any certainty is that the author associates 'spirits' with angels, as well as cosmological functions, similar to what we have already detected in other apocalyptic literature from this period.

3.3 *Summary* (Thanksgiving Hymns – 1QH)

In *1QH* we have encountered a definitive cosmology that incorporates much of what we have detected in the books of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testament of Levi* whereby celestial 'spirits' serve and function as cosmological entities and meteorological elements (9.11-12). However, the psalmist also provides a brief cosmological history in which 'spirits' exist as primordial beings, a heavenly council with God at creation (5.3, 14), after which they are assigned specific realms over which they govern with roles and duties to perform (9.10-12).

We find evil 'spirits' equally prevalent (11.18, 21; 25.4, 6). Yet, we identified only one instance where 'spirits' are grouped with the heavenly hosts (19.13), and a single occurrence where the psalmist uses the phrase 'spirits of knowledge' to convey the human disposition to do good (11.22).

Equally scarce are instances where we find 'spirits' specifically associated with angels (9.10-11; 16.12). In 1QH 8.12, it is the author's descriptive terminology that leads modern scholars to suggest that the 'spirits of holiness' are actually cherubim (*cf.* Gen 3.24). This suggestion is made even though the psalmist makes no use of the Hebrew noun (כרבים). Only in 1QH 9.11 does the author actually link 'spirits' with angels. And, even here the author's intent remains elusive as the text is fragmented at a crucial section, specifically at the point in the hymn where the author describes the relationship existing between holy angels and eternal 'spirits' (line 11).

4. The War Scroll (1QM)[600]

1QM in its present form is a sectarian composition that outlines an anticipated eschatological war between the forces of good and evil. The author aligns the forces equally, whereby earthly allies assist combative celestial armies of angels and demons. The *Scroll* outlines purity rituals along with battle scenarios, weaponry, military tactics and apparel.[601] In his study, *1QM*

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[600] Also called 'The War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,' and 'The War Rule.'
[601] See discussions by Vermes, *Introduction to the DSS*, pp.38-40; Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp.64-66; John J. Collins, 'Dead Sea Scrolls' in *ABD*:2 (1992), pp.85-101.

The War Scroll From Qumran,[602] Philip Davies argues that the *Scroll* is a composite and the writing itself depicts various stages of development.

Davies separates the document into four sections: (1) Column 1 – A redaction that represents the final stage of the writing's development. (2) Columns 2-9 – The Book of War is a compilation based on Number 1-10.10, which details the forty-year war between the twelve tribes of Israel and the nations of the world. The writing provides information on military manoeuvres, weaponry, and priestly conduct. (3) Columns 10-14 – This is a collection of various teachings, hymns and prayers appropriate for war. (4) Columns 15-19 – The Book of Testing details the final war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness. It emphasises liturgical rituals and casualties of war – a concept intended to test the sons of light.

The author of *War Scroll* writes of 'spirits' in several lines (9.13; 10.12; 12.9; 13.2, 4, 10, 11; 14.10; 15.14). However, we can eliminate many of these from our review here because they make clear and concise reference to evil 'spirits' associated with Belial (13.2, 4), although the author assigns various names to them, such as 'angels of destruction' (13.11), 'spirits of destruction' (14.10), and wicked 'spirits' (15.14). From this, we can immediately note that in at least five of the nine citations in *1QM* the term 'spirits' quite possibly means demons.

In one instance רוחות is used to indicate the three 'sides' of the front or face (לשלושת רוחית הפנים) of towers (9.13). In this rare occurrence, the author uses רוחות in a manner akin to that found in Zechariah 2.10 (השמים ארבע רוחות) and Ezekiel 42.20 (לארבע רוחית מדרו חומה).[603] As this unusual context does not advance our discussion as it relates to 'spirits' in Revelation, we need not examine it further. Rather, we shall focus on the remaining three lines where the term is located in the third section of the hymn identified by Davies, columns 10-14 (1QM 10.12, 12.9, and 13.10).

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[602] Philip R. Davies, *1QM The War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (Rome: Biblical Institute, 1977), pp.20-23.

[603] See Sekki's discussion in *Ruaḥ*, pp.177-178.

4.1 *'Spirit(s)' in 1QM Hymns* (10.12; 12.9; 13.2, 4, 10, 11)

Columns 10-14 of the War Scroll are a compilation of teachings, hymns and prayers that were to be used during an eschatological battle between good and evil. However, Davies argues that the origins, purposes and theology differ throughout the columns. It is interesting to note that all of the textual references to the term רוחות are located within hymns.

4.1.1 A Creation Hymn (1QM 10.12) - A brief teaching[604] and introduction (1.1-8) open this hymn (*cf.* 1QH 1.1-37). In line 12 we encounter רוחות in a brief section on God's heavenly creation (*cf.* 1QH 1.11*b*-12*a*).[605]

9. וכגבורתכה החזקה ומיא כעמכה ישראל אשר בחרתה לכה מכול עמי הארצות
10. עם קדושי ברית ומלומדי חוק משכילי בינ[ה...]...[...]. ושומעי קול נכבד ורואי
11. מלאכי קודש מגולי אחן ושומעי עמוקות[...] מפרש שחקים צבא מאורות
12. ומשא רוחות וממשלת קדושים אוצרות כב[וד באפ]ל עבים הבורא ארץ וחוקי מפלגיה

Translation:

9. marvels like your feats? And who (is) like your nation, Israel, whom you chose for yourself from among all the nations of the earth,
10. a nation of holy ones of the covenant, learned in the law, wise in knowledge, [...] hearers of the glorious voice, seers of
11. the holy angels, with opened ears, hearing profound things? [...You created] the dome of the sky, the army of luminaries,
12. the task of the spirits, the dominion of the holy ones, the treasures of glo[ry, in the darkness] of the clouds; (you are) creator of the earth and of the laws of its division

While the author speaks of angelic beings they are associated with the nation of Israel as a people who see holy angels and with open ears receive the wisdom and information they provide (lines 10-11). The author identifies Israel as a nation of 'holy ones' in covenant relationship with God. In line 12, the writer groups 'spirits' with heavenly holy ones, who like those mentioned in 1QH 1.10-11 are associated with assigned tasks and realms of authority (line 12). Whether the author envisions holy angels as רוחות or holy ones is not certain.[606] However, it appears that the author's use of 'spirits' here may mean celestial beings.

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[604] See Davies, *1QM*, pp.92-93. P. von der Osten-Sacken, argues these lines represent a florilegium. See *Gott und Belial*, StUNT:6 (Göttingen, 1969), p.60.
[605] See our discussion above on 1QH 1.10-11.

4.1.2 A Battle Hymn (1QM 12.9) - This hymn (12.1-17) clearly depicts the nation of Israel, joined with angels and holy ones (lines 1, 4, 8) as members in God's army. The author's use of 'spirits' occurs in a small section (lines 7-10*a*), which Davies argues may be an interpolated fragment or quotation from a metrical hymn.[607] What is most peculiar is that after the use of רוחיו (his spirits) the author compares the cavalry with cosmological elements.

7. ואתה אל נ[ורא] בכבוד מלכותכה ועדת קדושיכה בתוכנו לעזר עולמי[ם ונ]תנו בוז למלכים לענ
8. וקלס לגבורים כיא קדוש ארוני ומלך הכבוד אתנו עם קדושים גבו[ריו נ]צבא מלאכים בפקודינו
9. וגבור המלח[מה] בערתנו ועבא רוחיו עם צעדינו ופרשינו[כ]ענגים וכעבי טל לכסות ארץ
10. וכזרם רביבים להשקות משפח לכול צאצאיה קומה גבור שבה שביכה איש כבוד ושול

Translation:

7. You, God, are awe[some] in the splendour of your majesty, and the congregation of your holy ones is amongst us for everlasting assistance. We will [treat] kings with contempt, with jeers
8. and mockery the heroes, for the Lord is holy and the King of glory is with us the nations of his holy ones are [our] he[roes, and] the army of his angels is enlisted with us;
9. the war hero is in our congregation; the army of his spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are [like] clouds and fogs of dew that cover the earth,
10. like torrential rain that sheds justice on all its sprouts. Get up, hero, take your prisoners, man of glory,

The metaphor relating פרש (horsemen) to clouds and fogs seems somewhat forced and inappropriate. Typically horsemen are linked with chariots (Josh 24.6; 1 Sam 8.11; 13.5; 2 Sam 1.6; 8.4; 1 Kgs 1.5; 4.26; 2 Kgs 2.12; 13.7, 14; 18.24; Isa 31.1; 36.9; Dan 11.40). Occasionally we find horses linked with dust clouds (Ezek 26.10) or simply clouds (Jer 4.13). *1QM* frequently aligns cavalry units (6.8-18; 8.4; 9.6-7) with human infantry soldiers (6.9, 11-12; 8.4; 9.3-5) rather than angels or 'spirits.'

In our present text, we can easily recognise the eschatological 'day of the Lord' imagery associating dark clouds with God's wrath and judgement (Jer 4.13; Ezek 30.3; 34.12; Joel 2.1-2; Nah 1.3; Zeph 1.15). Are these horsemen human or angelic? As the author provides no description and does not specifically identify them as an angelic cavalry, we must presume they are human. Thus far, we have not encountered any examples of angelic horses or horsemen in biblical literature or in 1QM. For them to be presented as such

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[606] Sekki argues that in 1QM 10.12, רוחות are angels. See *Ruah*, p.166, n.65.
[607] See *1QM*, p.102.

here would be unusual indeed.[608] Also, the first person plural construct of מרש adds little clarification. Thus, if we must err let us do so on the side of caution and examine the text further.

What is most noticeable in our translation above is that in a few instances the *waws* (ו) are not translated. This simple conjunction serves to join the phrases together and as a word modifier within the sentence structure and can alter the translated meaning. See the alternate translation below:

Translation:

9. The war hero is in our congregation *and* the army of his spirits is with our steps *and* our horsemen, as (or like) clouds and clouds (or fog) of dew for covering the earth
10. And as (or like) a downpour of torrential rains that shed justice on all her offspring (produce, sprouts).[609]

1QM 12.9-10a

With this translation, it is not the horsemen that are as clouds covering the earth, but God's 'spirits'! This metaphor appears more plausible (*cf.* Ezek 38.22). We have already examined apocalyptic texts that link 'spirits' with cosmological elements and the metaphorical use of atmospheric elements as celestial weaponry is familiar. Thus, it is more likely that here 'spirits' can be understood to mean those celestial beings who pour forth God's justice on all of the earth's offspring – humans beings (Gen 22.18; 26.4; 28.14; *cf.* Ps 21.10).

4.1.3 A Hymn of Blessing (1QM 13.10, 11) – Our final textual references to 'spirits' in 1QM are also located within a hymn (13.7-13*a*).[610] Davies proposes that these six lines comprise three separate hymns (lines 8-9*a*; lines 9*b*-10; lines 11-13*a*). If this is true, sections for our consideration include the second (lines 9*b*-10) and third hymns (11-13*a*).

9*b*. את[ה אל ם]ריתנו לכה עם עולמים ובנורל אור הפלתנו
10. לאמתכה ושר מאור מאז פקדתה לעזרנו וב[רו כול מלאכי צד]ק וכול רוחי אמת בממשלתו

Translation:

9*b*. You [God, have re]deemed us to be for you an eternal nation, and you have made us fall into the lot of light

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[608] John's vision (Rev 9.15-19) describes an angelic cavalry numbered in the millions. He describes the horses as having the heads of lions, breathing fire and smoke, with live serpents for tails with heads that bite and inflict harm. The armies of heaven described in 19.14 are also angelic.
[609] My own translation.
[610] Davies identifies three sections in the column 13.1-7, 7-13a, and 13*b*-16, identifying the liturgy as part of a 'blessing-and-curse' ritual. See *1QM*, pp.101-110.

10. in accordance with your truth. From of old you appointed the Prince of Light to assist us, and in [his] ha[nd are all the angels of just]ice, and all the spirits of truth are under his dominion.

In line 10 we have 'angels of justice' and 'spirits of truth' who appear to be under the authority of the 'Prince of light.' It is highly probable that here the Prince of light is a principal angel. We have already witnessed the increased interest in angels during this literary period, and discussed attempts by authors to establish an angelic hierarchy. Further, evidence appears in biblical literature and the *DSS* (Josh 5.14, 15; Dan 8.11; 10.3, 20; 1QS 3.20; CD 5.18) which suggests angelic leaders bear the title of 'prince.'[611] If this is the case, then we can presume that the 'spirits' referred to in 1QS 3.18 are also celestial beings.[612]

However, the 'spirit of truth' also appears in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* where it is identified as a spirit that contends (ריב) within the human heart against the 'spirit of injustice' (1QS 4.23). And, as we have already discussed in our review of the 'spirits of knowledge' in 1QH 9.22, in this instance 'spirits' appear to mean the religious disposition within humans, that is, the knowledge of what is good and evil, and the ability to discern between the two. But, is that the case here? While it is possible, as Davies argues, that lines 9*a*-10 and 11-13*a* comprise two different hymns, the dualism they share cannot be avoided and sheds further light on the author's use of רוחות in the passage.

11. עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משפתה ובחוש[ך ממשל]תו ובעצתו להרשוע ולהאשים וכול רוחי
12. גורלו מלאכי חבל בחוקי חושך יתהלכוואליו [תש]וקתמה יחד ואנו בגורל אמתכה נשמחה ביד
13. גבורתכה ונשישה בישועתכה ונגילה בעזר[תכה וב]שלומכה

Translation:

11. (You) made Belial for the pit, angel of enmity; in dark[ness] is his [dom]ain, his counsel is to bring about wickedness and guilt. All the spirits
12. of his lot are angels of destruction, they walk in the laws of darkness; towards it goes their only [de]sire. We, instead, in the lot of your truth, rejoice in
13. your mighty hand, we exult in your salvation, we revel in [your] aid [and in] your peace.

There are several aspects within the second and third hymns that firmly reflect a sense of duality between good and evil.

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[611] In support, see J.J. Collins, 'Prince שר,' in *DDD*, pp.662-664.

[612] Sekki takes this position in *Ruaḥ*, pp.150-151, 232.

Hymn 13.9*a*-10	**Hymn 13.11-13*a***
Prince of Light	Belial – angel of darkness
His dominion	His dominion,
(gives) assistance	(gives) evil counsel
Angels of justice	Angels of destruction
Spirits	Spirits

If Belial and the Prince of Light are counterparts, and the assistance they provide to their human followers is counsel, then here again we can acknowledge two opposing schools of thought that is being suggested by the author. If religious disposition is knowledge of both good and evil, and the ability to discern between the two, then an opposing influence determines whether one acts righteously or sinfully. In other words, if an individual knows what is right and what is wrong, but chooses to do wrong, what or who has influenced their decision to act accordingly? Presumably, their actions reflect the influence of a 'spirit' of wickedness.

From this perspective the 'spirits of truth' (line 10) oppose the 'spirits of darkness and wickedness' (line 12; 1QS 3.21). In this third hymn, 'evil spirits' are equated with Belial's angels of destruction. It is possible that here we have a conflation between 'spirits' and angels as the text reflects fluidity between the two expressions. We read that the evil 'spirits' in this lot (גורלו, or portion) align themselves with Belial and his angels of destruction in the realm (ממשה) of darkness. Alternatively, the psalmist aligns himself and his community with the lot (גורל) of truth (line 12).

The key to understanding the use of 'spirits' in both of these hymns can be found in line 12, where the 'spirits' are identified as those who 'walk' (הלך). The psalmist also positions himself and his community – the lot of truth – in direct opposition to these 'spirits' in the lot of Belial. It is unlikely that the author would assign such a human characteristic to angelic beings. Thus, the 'spirits' who walk in darkness and wickedness are the 'spirits' within the human heart that contend with their direct counterpart – those in 'God's lot who walk (הלך) perfectly in all his ways' (1QS 2.2; 3.20). In this way we conclude that the 'spirits' in 1QM 13.10 and 13.11 probably means the religious disposition within humans.

4.2 *Summary* (The War Scroll – 1QM)

In 1QM, רוחות is most frequently used to mean evil 'spirits' or demons (13.2, 4, 11; 14.10; 15.14). We have examined four citations in which 'spirits' can be interpreted to mean celestial beings (10.12; 12.9) and human 'spirits' (13.10, 11). It is important to note that in all cases 'spirits' are listed as beings identified with holy ones, angels (13.10), or both (10.12; 12.9). This often makes discerning the author's meaning difficult. It is only when we interpret the author's writing as one that depicts a concept whereby celestial and terrestrial barriers are collapsed, and human are aligned with heavenly angels and holy ones, that we find clarity in its meaning. In at least one instance we have noted fluidity between the evil 'spirits' in the human heart and fallen angels (13.11-12). Whether the author perceived that a similar fluidity existed between angelic beings, holy ones, and the 'spirits of truth' in the human heart is unknown.

Further, in 12.9 we have seen the author attach cosmological imagery to 'spirits.' In this instance, we cannot be certain from the text whether the author perceives 'spirits' as agents of God operating cosmological forces, or simply uses metaphorical language to articulate an apocalyptic tradition that would be familiar to the Qumran community. Whatever the author's understanding, we can note that we encountered several instances where the 'spirits' are depicted as a distinct group of celestial beings among other heavenly creatures (angels and holy ones).

5. Rule of the Community (1QS)

The manuscript called *1QS* is the principal document contemporary scholars look to for understanding the Qumran Community and its theology.[613] Identified as a manual for the Community's leader, the document legislates the aims and purposes of the sect, outlines laws, statutes, and penal codes, and even provides a liturgical ceremony for those seeking covenantal membership.[614] Integrated within the *1QS* manuscript is the *Treatise of the Two*

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[613] Vanderkam, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, p.57; James H. Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, Vol:1, DSS (Tubingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1994), p.3.

[614] Vermes, *Introduction to the DSS*, p.33. For theories on the various stages of development of 1QS, see Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, 'La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,' *Revue Biblique*.76 (1969), pp.528-549; E. Puech's article where he argues that 1QS 5-7 represent penal legislation,

Spirits (4Q259). While scholars tend to agree that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is not a Qumran writing, its adoption and integration into 1QS suggests it was of interest to the Community. Within the *1QS* manuscript the term 'spirits' occurs most frequently in *Treatise of the Two Spirits* (1QS 3.14, 18, 24, 25; 4.23). In one instance, the term occurs four times within the same column (3.14,18, 24, 25). We can group and review these lines together. The remaining two we will examine individually.

5.1 *'Spirit(s)' in 1QS* 2 (line 20)

There is scholarly consensus that the reference to 'spirits' in 1QS 2.20 means the 'spirits' of men based on the pronominal suffix ending.[615] Additionally, the context in which the noun is used specifically speaks of a liturgical ceremony in which the processional alignment of the priests, Levites, and members of the community is determined by ranking their 'spirits.' Whether this ranking is based on spiritual maturity, perfection or attainment levels is unclear. However, we can be certain by the content that the pronoun identifies human, rather than to celestial beings. As we find no reason to contend with this conclusion we need not examine this reference further.

5.2 *'Spirit(s)' in 1QS 3* (lines 14, 18, 24, 25)

In this column the term 'spirits' occurs four times. First, in 3.14, רוחות applies to human 'spirits.'[616] We know this based on the context of the word's use. In line 13 we learn that the role of the instructor is to teach the 'Sons of Light' on the nature and signs of their 'spirits.' Here the text speaks of the moral attributes that distinguish righteous character from evil,[617] as all humans have some aspect of both good and evil within.[618] We suggest this because in line 14 the instructor is identified as also being responsible for teaching the correlation between human deeds and the afflictions suffered. This would

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Recension: J. Pouilly, La Règle de la Communauté de Qumran. Son evolution littéraire,' *Revue de Qumran* (1979), pp.103-111.

615 See Sekki, *Ruaḥ*, pp.118-121.

616 Support provided by Sekki in *Ruaḥ*, pp.194-195. See his note for scholars who oppose this interpretation, p.194, n.8.

617 Jacob Licht argues this was the very purpose for the instruction. See 'An Analysis of the Treatise of the Two Spirits in DSD,' in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, Vol:4 (1958), pp.88-100, esp. p.89.

618 Charlesworth, *Rules of the Community*, p.3.

suggest that instruction was given on how evil entered the world along with the consequences of human actions, and possibly include pedagogical instruction on how one recognised good from evil.

In line 18, we encounter aspects of this instruction, which identify the 'two spirits' in which all humanity walks (הלך, to walk) - that is truth and deceit (line 19), as well as light and darkness (line 24). This seems to mean the religious disposition within humans because in the following lines the nature of truth is associated with light and the nature of deceit is associated with darkness (line 19). However, the cosmic duality and fluidity make the meaning uncertain. Here the *Treatise* presents a notable shift in cosmology as human sin, iniquity and guilt are all associated with the Angel of Darkness (line 22) and the author identifies him as the cause of all sin. Therefore, those who walk accordingly fall within his dominion.

Further, in line 24 we find the 'spirits' of the lot of the Angel of Darkness. Sekki identifies these 'spirits' as demons.[619] However, we have seen thus far that the *Treatise* teaches that humans walk in the 'two spirits' (line 18). Again, it is difficult to determine if the author has in mind celestial beings or an internal battle concerning moral conduct. The 'spirits' in the lot of the Angel of Darkness who cause the 'Sons of Light' to stumble may be other human beings who have been led astray or demons.[620] We suggest this, particularly as the *Treatise* provides instruction for the 'Sons of Light' and includes teachings on character and spiritual development (lines 13, 14; also 4.2-6, 9-11).

Alternatively, we have already seen in our examination of the books of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees,* that existing within the apocalyptic tradition of this period was a belief in the ability of celestial beings to exert external influence over humans. Thus, here in the *Treatise,* we encounter a situation whereby two principal opposing angels are believed to be capable of influencing humans.[621] Presumably, based on their use of a document that was perhaps composed elsewhere, individuals within the Community could learn to discern the distinctive differences. For the 'sons of deceit' (line 21) are those humans who

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619 Sekki, *Ruah*, pp. 200-201, 225.
620 K.G. Kuhn, '*πειρασμός ἁμαρτία σάρξ*,' in Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen, *Zeitschrift für theologie und Kirche*, Vol:49 (1952), p.207, n.2.
621 See Jacob Licht, 'Two Spirits,' p.89; Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, p.3.

allow their spiritual dispositions and character to be guided by the Angel of Darkness, while the Angel of Light guides the 'sons of righteousness' (line 20).

In line 25, the 'two spirits' - light and darkness - are the same two 'spirits' we encounter in line 18 - truth and deceit. The *Treatise* specifies that God created the 'spirits of truth and deceit' for all humanity to walk by; we can assume this also applies to the 'spirits of light and darkness.' Thus in all four instances (3.14, 18, 24, 25), the cosmic dualism and fluidity in which the term 'spirits' is applied makes it difficult to discern the author's exact meaning. We can only conclude that within this context 'spirits' could represent the internal human inclination and spiritual dispositions competing within humans (4.17-18, 23), or celestial beings, specifically demons. Additionally, we find similarity here with apocalyptic literature in that the celestial beings, or in this instance principal angels, compete to sway human nature, either to do good or evil.

5.3 *'Spirit(s)' in 1QS 4* (line 23)

Our final reference to 'spirits' identifies the 'spirits of truth and injustice' who contend (ריב) within the human heart for supremacy. In line 24, we learn that because of these 'two spirits' humans walk (הלך) in wisdom or folly. The context in which we find this reference to 'spirits' also identifies humans as the 'glory of Adam' (line 23) and relates the contention present in the human heart (גבר לבב, heart of man). From this perspective it appears clear that the term 'spirits' represents the religious or spiritual disposition within humans.[622] However, this in no way precludes the role of external forces in the influence of human actions and decisions.

5.4 *Summary* (Rule of the Community - 1QS)

In each of these occurrences (2.20; 3.14, 18, 24, 25; 4.23), we find that the term 'spirits' can be interpreted as the human 'spirit.' For according to the *1QS* writers, 'spirit' is within every human being; it is a disposition of knowledge as to what is good and evil. The ability to discern between the two informs moral conduct.[623] Whether we interpret this use as human mentality, religious

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[622] *Cf.* Sekki who argues that here 'spirits' should be interpreted as demons/angels in *Ruaḥ*, p.226
[623] *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, p.59.

disposition or spiritual inclination, we believe the writers are referring to the internal struggle that ultimately determines human behaviour.[624]

However, in at least four instances (3.14, 18, 24, 25), the authors' meaning is ambiguous. The dualistic concepts of good and deceit, light and darkness are considered to be God's creations (3.19-20), as are the Angel of Light and the Angel of Darkness (3.15-17). Good moral conduct is attributed to truth and light, its guardianship is linked with the dominion of the 'Prince of Lights' (13.20), who is quite possibly an angel.[625] Further, religious instruction aids the 'Sons of Justice' in discerning good behaviour from evil, and presumably from being misled by the 'Angel of Darkness.' Alternatively, the 'Sons of Deceit' walk the path of darkness, the 'Angel of Darkness' is credited with their corruption for they are under his dominion (3.21-22). Thus, in these instances the authors' meaning is unclear. By depicting angelic beings as entities continuously at work to sway and mislead human decision-making, the 'spirits,' both good and evil can be interpreted either as dispositions within the human heart (4.23) or as celestial beings.

6. Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[626] (Mas 1k, 4Q400-408, 11Q17)

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are a collection of thirteen liturgical hymns that offer heavenly praise to God. Within the hymns are descriptions of the heavenly temple, the divine throne-chariot, and the various participants in the celestial worship.[627] The *Songs* depict the heavenly priesthood and chief princes, as well as the worshippers who celebrate the heavenly Sabbath. These participants include the 'gods' (אלוהים, gods), 'holy ones' (קדושים),[628] 'angels' (מלאכים), and most prominently – 'spirits' (רוחות). Throughout the *Songs* there are at least 43 textual references to the term 'spirits.' While many of these are fragments containing only a single phrase or word the frequency of the term's use is impressive. As the most complete manuscripts among the *Songs*, 4Q405 we find the term רוחות mentioned here most frequently (26 times).

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[624] Licht, 'Two Spirits,' p.91.
[625] See Charlesworth, *Rule*, p.3.
[626] Also called *Shirot Shabbat* and *Songs of the Holocaust of the Sabbath*. Here called simply the *Songs*.
[627] See Vermes, *Introduction to the DSS*, p.54; and Davila, *Liturgical Works*, pp.83-84; Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), p.1; and James H. Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), pp.1, 6-7.
[628] Also קדושו and קדושים.

In reading the hymns one almost immediately detects repetitive phrases and formulaic features using the term רוחות. For instance, each of the *Songs* includes at least two calls to praise, followed by one or more imperative sentences of praise.[629] These are typically followed by descriptions of the praise offered to God in the heavenly temple. The term 'spirits' frequently occurs in epithets such as:

(1) רוחות אלוהים – 'spirits (of) gods' (or 'spirits of God') 4Q400 1.5; 4Q403 1.44; 2.8, 9; 4Q403 frg.2, 3.8, 9; 4Q404 frg.5, 1.2, 5; 4Q405 frg.4, 1.12, 14; 4Q405 frg.6, 1.7; 4Q405 frg. 18, 1.3; 4Q405 frg.19, 1.3; 4Q405 frg.20, 2.3, 11; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.9-10; 11Q17 frgs.16-17, 7.5);

- רוחי אלוהים (4Q403 frg.1, 1.43),
- רוחי אלי (4Q405 frg.19, 1.3).

(2) רוחות קודש קודשים – 'spirits of the holy of holies'[630] (4Q403 frg.1, 2.7; 4Q405 frg.20, 2.10);

- רוחי קודש קודשים (4Q403 frg.1, 1.42; 4Q405 frg.6, 1.5)
- רוחי קודש (4Q403 frg.1, 1.44).

The *Songs* qualify 'spirits' as eternal (רוחי עלמים – 4Q403 frg.1, 1.35, 44; 4Q405 frg.4, 1.3), wonderful (רוחות פלא – 4Q403 frg.1, 2.10; 11Q17 frgs.19-20, 8.3) beings of majesty and splendour (רוחי הוד והדר, 4Q405 frg.24, 1.2; and רוחי הדר, 4Q405 frg.14, 1.6). They are depicted as glorious beings, luminous (4Q405 frg.19, 1.5), flames of fire (4Q403 frg.1, 2.9), and they are described as 'spirits' of wondrous mingled colours (4Q405 frg.14, 1.6; frg.23, 2.7). Further, 'spirits' are identified as celestial beings who rejoice in knowledge and truth (4Q405 19, 1.4) for they are 'spirits' of understanding (1Q403 1, 1.37), righteousness (1Q403 1, 1.38), knowledge and discernment (4Q405 4., 1.0; 17, 1.3). In 4Q403 1, 2.3 we read of the leaders (ראש, head or chief) of the kingdom of 'spirits' (מלכות רוחים). Yet, they are all 'spirits' of God (4Q405 4, 1.14).

Although much of it is lost to us today, we can surmise that in this heavenly liturgy the author attempted to depict a coherent cosmology, which included a structured hierarchy of celestial beings. For we find deputy princes, chief princes, chiefs of the kingdom, chief 'spirits', and even 'spirits-gods.' With at least 43 citations to 'spirits', and only nine lines where angels are

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[629] Newsom, *Songs*, p.6.

mentioned,[631] a notable shift appears from angelic beings – which we know are 'spirits' (*Jub* 2.2) – to spirit-beings or -gods (אלהים) who may or may not be angels. In his current work, *All the Glory of Adam,* [632] Crispin Fletcher-Louis argues these רוחות, also called 'living אלהים,' are animated spiritual aspects of the heavenly temple.[633] This argument has yet to prove its validity here. However, we can safely acknowledge their subservience to God (4Q403 1, 1.34) for in the *Songs* God is their creator (4Q403 1, 1.35).

A thorough study of 'spirits' in the *Songs* is a research task that cannot fully be undertaken here. Thus, for the purpose of this study we exclude fragments which comprise a single word or phrase (4Q405 frgs.14-16, 17, 1.5; frg.18, 1.1; frg.19, 1.2; frg.23, 2.9; frg.31, 1.2; frg.35, 1.1; frg.57, 1.1; and 4Q406 frg.5, 1.2; 11Q17 frg.29, 1.2). Further, many fragments are collocations and provide purely descriptive detail (4Q403 frg.1, 1.35, 37, 38; 2.3, 9, 10; 4Q404 frgs.4-6, 1.1; 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.1, 3, 6, 10, 14; frgs.14-15, 1.6; frg.17, 1.3; frg.19, 1.4, 5; frg.23, 2.7, 9; frg.24, 1.2; 11Q17 frgs.19-20, 8.3), these will not be examined. From this selection process we retain a number of textual references that should contribute significantly to our discussion. Therefore our examination will include: (1) 4Q403 frg.1, 1.43, 44, 46; 2.7, 8, 9; (2) 4Q404 frgs.4-6, 1.5; (3) 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.5; frgs.14-15, 1.4, 5; frg.19, 1.3; frg.20, 2.3, 10, 11; frg.23, 1.6, 9-10; 2.6; (4) 11Q17 frgs.12-15, 2.4; frgs.16-18, 7.5; frgs.19-20, 2.3.

6.1. *'Spirit(s)' in 4Q403* (frg.1, 1.43, 46; 2.7, 8, 9)

The fragments of 4Q403 preserve text from the 6th-8th *Songs*.[634] We will review the celebratory hymn for the Seventh Sabbath which is comprised of two fragmentary parts.

6.1.1 Seventh Sabbath Song (frg.1, col. 1.43, 46) – Lines 30-46 in column one represent the primary invocations to praise and lines 1-16 in column two

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[630] For קודשים with קדש in OT literature see Exod 26.33, 34; Num 4.4, 19; 18.10; 1Kgs 6.16; 7.50; 8.6; 1Chr 6.49; 23.13; 2Chr 4.22; 5.7; Ezek 41.4; 44.13; 45.3; Dan 9.24.
[631] See Newsom, Songs, who identifies at least eight, although we list nine (4Q403 1, 2.23; 4Q405 17, 1.4, 5; 19, 1.7; 22, 1.9; 23, 1.8; 81, 1.2; 11Q17 12-15, 2.7; 37, 1.1), p.24.
[632] *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp.328-332. Fletcher-Louis argues that this context applies to spirits and living *elohim* of lines 30-40, see p.332.
[633] A view also argued earlier by Dale Allison, 'The Silence of Angels: Reflections on the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,' *Revue de Qumran*:13 (1988), pp.189-197.
[634] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p.85.

record praise conducted within the heavenly temple.[635] There are thirteen textual references to 'spirits' in these fragments of which four mention 'spirits of gods' (1.43, 46; 2.8, 2.9) and two reference 'spirits of the holy of holies' (1.44; 2.7). The remaining are descriptive citations (1.35, 44, eternal 'spirits'; 1.37, 'spirits' of discernment; 1.38, 'spirits' of righteousness; 1.44, and 2.10, wonderful 'spirits'), and one fragmented phrase mentions the 'kingdom of spirits' (2.3).

The worship invocations in lines 30-34 serve as an introduction to the hymn, whereby initially all 'exalted ones' among all the divine beings (אלים) are called to praise God.[636] The worship call is then extended to 'holy ones,' the leaders or 'chiefs' (ראשים) of the praises of the gods (line 31), and the 'gods of the exalted divine (ones)' (line 33). All are called to magnify and praise God, the 'king of glory' (למלך הכבוד). This introduction concludes with three epithets for God, which correspond with each of the groups of celestial beings identified in lines 31 and 33. In line 34 God is acknowledged as the God of all divine beings (אל אלים; *cf.* אל אלהים in Josh 22.22; Ps 50.1, 136.2; Dan 2.47, 11.36), as God of all the chiefs, and the 'King of the kings' of the eternal councils. Furthermore, this grouping of three then opens the next section of the hymn. In line 35 the author speaks of those God created:

35. {דעתו} לאמרי פיהו יהיו כ[ול אלי רום]למוצא שפתיו כול רוחי עולמים [בר]צון דעתו כול מעשיו
36. במשלחם רננו מרנני [דעתו ב]רונן באלוהי פלא והגו כבודו בלשון כול הוגי דעת רנות פלאו
37. בפי כול הוגי [בו כיא הוא] אלוהים לכול מרנני {דעת} עד ושופט בגבורתו לכול רוחי בין
38. הודו כל אלי הוד למ[ל]ך ההוד כיא לכבודו יודו כול אילי דעת וכול רוחות צדק יודו באמתו

Translation:[637]

35. {of his knowledge} At the words of his mouth a[ll the exalted divinities][638] exist; by what issues from his lips, all the eternal spirits; [by the [w]ill of his knowledge all his creatures

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[635] See Newsom, *Songs*, p.213; and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, p.3.

[636] Martínez and Tigchelaar translate 'divinities,' in *Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol.2, p.819. Charlesworth, 'divine beings,' in *Angelic Liturgy*, p.51. Newsom translates 'elim of knowledge,' in *Songs*, p.211. For 'gods of knowledge' see Carol Newsom and Eileen Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, Part 1, Qumran Cave 4, DJD, Vol.6 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p.271.

[637] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*, p.819.

[638] Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*, p.819. See Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, for 'exalted gods,' p.271. Charlesworth does not include this restored segment of the fragment in *Angelic Liturgy*, pp.52-53.

36. in their enterprises. Sing with joy, those of you enjoying [his knowledge, with] rejoicing among the wonderful gods. Proclaim his glory with the tongue of all who proclaim knowledge, his wonderful songs
37. with the mouth of all who proclaim[him. For he is]God of all who sing {knowledge} for ever, and Judge in his power over all the spirits of understanding.
38. Give thanks, all majestic divinities,[639] to the Ki[n]g of majesty; for to his glory all the divinities of knowledge[640] give thanks, and all the spirits of righteousness give thanks to his truth.

In these four lines God is credited with creating all divine beings, eternal 'spirits', and creatures. The divine ones[641] identified in line 35 are presumably those being summoned to worship God in line 33, or the declaration may mean the heavenly company in general. The imperative to 'sing with joy' seems inclusive and could represent a summons to all of the beings listed in line 35 (divine beings, 'spirits', and creatures), thereby allowing God's earthly creation to join in the heavenly songs of praise. The phrase 'those with tongues and mouths' who have knowledge of God's supremacy (lines 36, 37) also appears to solicit human participation in the heavenly liturgy.

The second part of line 37 acknowledges God as judge over all 'spirits of understanding.' This could also mean the 'spirits' of humans, for they too are created beings with the ability to comprehend the majesty and supremacy of God. However, the following imperative to divine beings (line 38), also called the אלים of 'knowledge' (lines 31), makes it appear more likely that the phrase 'spirits of understanding' is in fact an inclusive epithet for celestial beings. If this is the case, then the phrase 'spirits of knowledge and light' (lines 38, 42) would also be an inclusive reference to celestial beings praising God in the heavenly temple (lines 41-2).

43. [ושבחוה]ו רוחי אלוה[ים] להו[רות עולמי ע]ולמים רקע רוש מרו[מ]ים כול ק[ורותו] וקירותו כל ו]

44. [מבנ]יתו מעשי תבנ[יתו רו]חי קוד[ש] קודשים אלוהים חיים[רו]חי קוד[ש עו]למים ממעל

45. [מ]כול קרו[שים ברקיעי פלא נפלא הוד והדר ופלא הכ[בור באור אודתם ד[עת]

46. [...בכול מקדשי פלא רוחות אלוהים סביבה למעון מלך אמת וצדק כו]ל[קירותו]

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639 Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*, p.819. For 'gods' see Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, p.271. For 'majestic divine beings' see Charlesworth, *Angelic liturgy*, pp.52-53.
640 Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*, p.819. For 'gods of knowledge' see Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, p.271. Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, for 'divine beings of knowledge,' pp.52-53.
641 Martínez and Tigchelaar translate אלים as 'divinities' in *DSS*, p.819.

Translation:

43. [Praise hi]m, spirits gods,[642] prai[sing for ever and e]ver the main vault of the heig[ht]s,[643] all [its] b[eams] and its walls, a[l]l
44. its [struct]ure, the work of [its] construc[tion. The spi]rits of the hol[y] of holies, the living gods, [the spi]rits of [ever]lasting holine[ss] above
45. all the ho[ly ones in the wonderful vaults, marvel of splendour and majesty, and wonderful is the g[ory in the most perfect light, and the kno[wledge]...
46. [...in all the wonderful sanctuaries. The spirits gods (are) around the residence of the king of truth and justice. Al]l [its walls]

In lines 43-44, two nouns, 'spirits' and gods (אלוהים), occur in apposition as beings praising the creative works of God. They praise the firmament of the uppermost heaven, beams, walls, and structures. Also in line 44, they are called the 'רוחות of the holy of holies.'[644] Do these 'spirits' serve in the heavenly sanctuary, or are they enlivened features of the heavenly temple? They are also called 'living אלוהים,' and 'spirits of everlasting holiness' ranked above all other holy ones in heaven (line 45). Finally, the writer identifies these 'spirits-gods' as beings who surround the habitation of God (line 46).

Are these רוחות gods or angels? The writer clearly calls them gods (אלוהים, lines 32, 33, 36, 40, 44, 46). While they are listed among the celestial holy ones (line 31), they are yet ranked higher (lines 33, 44-45). Finally, they are positioned in close proximity to God (line 46). Then are we to presume these 'spirits-gods' to be archangels? Answers to all of these questions appear to be inconclusive.

According to Carol Newsom, author of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition,* this fragment of the Seventh Song includes at least seven invocations to praise God (lines 30, 31, 31-32, 33, 36, 38, 43).[645] Newsom makes this deduction based on the writer's use of imperatives in each call, and argues that the seven calls to praise are addressed to members of the seven heavenly councils identified in 4Q403 frg.1, 2.11, 22. If this is the case, then we should be able to identify each of the groups called accordingly:

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[642] Martínez and Tigchelaar translate 'divine spirits,' in *DSS*, p.819. See Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, for 'god[like] spirits,' p.272; Charlesworth translation concurs in *Angelic Liturgy*, p.53.

[643] See Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, for 'the firmament of the uppermost heights,' p.53, as well as Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, who translate, 'the firmament of the uppermost heaven,' p.272.

[644] For 'spirits of holiest holiness,' see Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, p.55 and Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, p.272.

1. Exalted ones (lines 30-1)
2. Holy ones (קרשים) of God (line 31),
3. Chiefs (ראשים)of the praises of all the אלוהים (lines 31-2),
4. The אלוהים of the exalted divine ones (line 33),
5. The אלוהים who rejoice (line 36),
6. The אלים (line 38),
7. Holy ones (קרושים, line 40).

The text provides us with basic information about these groups. First, it appears that we have five groups of celestial beings:[646]

A) The first grouping, the 'holy ones' (קרשים), appears to have a two-tier order. There are the 'holy ones of God' (1.31) linked with the 'King of glory who makes holy,' followed by an inclusive group 'all holy ones' (1.40). Thus making the 'holy ones of God' an epithet for members of the top tier of this celestial order of beings.

B) Next, the divine ones (אלים), also called the אלים of knowledge (1.31-32), and described as 'the majestic אלים of the king of majesty' (1.38).

C) The third group is the 'chiefs of the praises of all the אלוהים,' they too appear to be a single grouping or may in fact belong to an order of chiefs such as, the 'chiefs of the kingdom of the spirits' (2.3).

D) The fourth group – the אלוהים also have a two-tier ranking order. The first group, the 'אלוהים of the exalted divine ones' (1.33), are said to exalt God's exaltation, while the second group – the 'אלוהים rejoice in knowledge' (1.36). Thus, the reference to אלוהים is inclusive.

E) The final group appears to be the 'exalted ones' (line 30) who are first called upon to praise God. They are identified as being among all the אלים of knowledge (lines 30-31). They also appear in 4Q405 (frg.3, 2.4) as recipients of the blessings and praise from the third chief prince and his kingship.

This hypothesis becomes feasible when we consider that a heavenly processional of celestial beings attending worship would require positioning according to their ranked order, similar to that depicted in the *War Scroll* (1QM 2.1-6) and *1QS* (2.19b-24). Thus, calls to worship would envisage participation

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[645] See Newsom, *Songs*, p.213.

accordingly. Based on the sequence of calls, and the groupings we have identified, the hierarchy of celestial beings can be diagrammed. (See Diagram 3.4, p.215)

Thus, the seventh Song appears to present a more transcendent, monotheistic depiction of God, for here as in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees* and *T.Levi* we have a hierarchical structure among those who worship God as Supreme Being. The author confirms this by attributing the creation of all divinities (אלים) and 'spirits' (רוחות), to God (1.35). Of course, this includes אלוהים (1.32, 33) and beings who serve on the heavenly council for he is the 'God of all gods' and the 'king of kings' over the eternal councils (1.34-35), רוחות (1.46; 2.8, 9).

Interestingly, the writer attaches epithets in referring to these lesser אלוהים – they are 'wonderful' (1.36; 2.10), and 'living' (1.38). Why is it necessary to identify them as 'living אלוהים'? Lines 44-45 are most descriptive because here the author identifies the gods as 'spirits,' attests their perpetual holiness, links them with the heavenly holy of holies, and the abode of God (line 46). Further, they are above all holy ones. Then are we to presume that these 'spirits' which are above all holy ones are identical with those who are exalted among all the divinities (1.30)? It appears so, for they are אלוהים above all holy ones in splendour, majesty, glory, and knowledge (line 45). The writer reaffirms this association in column two, lines 7-9, whereby he links 'spirits-gods' with the holy of holies (lines 7-8). Further, according to their hierarchical alignment, only one group is ranked higher than the 'holy ones of God' – the exalted ones. Thus, if they are not the exalted ones, they appear to share similar hierarchical status with them, if not higher.

It is possible that the author envisions members of the heavenly council as celestial rulers with God-given authority over certain realms and functions. This certainly appears to be the case with the 'chiefs of the praises of all the gods' (1.31-32), and the chief princes who hold authority over territories (4Q400 1.13; 4Q401 frg.1, 3.3; 4Q403 frg.1, 1.6, 23) and provinces (4Q405 frg.3, 2.4).

6.1.2 Seventh Sabbath Song (frg.1, col. 2.7, 8, 9) – The second part of the Seventh Song appears in column two. There are five citations where

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[646] Fletcher-Louis writes of two angelic orders of heavenly worshippers, 'one order associated with

'spirits' are mentioned. Two of these we have already examined from column one, 'spirits of the gods' or 'spirits-gods' (רוחות אלוהים, 2.8; also 1.43, 46) and 'spirits of the holy of holies' (רוחות קורש קודשים, 2.7; also 1.44). As we have limited the scope of our study to exclude descriptive phrases such as 'wonderful spirits,' the phrase in 2.10 will not be examined. One reference is lost to us, although the lacuna clearly speaks of the 'chiefs of the kingdom of the spirits' (2.3). The fourth reference appears as follows:

9. ורוחות אלוהים ברני להבת אש סביבה ל[...]

Translation:
9. and spirits gods,[647] shapes of flaming fire round about it [...]

Although it is unclear what these 'spirits' encircle (סבב, turn, surround), in 1.46 the 'spirits-gods' are said to surround (סבב) the habitation of God. In the following line 10, the heavenly tabernacle is described as the 'glory' of God's kingdom. Thus, it remains unclear if these 'spirits' surround the inner shrine of the temple, the divine throne-chariot, or simply the heavenly abode of God.[648] At this juncture we can only suppose what the author envisions. Are these 'spirits' associated with celestial bodies (sun, moon, stars, planets) that rotate and encircle the heavens? Are these 'spirits' identical with those spirits associated with meteorological elements as proposed in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*? Or, do they represent a coalescence of both traditions?

In order to respond to these possibilities one must resolve an important dilemma. Did the author envision God as seated on a heavenly throne within a heavenly temple? Or, did he use celestial temple imagery purely to suggest the dualistic counterpart which the earthly temple mirrors? Further, we cannot be certain if the author is simply applying metaphorical language to describe God's celestial entourage. In other words, to say that the 'spirits' surround or encircle the habitation of God could simply be the writer's way of acknowledging the intimate relationship these beings have with God as they too appear to be in positions of authority within God's celestial kingdom.

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the animate structures of the heavenly temple and one who are not,' in *All the Glory of Adam*, p.332.
[647] For 'divine spirits' see Newsom, *Songs*, p.229; Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, p.55; Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, p.282.
[648] Newsom makes this suggestion while acknowledging the antecedent of the suffix of סביבה is uncertain. See *Songs*, p.235.

Unfortunately, resolution of this query goes beyond the scope of our discussion. Presently, it is sufficient for us to report that the writer of the *Songs* depicts them as the 'spirits-gods' of the firmaments, places them in close proximity with God, and associates them with the heavenly 'holy of holies'.

Finally, we can conclude that if these beings are angels, the writer does not identify them as such. In fact, the first column does not mention angels at all, only gods, 'spirits,' divine and holy ones. Further, it is worth pointing out that the author clearly qualifies the gods as 'spirits,' and in at least four instances links the two nouns together (1.43, 46; 2.8, 9). Counter to this hypothesis, Newsom argues that אלים[649] (4Q403 1, 1.18, 38; 2.33; 4Q405 13.2) are angelic beings, comparable to the בני אלים in the OT (Ps 29.1; 89.7; *cf.* Dan 11.36).[650] However, we find that in the Seventh Song the term אלוהים (4Q403 1, 1.32, 33, 36, 40, 44, 46; 2.5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 16) appears most frequently, and we find no instances where אלים are linked with 'spirits.' Further, even if the אלים are angels, are we then to presume that the רוחות אלוהים are also angels? In so doing we might compare them with the בני אלהים (Gen 6.2, 4; Job 1.6; 2.1; 38.7). However, the author makes no reference to 'sons' (בנים) in this hymn, although we find it used elsewhere in *DSS* manuscripts (*cf.* בני אלים, 1QH 23.3). Thus, if the 'spirits' linked with the אלוהים are angelic 'sons of God' the author clearly does not identify them as such in the hymn.

Instead we find that the most commonly used terms to denote celestial beings in the Seventh Song is אלוהים (16 times) and רוחות (13 times). Frequently the two appear together (1.43, 46; 2.8, 9) in apposition creating the phrase 'spirit-gods.' Why the writer joined these two nouns together can only be surmised as being necessary to explain or qualify the gods – they are 'spirits.' A possible clue may have existed in line 43 (*cf.* 4Q403 5.3), where 'spirit-gods' are also linked with the 'firmament of the uppermost heights.'[651] However, the fragmented state of the text prevents us from fully discerning the author's cosmology as it applies to 'spirits.' Therefore, at this point we can only

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649 Also אלי and אילי.

650 Newsom, *Songs*, p.23.

651 Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.53. Also, see Martínez and Tigchelaar who translate 'the main vault of the heights,' in *DSS*, p.819; as well as Newsom, *Songs*, for 'firmament of the uppermost heaven,' p.213, and Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.272.

conclude that in the Seventh Song the author's use of רוחות appears to mean celestial beings, specifically living gods.

6.2. *'Spirit(s)' in 4Q404* (frgs.4-6, 1.1, 5)

Fragments of *Songs* six through eight are also preserved in 4Q404. Consequently, these texts add little to our previous examination other than to confirm the contextual references we have already discussed. The two citations are identical with those identified and discussed in 4Q403. In 4Q404, the writer credits God with creating all the eternal 'spirits' (4.1; *cf.* 4Q403 1.35). In 5.1 we find the author's familiar depiction of רוחות אלוהים surrounding the abode of God. Thus, we can proceed to our next group of textual citations.

6.3. *'Spirit(s)' in 4Q405* (frgs.4-6, 1.3, 5, 6, 10, 14; frgs.14-15, 1.4, 5, 6; frg.17, 1.3, 5; frg.18, 1.1; frg.19, 1.2, 3(2), 4, 5; frg.20, 2.3, 10,11; frg.23, 1.6, 9-10; 2.6, 7, 9)

4Q405 is the best preserved copy of the hymns.[652] It includes identifiable text from the sixth through the thirteenth Sabbath Songs. Here we have isolated twenty-four instances where 'spirits' are mentioned. We have previously examined five of these from the seventh *Song* (4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.3, 5, 6, 10, 14)[653] in our discussions on 4Q403 and 4Q404. Also, certain fragments (frg.17, 1.5; frg.18, 1.1; frg.19.1.2; frg.35, 1.1; frg.57, 1.1) contain only the single word 'spirits.' Again, discussions on descriptive collocations, such as 'spirits' of majesty and splendour, (4Q405 frg.24, 1.2) and wonderful 'spirits,' (frgs.14-15, 1.6; frg.31, 1.2; *cf.* 11Q17 8.8)[654] add no new insight and we need not consider them further. The remaining eleven citations will be examined based on the fragment sequence in the document in which they appear.

6.3.1 The Ninth Sabbath Song[655] (frgs.14-15, 1.4, 5) - In this *Song*, 'spirits of the inner sanctum of the holy of holies,' (1.4) are mentioned in the author's description of the vestibules and entryways within the celestial temple. The engraved images (דמות, likeness) of אלוהים (line 5) produce sounds of

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[652] Davila, *Liturgical Works*, p.85.
[653] *Cf.* 4Q403 frg.1, 1.30, 38, 42, 46; and 4Q404 frg.4, 1.1; frg.5, 1.5.
[654] *Cf.* 4Q403 frg.1, 2.10.

blessings and praise of the 'God of the divine ones'[656] (line 3). While Newsom argues this entryway is the vestibule through which the royal head enters and exits the sanctuary,[657] this may not be the case. First, the רוחות are clearly linked with the inner sanctum of the holy of holies (line 4). Further, in Ezekiel's vision (41.16-26), images are carved on the walls and nave of the inner room (v.17).[658]

In isolation the writer's meaning of 'spirits' in 1.4 appears unclear. Is the author referring to the images or the אלוהים as רוחות? The author describes the אלוהים as figures of luminous, wonderful 'spirits' (1.5) – descriptive terms we have seen earlier associated with these lesser deities (4Q403 1, 1.36; 2.10). Then in line 4 the 'spirits' are again associated with the holy of holies (4Q403 1, 1.44; 2.7, 8). Finally, we might add that in 4Q403 these 'spirits' are called 'living gods' as they are here in line 6.

In the hymn the author attempts to depict the enlivened worship he envisions within the heavenly temple. This too is quite similar to that featured in 4Q403 1, 2.1-16. Here in fragments 14-15, even the images of the lesser deities are seen as producing sounds of blessing and praise (1.3) for the God of all divine beings (אלים), for nothing within his presence remains inanimate. In 4Q403 even the foundations, decorations, beams and walls praise God (1, 1.43; 2.12-13). Thus, while the images here in fragments 14-15 produce sounds they are merely a likeness of the gods (1.2, 5, 7). It is the gods who the author identifies as 'spirits' (1.5, 6), and not the images. This may be the reason why the writer continues to qualify the רוחות אלוהים as 'living' gods, and in doing so avoids confusion between them and their enlivened images that utter continual praise and blessings to God.

6.3.2 The Tenth Sabbath Song[659] (frg.17, 1.3, 5) – This fragment provides an excellent opportunity for us to examine text where the terms 'spirits' and angels are both mentioned. Although incomplete, line 3 mentions the 'spirits of knowledge and understanding,' a descriptive phrase we have

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655 Newsom, *Songs*, p.279; and Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.86, n.97.
656 The Hebrew text אל אלים is translated 'God of divine beings' in Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.87; and 'God of angelic elim' in Newsom, *Songs*, p.280. For 'God of gods' see Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.331.
657 See Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.334.
658 See Fletcher-Louis who makes this observation as well in *All the Glory*, p.340.
659 Newsom, *Songs*, p.290; Charlesworth concurs in *Liturgy*, p.88, n.119.

encountered in 4Q403.[660] In line 4 the author speaks of 'angels of glory with power.' However, in line 5 we have 'angels of beauty' and 'spirits of ...'

5. [...נפל]אות מלאכי תפארת ורוחי

Translation:
5.[...marv]els, angels of beauty and spirits of

Although we are unable to fully identify the 'spirits' the author writes of in line 5, the *waw* conjunction eliminates any possibility that the two nouns occur in apposition as we have seen with רוחות and אלוהים. Thus, if the author believed angels and 'spirits' to be synonymous he does not present them as such in the text. Rather, they appear as two groups of celestial beings.

6.3.3 The Eleventh and Twelfth Sabbath Songs[661] (frg.19, col. 1.3, 4, 5; frg.20, col. 2.3, 10, 11; frg.23, col.1.6, 9-10; col. 2.6, 7, 9) – In her comments on this portion of the lacunae, Newsom cautions biblical scholars as regards interpretation of the text.[662] She goes on to identify fragment 19 as being from the middle of the eleventh *Song*, and urges that examination of this fragment should be completed along with the contents of both the preceding and following (4Q405 20-21) passages.[663] Further, she concludes that the subject of the hymn is the divine chariot throne or thrones. However, as our concern is primarily with locating and examining the author's use of the term רוחות, it may benefit our investigation to combine our review of all of the citations in fragment 19 (1.2, 3, 4, 5) with those in column two of fragment 20 (2.3, 10, 11). In fragment 19, we find the term רוחות in four instances:

3. דבירי פלא רוחי אלי עולמים כול [...[...]... [...דב] יר מלך מעשי רו[חות]
רקיע פלו
4. ממולח טהור [רק]חי דעת אמת[ו]צדק בקודש[ק]שים [צ]ורות אלוהים חיים צורי רוחות
5. מאירים כ[ו]ל [מעש]הם ק[ור]שי דבקי פלא [...] רוקמ(ות)"[ב]דני צורות
אלוהים מחוקקי

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[660] See 4Q403 1, 1.37 for 'spirits of understanding' and 1.42 for 'spirit of knowledge and of light' (also see 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.10).'
[661] Newsom & Schuller, *Poetical*, p.340; Newsom, *Songs*, p.295; and Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.90, n.123.
[662] See Newsom, *Songs*, p.295; Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.339.
[663] Newsom, *Songs*, pp.296-7.

Translation:

3. the wonderful inner shrines, spirits of eternal divinities.[664] All [...inner shr]ine of the king. The works of the spi[rits of] the wonderful vault[665] are
4. intermingled purely, [spir]its of knowledge of the truth [and of] the justice in the holy of [ho]lies, [ef]figies of living gods, effigies of shining
5. spirits. A[l]l their [constructions are] of h[ol]y things wonderfully embroidered [...] multi-coloured [...fi]gures of effigies of gods, engraved

As Newsom points out it is unclear if these features are a description of the divine throne-chariot or architectural features of the heavenly shrine.[666] We have already seen similar descriptive language used in 4Q405 where images and figures of the אלוהים as רוחות are engraved on the entrances, vestibules and inner shrines of the heavenly temple (frg.14, 1.4-7). Here the effigies appear to be engraved in the brick or stonework (frg. 19, 1.6). In line 3 we can again note the apparent association between אלוהים as רוחות. The author calls them 'spirits of the wonderful vault,' or firmament (רקיע, *cf.* 4Q403 1, 1.43, 45; *cf.* 11Q17 8.2). In 4Q403 the firmament is linked with the celestial temple (1.43; *cf.* Ezek 1.22) and the 'holy of holies' (1.44). Further, the author identifies the רוחות אלוהים 'spirits of the holy of holies' as beings above all the holy ones in the firmament (1.45).

Here in 4Q405, we find that the author credits the רוחות with the work of the inner shrines of the temple, and identifies their images as being engraved on the holy things (lines 5-6). He identifies these רוחות with the construction being described (*cf.* 11Q17 8.3). It is unclear if he is referring to the construction of the divine throne chariot or the celestial temple (line 5). While their images are engraved on the brickwork (line 6), we find in line 7 that the engraved figures also include images of angels, possibly cherubim. In Ezekiel's vision he sees what he believes to be human faces, along with those of cherubs and lions engraved on the temple walls (41.17-20). We cannot determine why this occurs.

Perhaps the author envisions the engraved effigies as architectural signatures that acknowledge the handiwork of the gods who have or take on humanlike figures. Or, perhaps these engravings are tributes which tell of their various exploits, missions and errands completed at God's behest. Engravings of this nature were certainly popular on the walls of temples, tombs, and

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[664] For 'eternal divine beings,' Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.91; and 'spirits of eternal angelic elim,' in Newsom, *Songs*, p.295. However, Newsom and Schuller translate 'spirits of eternal gods,' in *Poetical*, p.341, to which we concur.

[665] A more accurate translation of רקיע is firmament. See Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.91; Newsom, *Songs*, p.295; and Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.341, who all translate accordingly.

monumental structures built in the ANE. It is also possible that these effigies are representations of the realms they govern. If the author envisions them as gods governing celestial bodies or meteorological elements, this might include images of the planets, moon, stars, fire or clouds. More importantly, we must question what is the significance of these רוחות אלוהים and why are *their* images and figures engraved on the vestibules, the inner shrines (frgs.14-15, 1.5), and the stonework (frg.19, 1.6)?

Newsom draws a correlation between the description of the temple in the *Songs*, and that provided in *1 Enoch* 14 and Ezekiel 1.22.[667] In Ezekiel's vision of the divine throne chariot the firmament appears overhead in the holy of holies (Ezek 1.22). If these רוחות are gods of the firmament (line 3), this would explain the author's description of them as surrounding the abode of God (4Q403 1.46). Further, it would also explain their association with the inner shrines of the temple, and why the author identifies them as 'spirits of the holy of holies' (1.44; 2.7-8). As celestial bodies or even meteorological elements, their placement in the heavens could be perceived as surrounding the abode of God.

In the second column of fragments 20-22, the author is clearly discussing the divine throne chariot within the inner shrine (line 2). Here again, the author identifies angelic beings, cherubim and ophanim (4Q403 frg.1, 2.15) that appear as either part of or guardians of the divine throne.[668] In line 3, the author writes of the רוחות אלוהים in the inner shrine. However, the lacuna makes it difficult to determine if the author's intent is to identify the cherubim and ophanim as רוחות אלוהים or if he is referring to this elite group of רוחות in a descriptive manner.

Lines 6-14 of fragments 20-22 represent the beginning of the Twelfth Sabbath Song where the remaining citations to 'spirits' are located. The hymn's opening follows the rise and fall of exultation and blessings among the אלוהים that coincide with the movement of the cherubim (lines 7-8). The gods bless the image of the throne-chariot that is *above* (על) the firmament of the cherubs (line 8). The author stresses this point by further identifying the 'shining firmament'

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666 See Newsom, *Songs*, p.296

667 Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.340. Also see I. Gruenwald, *Apocalyptic and Merkavah Mysticism*, AGJU:14 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), p.33.

668 J.W. van Henten lists three groups of angels guarding the heavenly throne of God – Seraphim, Cherubim, and Ophannim. See 'Angel II, ἄγγελος,' in *DDD*, pp.50-52.

as being *beneath* (תחת) the divine throne (line 9). Thus, the author depicts the firmament as a natural divide between God and the celestial beings, with the heavenly firmament literally the footstool of God's divine throne.

In Ezekiel's vision, the firmament is described as shining like the colour of ice or crystal (קרח). Perhaps it is the transparency of the firmament that allows the celestial beings to view the chariot, and thus bless its very presence. Or, perhaps as the throne-chariot moves, it hovers above (or below) the celestial spectators in their midst. This is uncertain.

Further, the author describes angels beneath the throne-chariot. These angels are described as having the likeness of fire, and their movements coincide with those of the chariot. They move in and out from amongst the spokes and hubs of the wheels[669] (*cf.* frg.19, 1.7) like streams of fire (*cf.* Dan 7.9-10; *1 En* 14.19), perhaps as angelic guards around the throne-chariot.[670] In line 11, the author also locates רוחות אלוהים around the divine throne. From the author's scenic description and plural use of the noun (מרכבות; *cf.* 11Q17 7.5), it is difficult to determine if the רוחות אלוהים have chariot-thrones of their own (*cf.* Ps 68.17-20; Dan 7.9;), or if the רוחות אלוהים are thrones. The cosmology of *1 Enoch* records the sun, moon, and stars travelling across the heavens in their own chariots (75.3, 9). Or, is it possible that thrones are another form of divine celestial beings, here also identified as רוחות אלוהים?[671] If so, this would mean that their movements coincide with those of the divine throne-chariot because they are members of God's celestial entourage (*cf.* 11Q17 7.7), and in this way these beings surround the abode of the heavenly King.

The throne is a symbol of majesty and judgement, two descriptive terms associated with the רוחות (4Q403 frg.1, 1.38-39). It also represents authority and governance, which clearly the רוחות אלוהים possess as members of the heavenly council, with God identified as the supreme ruler over all eternal councils (1.34). Further, the throne epitomises kingship. As exalted ones above all holy ones and divine ones, the subservient character of the רוחות אלוהים to God is

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669 See Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.352, n.L.10.
670 This accounts for the third angelic group – Seraphim – van Henten mentions in *DDD*, pp.50-52.
671 M. de Jonge suggests they are personified divine beings in 'Thrones, *θρονοί*,' in *DDD*, pp.864-866, esp. p.865. However, while Newsom states a genuine plurality, she argues against the concept that 'thrones' is an angelic title (*cf. T.Levi* 3.8; *2 En* 20.1; 1 Col 1.16). See *Songs*, p.325 and *DJD*, Vol.11, p.357.

further signified by the titles – 'King of kings,' 'King of the gods,' and 'God of gods' (4Q403 1.34; 2.20, 26; 4Q405 frg.4, 1.2; frgs.8-9, 1.4).

Lines 7-9 speaks to the cycle of heavenly praise directed at the image of the divine chariot that includes an uproar (המון) of exultation followed by stillness (דמם). Here the praise is choreographed by the lifting of the wings of the cherubim, the movement of the ophannim and that of the angels going between the wheels of the chariot-throne. This is followed by a description of the divine throne, and the illumination that surrounds it due to this multiplicity of angelic activity (lines 10-11*a*).

The introduction of the רוחות אלוהים in line 11*b* initiates a reverse order of the cycle of heavenly celebration we see in lines 7-9. With the movement of the רוחות, silence (דמם) is followed by an uproar (המון) of heavenly praise. Lines 12-13 depict the motion of the רוחות אלוהים as that which now choreographs this portion of the celebration, not cherubim or the ophannim. We know this because the text states that the רוחות אלוהים have a set path that they travel (*cf.* 11Q17 7.7). Thus, this aspect of the celebration may represent a review of throne-chariots similar to that displayed during a military parade of heads of state before a cheering crowd (*cf.* 11Q17 7.13-14). Similar military language is used elsewhere in the Songs, particularly in 4Q403 frg.4, lines 1.7-10 where phrases such as 'war of the gods,' the 'weapons of war,' and 'gods in the war of the heavens' are present. Further, our interpretation finds additional support in the author's introduction of military language within the *inclusio*, such as camps (מחנה), divisions (רגל),[672] enrolments (פקוד),[673] and stations (מעמד).[674] This shift in language not only denotes a change in the participants in the celestial procession, but also speaks to their leadership over the heavenly spectators who celebrate and applaud the spectacle.

Our review of the author's use of רוחות in the eleventh and twelfth Songs has continued to associate 'spirits' with אלוהים (frg.19, 1.2-3; frg.20, 2.3, 11). More specifically, the author credits these רוחות אלוהים of the firmament with the workmanship and construction of various aspects of the celestial temple, and

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[672] *Cf.* its use in regimental formations in Numbers 2.3, 10, 18, 25; 10.14, 18, 22, 25. This is the only occurrence in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.
[673] Charlesworth translates as 'mustered troops' in *Liturgy*, pp.95, 183. Note its use in Ezekiel's description of a royal processional (23.23).

perhaps even the divine chariot (1.3, 5-6). Their enlivened effigies are a testament to their skill and service to God. The author may have envisioned the firmament in which they govern or reside to be the dome-like crystal covering (Ezek 1.22) positioned beneath the divine throne chariot (frg.20, 2.8-9).

From this perspective we can also suggest that the author envisions these 'spirits' as celestial beings who surround the divine throne, and may have thrones of their own or be divine thrones, i.e. divine celestial kings (2.11). Their movements are co-ordinated with the movements of the divine chariot (2.11). Yet, the author clarifies that they have designated paths of their own (2.12), for these רוחות enter and exit through the gates of holiness (frg.23,1.10), performing all assigned tasks and missions (1.13). While the text does not mention their number, we can conclude that if our interpretation is correct, we have located an association between רוחות and 'thrones,' as well as with the heavenly throne-chariot of God. We cannot be certain if they were perceived of as planetary gods, cosmological elements, or a coalescence of the two. We only know that they were called the 'spirits-gods' of the firmament.

Column one of fragment 23 continues to describe the celebration encountered in the Twelfth Song. In the first column the author speaks of the praise given by all heavenly רוחות אלוהים (line 6), here again referred to as the רוחות of the firmaments. The author continues to describe the celebratory praise, which now incorporates praise extended from celestial divisions and the temple entrance gates (lines 7-8). During the processional and recessional stages of the celebration the hymn states that entrance and exit gates bless and praise all the רוחות אלוהים (lines 8-10*a*). Here, the author begins to further describe the רוחות אלוהים. They do not transgress against the statutes or commands given them by God (line 10), they do not tarry or stray away from the territories of God (line 11), nor do they consider themselves too exalted for his missions (line 12). We find similar language used in *1 Enoch* 41.5-7. In *Enoch*, it is the sun and moon that do not stray from their assigned paths, for they too are obedient to God. Does the writer of the *Songs* envision the 'spirits-gods' of the firmament (19, 1.3; 23, 1.6) to be the 'spirits' described in *1 Enoch* or the elemental 'spirits' described in *Jubilees*?

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[674] Fletcher-Louis also acknowledges this change in language, but attributes it to a differentiation between divine and human worshippers. See *All the Glory*, p.347.

6.3.4 The Thirteenth Sabbath Song (frg.23, col. 2.6, 7, 9) - The second column of 4Q405 fragment 23 comes from the thirteenth and final Sabbath song.[675] This fragment together with columns nine and ten of 11Q17 form portions of the thirteenth Song that refer to the sacrificial cult. We can locate the term רוחות in at least three lines. The רוחות are first mentioned in line 6 where they are identified as the 'spirits of the holy ones.' Unfortunately, this is an isolated fragment where textual content cannot be determined. The next use of רוחות occurs in line 7 where the רוחות are associated with holy stations, and their garments are described as being multi-coloured with effigies engraved on the woven fabric (line 7).[676] The only additional information the author provides is that the stations of the רוחות are before the King (line 8). The term 'spirits' is mentioned again in line 9. This too is a descriptive phrase referring to the 'spirits' of pure colours. The author then goes on to describe the glory (כבוד). While we cannot confirm which portion of the celebration the author is depicting, we can acknowledge that we have again identified another instance where 'spirits' are identified as being in the presence of God, before his glory.

6.4 ***'Spirit(s)' in 11Q17*** (11Q17 frgs.12-15, col. 2.4; frgs.16-18, col. 7.5; frgs.19-20, col. 2.3; frg.29, col. 1.2)

Several of the textual fragments from 11Q17, overlap with 4Q405 fragments 19 and 20-22.[677] Consequently, several of the texts which mention 'spirits,' have already been covered in our review of the *Songs* thus far. The רוחות cited in 11Q17 12-15, 2.4[678] overlap with those in 4Q405 19, 1.3.[679] Also, portions of 11Q17 16-18, overlap with 4Q405 20-22, thereby confirming the accurate placement of רוחות אלוהים (11Q17 16-18, 7.5). In one instance, the lacuna (11Q17 frg.29, 1.2)[680] is in such a fragmented state that it is impossible to discern

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[675] Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical and Liturgical Texts*, p.361.
[676] Martínez and Tigchelaar associate the 'multi-colours' with garments worn by the spirits in *DSS*, p.835. Also see Newsom and Schuller, *Poetical*, p.362. Charlesworth translates the spirits as being 'mingled colours,'in *Liturgy*, p.97.
[677] Newsom, *Songs*, p.361.
[678] Newsom classifies fragments j-d-g-p, 1.3 in *Songs*, p.361
[679] See Newsom, *Songs*, p.293 and Charlesworth, *Liturgy*, p.122, n.30.
[680] Newsom classifies as frg.n, 1.2, in *Songs*, p.385.

with any certainly the textual meaning. Thus, only one passage remains that requires our examination 11Q17 frgs.19-20, 2.3.[681]

6.4.1 The Eleventh and Twelfth Sabbath Songs (11Q17 frgs.19-20, 2.3) – Fragments 19-20 from 11Q17 contain material from the twelfth *Song*.[682] Newsom positions these fragments from 11Q17 after the text contained in 4Q405 22, but before that of 4Q405 23. She argues that the praise being described in lines 4-5, and 8 is a continuation of the praise depicted in 4Q405 22. If this is the case then we should be able to confirm our hypothesis posited above. Although line three is preserved in a fragmentary condition, a great deal of its contextual meaning can be discerned.

3. [...]א באור אורים הוד [...]כול תבנית רוחי פל[א]
4. [...]אלוהים נוראי כוח כול [...]פל]אי פלאיהם בכוח אלוהי

Translation:

3. [...]with the light of lights, the splendour [...]all the figures of the wonder[ful] spirits
4. [...]gods, awesome in strength, all [...]their wonderful [won]ders with the strength of the God of

Scholars frequently have difficulty determining the meaning of line 3 primarily because the phrase does not occur elsewhere in the *Songs*. Further, the core or central meaning of תבנית (structure, figure, or form) generally occurs in connection with the architectural structures of the heavenly temple (4Q403 1, 1.43-44; 2.3, 16), while here it is associated with the appearance of 'spirits.' Both, Newsom and García Martínez note this change in their comments.[683]

This citation details the form and structure of the 'spirits' that adds light to our suggestion that the רוחות אלוהים are also participants in a celestial review of throne-chariots (*cf.* 11Q17 7.13-14). This procession features the divine throne-chariot of God above the firmament, as well as the רוחות אלוהים giving a routine performance of possible chariot manoeuvres before the company of the heavenly host.

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[681] Newsom, *Songs*, Frgs.5-6, 1.2, p.385. Martínez identifies as frgs.19-20, column VIII.3-4 in *11Q2-18, 11Q20-31, DJD*:23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), p.288
[682] See Newsom, *Songs*, p.367. Charlesworth confirms, *Liturgy*, p.126, n.72.
[683] Newsom, *Songs*, p.368; García Martínez, *DSS*, p.290.

The fragments provided in lines 2-5 are general accolades that have been used previously to describe רוחות: wonder (4Q403 frg.1, 2.10; 4Q405 frgs.14-15, 1.5), knowledge (4Q403 frg.1, 1.42; 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.10; frg.17, 1.4), understanding (4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.5; frg.17, 1.4), and light (4Q403 frg.1, 1.42; 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.10; frgs.14-15, 1.5; frg.15, 2.2; frg.19, 1.4). Here they are further acknowledged as being 'awesome in strength' (line 3), and credited with wondrous deeds completed in the strength of God (line 4). Their 'wonderous wonders' exalt the powerful acts of God from the four foundations of the firmament (line 5). Thus, it seems fitting for these רוחות to be active participants in the celebration's finale, and that they be described in such a way.

6.5 *Summary* (Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice - Mas 1k, 4Q400-408, 11Q17)

Throughout the *Songs* we have encountered the Hebrew term רוחות used frequently in apposition with the noun אלוהים (4Q403 frg.1, 1.46; 2.8, 9; 4Q405 frg.5, 1.5; frg.19, 1.3; frgs.20-22, 2.3, 11). Further, 'spirits' are frequently described as 'living gods' (4Q403 frg.1, 1.44; 4Q405 fgrs.14-15, 1.5, 6; frg.19, 1.4, 6; 11Q17 frgs.12-15, 2.5) or simply gods (4Q405 frgs.14-15, 1.7; frgs.15-16, 2.4; frg.19, 1.2, 5; 11Q17 frgs.19-20, 8.4, 6). While we know that ancient writers of Jewish literature identify angels as 'spirits,' in the *Songs* the term 'spirits' also represents gods. In fact, we have only encountered three instances where the terms angels and 'spirits' occur together (4Q4Q405 frg.17, 1.3-4, 5; frg.19, 1.7). If the author envisions these 'spirits' as angels, he does not refer to them as such. Alternatively, the author writes of cherubim and ophanim (4Q403 frg.1, 2.15; 4Q405 frgs.20-22, 2.3, 7) who he specifically calls angels (4Q405 frgs.20-22, 2.9).

While several descriptive terms (eternal, wondrous, holy, and majestic) are used to qualify the 'spirits,' we are most interested in the author's associative use of רוחות and אלוהים. This further distinguishes a heavenly hierarchy of divine beings, and links 'spirits' with lesser deities similar to what we have seen in *Jubilees* 2.2 where 'spirits' were depicted as meteorological elements. In *Jubilees*, cosmic 'spirits' appear at the lower end of the spectrum of celestial beings. However, here in the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* as gods, 'spirits' appear at the upper echelon of the celestial hierarchy. This indicates a complete reversal in the hierarchical structure we have previously seen. This application

may suggest that members of the Qumran community believed that the term 'spirits' could be used generically to mean celestial beings, of which gods and angels only represent two groups.

Another key observation is the relationship that exists between 'spirits' and God. The author identifies some 'spirits' as gods and associates them with the abode of God (4Q403 frg.1, 1.46), the 'holy of holies' (4Q403 frg.1, 1.44; 2.8, 9; 4Q405 frgs.14-15, 1.4; frgs.20-21, 2.10), the heavenly firmament (4Q405 frg.19, 1.3; *par.* 11Q17 6.3-4; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.6), and the divine throne-chariot (4Q405 frgs.20-21, 2.3, 11).

While the 'spirit-gods' are never identified as being seven in number, we can speculate that this might be due to the fragmented state of the texts. We suggest this only because the number seven occurs over 100 times throughout the *Songs*. For instance, there are seven words, seven chief princes, seven deputy princes, seven priesthoods, and seven wondrous territories (4Q403 frg.1, 1.21, 27; 4Q405 frg.44, 1.1). Are these the territories associated with the 'spirit-gods'? If they are, then we have located another example of seven spirits in the *Songs*.

Thus, our review of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* introduces a perspective on the term 'spirits' in Jewish literature – particularly as it applies to an apocalyptic community – that we have not encountered heretofore. This is the first instance where 'spirits' as gods are depicted with such prominence in relationship to God. Yet, the writer makes it clear that Yahweh is the God above all others (4Q403 2.20, 26; 4Q404 frgs.2+3, 1.8; frg.4, 1.4; 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.2; frgs.8-9, 1.4; frgs.14-15, 1.3; Mas 1k 1.5-6; 2.4-5), definitively distinguishing him as being above all celestial beings.

7. Songs of the Sage (4Q510, 4Q511)

According to Geza Vermes,[684] the *Songs of the Sage* are sapiential poems. Their authorship as Qumran compositions remains uncertain. The poems contain numerous citations to 'spirits' (4Q510 frg.1, col. 1.5; frg.2, 1.3; 4Q511 frg.1, col. 1.3, 1.6; frg.15, 1.5; frg.24, 1.2; frg.35, 1.7; frg.43, 1.6; frgs.48-49+51, 1.2, 8; frg.60, 1.2; frg.182, 1.1). In fact, many of the hymns appear to invoke

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[684] Vermes, *Introduction to the DSS*, p.62.

language used to exorcise evil 'spirits.' This may indeed be the case for in are several instances, they are described as 'spirits of ravaging angels.' Other entities are also mentioned such as demons, Lilith, owls, jackals, and specifically 'bastard spirits' (4Q510 1, 1.5). This language may be taken from Isaiah 34.14 where the demon Lilith,[685] is linked with jackals and vultures.

In the ANE, particularly in Sumerian and Akkadian epics,[686] Lilith[687] is a demon with dominion over storm winds. She was believed to have the appearance of a youthful female, whereby she was able to attract, seduce and then kill men.[688] Further, as a storm goddess, she was able to fly and when in a wind-like state she could enter one's home through open windows as a wisp of air or breeze. Thus, it appears logical for the writer to link demon 'spirits' with a demon associated with storm winds, as רוחות is also translated as 'winds'.

From this perspective 'bastard spirits' can be identified as demonic 'spirits' (4Q510 frg.1, 1.5; 4Q511 frg.35, 1.7; frgs.48-49+51, 1.2-3; frg.182, 1.1). Those instances that specifically mention evil 'spirits' (4Q511 frg.1, 1.6), as well as those fragmented texts comprised of a single word or phrase in which the term 'spirits' occurs (4Q510 frg.2, 1.3; 4Q511 frg.24, 1.2; frgs.48-49+51, 1.8; frg.60, 1.2) can be excluded from our review. The remaining textual references from 4Q511 (frg.1, 1.3; frg.15, 1.5; frg.43, 1.6) will comprise our review in the *Songs of the Sage*.

7.1 *Songs of the Sage 4Q511* (frg.1, 1.3)

The term רוחות first appears in what may be the opening segment of the poem. The author writes of dominions and all on the earth, the seas and all the living things therein as blessing God.

2. ...וכו[ל ...בא]רץ ובכול
3. רוחות ממשלתה תמיד יב[רכו]הו בקציהם
4. הימים וכול חיתם ישמיעו[...]י תפארת
5. כולם ינילו לאלוהי צדק ברנ[וח] ישועות

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685 See M. Hutter, 'Lilith, *לילית*,' in *DDD*, p.520.

686 Alexander also associates Lilith with ANE magic, as well as Babylonian and Sumerian demonology in 'Demonology,' p.335.

687 Also known as 'Ki-sikil-lil-lá' (Sum); Lilû, Lilītu, and Lilî (Akk).

688 In his survey on later Jewish traditions about Lilith, G. Scholem identifies her as a demon who attacked pregnant women and new-born children. In Jewish demonology she was believed to be the first demonic wife of Adam. See 'Lilith' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol:11 (1971), pp.245-249.

Translation:

2. ...and al[l... on the ea]rth and in all
3 the spirits of its dominion continuously. In their eras may the seas bl[ess] him,
4. and may all their living things declare [...] beauty,
5. may all of them exult before the God of justice in jubi[lations of] salvation.

Sekki identifies the 'spirits' in line 3*a* as angels.[689] However, because the earth is mentioned in this fragment it seems feasible that the phrase 'spirits of its dominion' could be another way of speaking of human 'spirits.' The feminine pronominal suffix of ממשלתה can also be translated as 'her dominion' referring back to the feminine noun ארץ. This translation suggests human 'spirits' more so than angels. Further, while the author does not use spirit language when referring to aquatic life forms in lines 3*b* and 4, it is also possible that the phrase 'spirits of its dominion' functions as an inclusive phrase. In this instance, the phrase 'all living things' would include all creatures, humans and animals alike. Thus, all creatures are capable of worshipping and exalting God.

7.2 *Songs of the Sage* 4Q511 (frg.15, 1.5; frg.43, 1.6)

In both of these fragments, the author mentions 'spirits of destruction.'[690] However, it is difficult to place the term within a proper context, due to the state of the lacunae. One aspect that increases the ambiguity is use of the noun הבל. The term is not only used in biblical literature to express vanity (Eccl 1.2; 12.8; Jer 10.8), but also speaks to the emptiness of idolatry (Ps 31.7; Jer 8.19; Jon 2.9). Further, the noun carries with it the connotation of vaporous breath, and here in the *Songs of the Sages* where the author deals with the rites of exorcism, הבל may actually be used intentionally to reflect the author's understanding of the form evil 'spirits' take.[691] We have already seen above in 4Q511 frg.1, 1.5, that the demon Lilith was believed to have the ability to appear as a wisp of wind to enter human homes.

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[689] Sekki, *Ruah*, pp.162-163, 236. Also see Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, DJD:7 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p.220, n.3.

[690] See Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4*, p.229 for רוחי הבלים in 4Q511 15, 1.5 as 'esprits de vanités.' Although, he translates רוחי הבל in 4Q511 43, 1.6 as *'esprits de corruption,'* see p.241.

[691] Alexander certainly equates 'spirits of destruction' with the 'angels of destruction' (1QS 4.12; CD 2.6). He argues both are demons, specifically the 'spirits' of the giant offspring of the Watchers, in'Demonology,' pp.333-334.

Also, we must consider the use of הבל in other Qumran texts previously examined. In 1QM frg.13, 1.12 we encountered the 'spirits of Belial' who the writer identified as 'angels of destruction' (מלאכי הבל), walking in the laws of darkness. In 1QM frg.14, 1.10, we identified these angels as Belial's 'spirits of destruction' (רוחי הבלו) able to influence humans and cause them to act wickedly. In both of these instances, we acknowledged the apparent fluidity existing between evil angels and evil 'spirits.' Thus, here again, in a text where the author writes of the exorcisms of evil 'spirits' it seems appropriate to identify the רוחי הבל (4Q511 frg.43, 1.6) and the רוחי הבלים (4Q511 frg.15, 1.5) as demons or evil angels.[692]

7.3 *Summary* (Songs of the Sage – 4Q511)

In our brief review of these texts we have been able to distinguish two interpretations of the term רוחות, as 'spirits' of men or demons. According to the earlier assumptions of Maurice Baillet, this seems reasonable, as the texts express aspects of the rites of exorcism within the Qumran community. Thus, we have exhortations that encourage humans to exalt and bless God because he is the only one capable of destroying the power and works of evil 'spirits' (4Q511 frg.1, 1.6). In fact, the hymns posit that wicked humans are unable to resist God once enlightened by the knowledge of his words (line 7). Further, it is possible that the author views praise and worship of God as a deterrent to the presence of evil 'spirits' as well as a means to exorcise their influence (4Q510 frg.1, 1.2-3). For he speaks of the 'era of the rule of wickedness' that brings periods of humiliation to the sons of light (4Q511, frg.10, 1.3*b*-4). He identifies this humiliation as guilt attributed to sin (lines 5-6), and posits the remedy as rejoicing and singing 'psalms of glory' (line 7).

8. Dead Sea Scrolls – Isolated Texts

We now have only eleven citations remaining among the writings of the *DSS* that require our examination (1Q36 frg.2, 1.5; 3Q15 frg.7, 1.5; 4Q176a frg.21, 1.3; 4Q177 frgs.1-4, 1.8; frgs.12-13, 1.9; 4Q381 frg.14, 1.3; 4Q502, frg.27, 1.1; 8Q5 frg.2, 1.6; 11Q10 frg.33, 1.8; 11Q13 frgs.1+2i+3i+4, 2.12, 13). Three of

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[692] See Sekki, *Ruaḥ*, p.153.

these clearly refer to winds or sides (3Q15 frg.7, 1.5; 4Q381 frg.14, 1.3; 11Q10 frg.33, 1.8). One (4Q176*a* frg.21, 1.3) is a fragment from *Jubilees* and this particular text (*Jub* 23.31) is covered in our examination of that writing. In four instances (4Q177 frgs.1-4, 1.8; frgs.12-13, 1.9; 11Q13 frgs. 1+2i+3i+4, 2.12, 13) we find 'spirits' again linked with Belial. At this point in our discussion we need not review these further, other than to note the prevalence of evil 'spirits' cited in writings among the *DSS*. Thus, our final examination of isolated texts will include only three (1Q36 frg.2, 1.5; 4Q502, frg 27, 1.1; 8Q5 frg.2, 1.6).

8.1 *Anthology of Hymns*[693] (1Q36 2, 1.5)

In this fragment we encounter רוחות משע, 'perverse/rebellious spirits.'

4.] [
5.] ○ רוחות משע ה[
6.]לחמ[ ] ○ [ ]מ כב[

Translation: [694]

4.] [
5.] ○ the perverse spirits *h*[
6.] you will fight [] ○ [ ] *m kl*[

The lacunae make contextual translation difficult. We cannot be certain if the author is referring to spirits who have rebelled against God as we have seen in *1 Enoch*, or if the author speaks of the inward battle between evil and good present within all humanity (1QS 4.18, 23). D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik suggest חלחם, ילחם, or נלחם as being the most probable possibilities in restoring line 6. The word חלחם occurs only once in the OT as a verb form (Zech 14.14), where it is used to describe an eschatological battle the nation of Israel fights in Jerusalem. Further, the verbs ילחם (Exod 14.14; Deu 1.30; Neh 4.14) and נלחם (Exod 14.25; Josh 10.4, 42; 2 Chr 20.29; Isa 30.32; Jer 21.2) are frequently used to speak of God's miraculous intervention in human history to fight on behalf of his people. Thus, it is possible that here the psalmist is encouraging his listeners or readers to persevere against the human propensity to do evil and to recall past accounts when God has strengthened his faithful followers, by fighting on their behalf.

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[693] See D.Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1*, DJD:1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), p.138. Also called 1QHymnic Composition, in Gracía Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*, Vol.1, p.205.

8.2 *Ritual of Marriage* (4Q502 27, 1.1)

It seems highly probable that 'eternal spirits' are celestial beings as we have seen this phrase used in a similar manner in the *Songs* (4Q403 1, 1.35; 4Q404 4, 1.1; 4Q405 4, 1.3; 19.3).[695] In the ritual,[696] they are identified as those who serve God continuously, morning and evening, with the astrological signs[697] and all the stars of heaven.

8.3 *Hymn* (8Q5 frg.2, 1.6)

Again here in this hymn it appears possible that the רוחות are celestial beings. As the hymn speaks of Yahweh (line 3), his greatness (line 4), his judgements (line 5), and all the 'spirits' before him (line 6).

9. Conclusion (*Dead Sea Scrolls*)

We have reviewed the diverse use of the term רוחות among the writers of the *DSS*. Interestingly we see the term associated with breath and life - one of its primary meanings in the OT - only in *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, a text which rewrites the canonical prophecy. This is one of the few instances where the term is used to refer to the winds or the sides of an edifice (1QM 9.13; 3Q15 frg.7, 1.5; 4Q381 frg.14, 1.3; 4Q385 frg.2, 1.7; 4Q386 frg.1, 1.8; 2.9; 11Q10 frg.33. 1.8). In similar fashion, the Qumran writings infrequently apply רוחות to denote human 'spirits' (1QH 14.11; 1QM 13.10, 11; 4Q511 frg.1, 1.3) or dispositions (1QH 3.22; 1QM 11.12; 1QS 2.20; 3.14, 18, 24, 25; 2.23).

The writers of the *DSS* also display consistency in their use of רוחות with other apocalyptic writings from this period, particularly the books of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This is not unusual as several copies of these writings were found among the *DSS* manuscripts. Thus, a familiarity with their content can be assumed.

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[694] D.Barthélemy and J.T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1*, p.138.
[695] James R. Davila, *Liturgical Works*, Eerdmans Commentaries on the DSS (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000).
[696] The exact nature of the ceremony remains uncertain. For discussion on the background of 4Q502 as a celebration ritual, see Davila, *Liturgical Works*, pp.181-187.
[697] 'Signs of the months,' see Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSS*, Vol:2, p.997. M. Baillet notes that דגל 'applique en particulier aux anges dans la littérature rabbinique,' *Qumrân Grotte 4*, pp.89-90.

First and foremost, we find an overwhelming use of רוחות to depict evil 'spirits' (1QH 3.18, 21; 5.4, 6; 1QM 13.11; 14.10; 15.14; 1Q36 frg.2, 1.5; 4Q511 frg.15, 1.5; frg.43, 1.6) associated with Belial (CD-A 12.2; 1QM 13.2, 4; 4Q177 frgs.1-4, 1.8; frgs.12-13, 1.9; 11Q13 frgs.1+2i+3i+4, 2.12, 13). This is consistent with apocalyptic literature from the 2nd temple period. In one instance, evil 'spirits' are called Belial's 'angels of destruction' (1QM 13.11). In several instances in *the Treatise of the Two Spirits,* the writers meaning of 'spirits' is ambiguous. The term could refer to an internal battle waged within the human heart between good and evil, or it could refer to celestial beings, whether external or internal, as forces capable of swaying human actions. Finally, evil 'spirits' are also depicted as invasive forces which must be exorcised to restore rightful worship of God by human beings.

Unsurprisingly, we also find רוחות used to refer to celestial beings (1QM 10.12; 12.9; 4Q502 frg.27, 1.1; 8Q5 frg.2, 1.6). Infrequently, they are positioned alongside angels and holy ones (1QH 5.14; 9.10-11; 1QM 10.12; 12.9; 13.10), and serve on God's heavenly council (1QH 5.14). Thus far in our exploration of the *DSS* writings, we have been unable to identify any instances where the term 'spirits' and angels appear to be synonymous. However, we must note that our study has focused primarily on רוחות, since our concern is to understand better the use of the term 'spirits' in John's Apocalypse. Thus, we cannot definitively state whether or not these findings would be supported if a similar survey were conducted focusing on the singular form of the noun – רוח. However, this does not diminish our findings, for in those rare instances where 'spirits' and angels are found together within the same textual reference, the terms are not used interchangeably nor do they appear to be synonymous. Rather, at times the term 'spirits' appears to be used generically to mean all celestial beings.

We also find 'spirits' linked with heavenly cosmology (1QH 1.11-12; 1QM 12.9) and the firmament (4Q405 frg.19, 1.3; *par.* 11Q17 6.3-4; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.6). In these instances, the term רוחות is used in apposition with אלוהים to create the phrase 'spirits of gods' or 'spirit-gods' (4Q403 frg.1, 1.44, 46; 2.8, 9; 4Q405 frg.5, 1.5; frgs.14-15, 1.5, 6; frg.19, 1.3, 4, 6; frgs.20-22, 2.3, 11; 11Q17 frgs.12-15, 2.5). The writer's use of the plural form of the Hebrew term אל (god, God), complicates the interpretation. Further, although the term אלוהים is frequently used to speak of God in Jewish literature, our examination of the context in

which the phrase occurs in the *Songs*, makes it clear that this phrase should not be translated 'spirits of God.' Rather, a more precise translation would be 'spirits of gods' or 'spirit-gods.'

Here, I believe we have encountered another group of celestial beings, who can be placed alongside angels and holy ones, whom the writer clearly identifies as 'spirits.' Further, the author identifies these 'spirits' as the 'spirits-gods' of the firmament, and places them in close proximity to the celestial throne-chariot of God, the 'holy of holies,' the abode of God, and the glory of God. Their enlivened images are engraved on the walls of the heavenly temple where they (the images) continually praise God. The fluidity between these 'spirits' and God can only make us wonder if the author of the *Songs* envisions the רוחות אלוהים as the personification of God's animating power and presence active in the heavenly realm.

Chapter Summary

In Chapter Three we have examined the term רוחות (Eth. *manāfest*, Gr. *πνεύματα*) in Jewish apocalyptic literature and the writings among the *DSS*. We have also reviewed quite quickly, the term *πνεύματα* (Lat. *spiritus*) in the writings of Philo, Josephus, and Pseudo-Philo. Our goal has been simply to survey the term 'spirits' within their historical and textual contexts. We have been seeking to determine the meaning of term, while attempting to identify any fluidity or synonymity between 'spirits' and angels that might be present in this literature. Our goal is to understand how the authors' of these writings understood and employed the term 'spirits' which may have influenced John's perspective and application in his *Apocalypse*.

Throughout the literature we have uncovered a diverse use of the term רוחות. We have consistently seen רוחות referred to in this literature as a way of speaking about the inner life force essential to human existence (*1 En* 19.1; 22.3, 5; 39.12; 41.8; 98.3, 10; 103.4, 8; 108.3, 6; *Jub* 10.3; *4 Ezra* 7.80; 4Q385 frg.2, 1.7; 4Q386 frg.1, 1.8; 2.9, also 14.11; 1QM 13.10, 11; 4Q511, frg.1, 1.3). Further, from this literature it is clear that the ancient writers believed this inner 'spirit' continued to exist even after physical death.

In several instances, the writers expand their application of the term רוחות to include cosmic power and energy. Thus, רוחות is the animating power and force of meteorological elements such as wind, water, clouds, thunder, lightning, and fire. All of these entities are enlivened by רוחות (*1 En* 60.12; 69.22; *T.Levi* 3.2-3; *Jub* 2.2; 1QH 1.11-12; 1QM 12.9; 4Q405 frg.19, 1.3; *par.* 11Q17 6.5; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.6; and possibly 1QM 12.9). We can detect a consistency in how the term 'spirits' is applied in Jewish writings that express an apocalyptic world view. Here we must ask if the writers' use of the term 'spirits' is a way of describing the power of God at work in the universe, or are they simply articulating what they have experienced during their visionary journey?

Most frequently, we find that the term is understood to represent celestial beings. Here, we must be clear that the apocalyptic writers apply the term 'spirits' in such a way that it can be interpreted as a generic term for all celestial beings into which messengers/angels, demons, and even lesser deities are grouped – they are all רוחות. However, there is little information provided that explains distinctive differences between 'spirits' and angels outside what we find in the *BW*. In this particular Enochic tradition the 'spirits' of angels have the ability to take on different forms (*1 En* 17.1; *cf.* 19.1). The text also depicts 'spirits' as invisible disembodied beings that do not require food or drink (15.11; 16.1). And, they have the ability to influence human behaviour (15.12; 19.1; *cf.* 41.8-9; 83.7; 84.4; 99.7). From this perspective, is the term simply a way of describing a life force operating on another plane of existence?

The frequency in which the term is employed to represent demons or evil 'spirits' is certainly noticeable, as is the notion of their invasive and influential abilities. Here we can detect what appears to be a steady development within how the term is used, particularly as it relates to influence celestial beings have on human behaviour. In the early writings evil 'spirits' sway human decision making, usually through manipulation or deception (*1 En* 15.12; 19.1; 41.8-9; 83.7; 84.4; 99.7; *T.Levi* 4.1; *Jub* 10.8-9). Other writings depict invasive capabilities (*T.Jud* 16.1; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T.Dan* 1.8; *T.Ben* 3.3; Josephus, *BJ* 7.185; 1QM frg.14, 1.10; 4Q177 frgs.12-13+15, 4.14). Finally, in the *DSS* we find passages that prescribe exorcism as a means to expel 'evil spirits' (CD-1 12.1; 4Q510, 1.4-5). The religious understanding of the invasive abilities of evil

'spirits' is tempered in the *Treatise of Two Spirits* by a dualistic view that depicts good and evil as opposing forces, constantly warring within human hearts.

Within the spectrum of apocalyptic pneumatology there is an understanding of רוחות as celestial beings who perform various tasks and assignments at his behest (*T. Levi* 4.1; 18.12; *T. Dan* 6.1; *T. Ash* 6.4; 1QM 10.12; 12.9; 4Q502 frg.27, 1.1; 8Q5 frg.2, 1.6) in God's employ (*Jub* 10.3; 1QH 1.11-12; 9.13; 13.3, 14; 4Q405 frg.19, 3b-4, 5-6; *par.* 11Q17 6.4; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.11, 13). How does this illustration compare with the role of *πνεύματα* in the Apocalypse? We will need to explore this aspect further.

While angels have certainly been identified as רוחות (*Jub* 2.2), gods – as lesser deities – also appear to fall within the category of celestial beings called רוחות (4Q403 frg.1, 1.44, 46; 2.8, 9; 4Q405 frg.5, 1.5; frgs 14-15, 1.5, 6; frg.19, 1.3, 4, 6; frgs.20-22, 2.3, 11; 11Q17 frgs.12-15, 2.5), particularly in the *DSS*. Because 'spirits-gods' are associated with the firmament in the *Songs*, we can only speculate if the realms and provinces they govern include the celestial bodies and meteorological elements depicted in *1 Enoch*, the *T. Levi*, and *Jubilees*.

There are several commonalties shared between these cosmic 'spirits' and the 'spirits-gods' that tempt us to draw such a conclusion. The first and most obvious is that they are both referred to as רוחות. Next, the term רוחות consistently appears in some form of heavenly hierarchical structure or grouping (*1 En* 69.22-25; *T.Levi* 3.1-8; *Jub* 2.2; 4Q405 frg.1, 30, 44-45). We will need to consider these formulaic combinations, to determine if this is something John appropriates and reflects in his Apocalypse. Also, רוחות are frequently associated with the heavenly realm – the firmament, cosmic elements, or meteorological activities (*1 En* 60.1; 69.22; *T.Levi* 3.2-3; *Jub* 2.2; 1QM 12.9; 4Q405 frg.19, 1.3; *par.* 11Q17 6.4; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.6). In Chapter Five of the study, we will need to determine if John also employs רוחות in a similar manner. Further, although they appear to enjoy aspects of autonomy (*1 En* 60.17; 1QH10-11; 4Q405), their behaviour – that of the cosmic 'spirits' and the 'spirits-gods' – is epitomised as an outstanding example of obedience and loyalty to God (*1 En* 69.22, 25-26; *T.Levi* 3.9; 4Q405 frg.23, 1.10-11).

Only in the *Songs*, do we see 'spirits' positioned in such close proximity to God, a complete reversal of that seen in *1 Enoch*, *T. Levi*, and *Jubilees*, yet,

something we shall also see in John's Apocalypse. Does the hierarchical configuration we find in the *Songs* represent a developing structure? If so, then we can posit the following - apocalyptic writings from the 2nd temple period appear to distinguish three possible traditions in a developing cosmic pneumatology as it applies to the meaning of the term 'spirits':

(1) A very basic and elementary strain identifies רוחות as meteorological forces (*1 En* 60.1; 69.22) and even cosmic weaponry (*T. Levi* 3.2-3).

(2) A secondary tradition appears to depict a fusion between רוחות as meteorological forces and celestial beings. In these instances there is fluidity in use and meaning as we find 'spirits' appearing alongside other heavenly beings as ministers of God (*1 En* 60.12; 69.22; *Jub* 2.2; 1QH 5.1, 14-15; 8.14; 9.10; 1QM 12.8b-9a; 4Q403 frg.1, 1.35, 38, 4Q405 frg.17, 1.5).

(3) In a third tradition רוחות appear as celestial beings, even gods (4Q403 frg.1, 1.46; 2.8, 9; 4Q405 frg.5, 1.5; frg.19, 1.3; frgs.20-22, 2.3, 11; 11Q17 6.4, 5; 7.3, 5, 13; 8.4-5; *cf.* Dan 4.8, 9, 18; 5.11, 14). While their association with God is heightened by their depiction as intimate members of his celestial entourage (1QH 13.3, 14; 4Q403 frg.1, 1.46) the term used to represent cosmic elements diminishes in these writings (4Q405 frg.19, 1.3; frg.23, 1.6; 11Q17 6.4; 7.5; 8.4). They are simply the 'spirits-gods' of the firmament.

As we continue our survey of the term 'spirits,' in our approach toward examining its application in John's *Apocalypse*, we will continue to test the validity of this proposal and search for any synonymity that may exist between 'spirits' and angels, as what we have uncovered thus far is meagre.

More importantly, we will attempt to forward our inquiry into the meaning of the term *πνεύματα* as employed by NT writers, which may also have influenced John's understanding and application of the term '*πνεύματα*' in his *Apocalypse*. Thus far, our inquiry has revealed that the term 'spirits' has a variety of principal meanings within the spectrum of Jewish literature with an apocalyptic worldview:

1. divine title for God ("Lord of the Spirits")
2. non-material celestial beings

3. demons
4. disembodied beings
5. ways of describing deeds (good and evil)
6. ways of thinking (good and evil)
7. winds
8. inner life force (within humans, given by God)
9. animating powers (of meteorological elements or cosmic forces)
10. lesser deities or gods

In developing this small cadre of meanings associated with the term 'spirits' in the literature we have examined thus far, we will gain a unique starting point from which we can begin to examine John's understanding of the term and his application of it in his *Apocalypse*.

Table 3A
The Seven Enochic Spirits of Natural Phenomena

Phenomena *(Description)*	**Enoch** *Text*	**Exodus** *Text*	**Context**	**Attribute**	**Apocalypse** *Text*	**Context**	**Attribute**
'spirit of…' **Thunder & Lightning**	60.14	19.16; 20.18	• Israel at Sinai, consecrated to meet Yahweh.	Blessing	4.5;11.19 8.5; 16.18	• God's throne; the ark and heavenly temple, • Angel with the censer of fire; bowls of God's wrath	Blessing Curse
'spirit of…' **Hoar-Frost**	60.16	*See 'Snow-Frost'*			*None*		
'spirit of…' **Hail**	60.16	9.18-34; 10.12-15	• 7th Plague against Egypt, *'rain, thunder and hail.'*	Curse	8.7; 11.19; 16.21	• The first trumpet; bowls of God's wrath	Curse
'spirit of…' **Snow-Frost**	60.18	16.14; 4.6; *cf.* Num 12.10	• Manna appears as *'frost on the ground.'* • Moses' hand appears *'leprous as snow.'* (צרוע); as does Miriam.	Blessing *Imagery*	1.14	• Son-of-man's hair is *'white as snow…'*	*Imagery*
'spirit of…' **Cloud (Mist)**	60.19	13.21-22; 14.19-20, 24; 16.10; 19.9, 16; 24.15-16, 18; 33.9-10; 34.5; 40.34-38	• Pillar of *cloud* • Pillar of *'fire and cloud.'* • Dense or thick *cloud*	Blessing	10.1; 11.12; 14.14, 15, 16;	• Angel wrapped *'in a cloud'*; prophets ascend to heaven *'in a cloud'*; Son-of-Man seated on *'a cloud'*	*Imagery*
'spirit of…' **Dew**	60.20	16.13-14; *cf.* Num 11.9;	• *Dew* after the quails • *Dew* before manna	Blessing	*None*		
'spirit of…' **Rain**	60.21	9.33-34	• 7th Plague against Egypt, *'rain, thunder and hail'*	Curse	11.16	• Prophets have authority over rain	Blessing & Curse

Table 3B

1 Enoch 60.11-21

Verse	Ethiopic I[698] Translation	Verse	Ethiopic II[699] Translation
v.12	Storerooms of the *winds*	v.11	Storehouses of the *winds*
v.12	…how the *winds* are divided	v.12	…how the *spirits* are distributed
v.14	…both (thunder and lightning) go together in a single *breeze* and do not part.	v.14	…through a *spirit* the two of them (thunder and lightning) move inseparably;
v.15	…the *wind* causes (the thunder) to come to rest and divides equally (the time) between each one of them. …turned back by the power of the *wind* and driven in this manner…	v.15	…the *spirit* at the proper time causes (it) to rest and divides equally between them; …and turned back by the power of the *spirit*, and likewise driven forward…
v.16	…the sea *breeze*…	v.16	…*spirit* of the sea…
v.17	…the frost-*wind*… …the hail-*wind*…	v.17	…*spirit* of the hoar frost… …*spirit* of hail…
v.18	…the snow-*wind*…there is in it only a *breeze* that ascends…like smoke, and its name is frost.	v.18	…*spirit* of the snow…it has a special *spirit*…it is like smoke, and its name (is) frost.
v.19	…the *wind* and the mist…	v.19	…*spirit* of the mist…
v.20	The dwelling place of the dew-*breeze* is in the extreme ends of heaven…	v.20	The *spirit* of the dew (has) its dwelling at the ends of heaven…
v.21	When the rain-*wind* becomes activated in its reservoir,	v.21	And when the *spirit* of the rain moves from its storehouse,

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[698] *Taken from E. Isaac, '1 Enoch,' in* OTP, p.41, *making use of Tānāsee 9/11 manuscript, with support from EMML 2080, both first rec(s). of the Eth.*

[699] Taken from M. Knibb, *Ethiopic Enoch*, pp.144-147, primarily making use of Rylands Ethiopic MS. 23 (Ryl), in light of Grk. and Ara. Texts.

Table 3C

Testament of Levi 3.1-8

Verse	Aramaic[A 700]	*Verse*	Greek[α 701]	Greek[β 702]
		v.1	...*lowest heaven*	...*lower heaven*
		v.2	...*fire, snow, ice*...'spirits of affliction'	...*second heaven*... *fire, snow, ice*...
		v.3	...*second*...armies... for the day of judgement. Above them are the '*holy ones.*'	...*third*...powers of hosts...for the day of judgement But, down to the fourth above these are holy.
4.4	Then I was shown visions [...] | in the vision of visions	v.4	*Upper* heaven...the *Great Glory* in the *Holy of Holies*...	In the *highest*...the *Great Glory* in the *Holy of Holies*...
4.5	And I saw the heaven[s] | beneath me, high until it reached the heaven[s	v.5	There ...are the *archangels who serve and offer propitiatory sacrifices to the Lord*...	In the (heaven) next to it...*angels of the presence* of the Lord...*who minister and make propitiation to the Lord*...
4.6	[ ] | to me the gates of heaven, and an angel [|	v.7	In the *heaven below* them are the *messengers who carry responses to the angels of the Lord's presence*...	And, in the (heaven) *below*, there are the *angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.*
		v.8	There with him...are *thrones* and *authorities*, there *praises to God offered eternally.*	And, in the (heaven) next to it there are *thrones, authorities...always praises are offered to God.*

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[700] [A] Aramaic translation from Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi*, pp.66-69.

[701] [α] Translation taken from H.C. Kee, *Testaments*, pp.788-789.

[702] [β] Translation taken from H.W. Hollander and M. de Jonge, *Testaments*, pp.135-136.

Table 3D

Jubilees 2.2

Hebrew	Ethiopic	Greek (Epiphanius)
A[ngels of the *spirits* of fire,	Angels of the *spirits* of fire,	(omit)
Angels of the winds that blo]w,	Angels of the *spirits* of the winds	Angels of the *spirits* of the winds,
Angels of the *spirits* of the 'clouds' of dark[ness,	Angels of the *spirits* of the clouds of darkness,	Angels of the *spirits* of the clouds *και γοιθων*,
Ice, hoar frost, dew, snow, hail, and fro]st,	Snow, hail, and frost	Snow, hail, and frost
Angels of the sounds,	Angels of the sounds of the thunders and lightnings,	Angels of the sounds of thunders and lightnings,
Angels of the [storm] winds,	(omit)	(omit)
Angels of the *spirits* of cold and] heat…	Angels of the *spirits* of cold and heat…	Angels of cold and heat…
…of winter and summer,	…of winter, spring, autumn, and summer,	…of winter, autumn, spring, summer

Seven Heavenly 'Spirits'

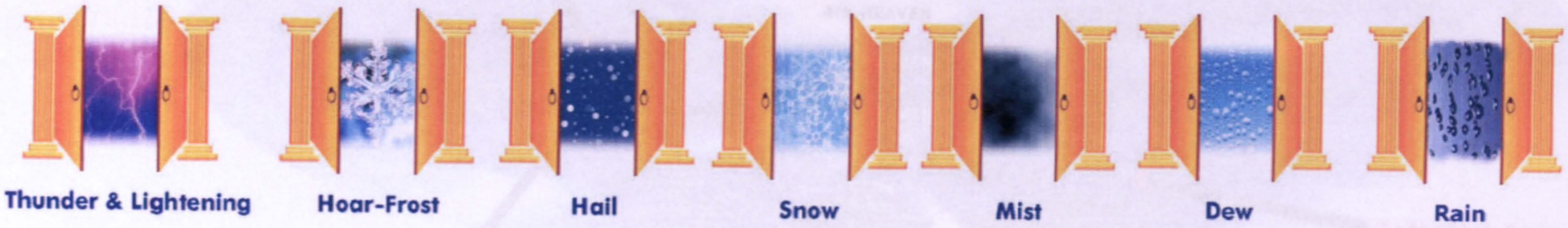

Diagram 3.1

(1 Enoch 60.11-23)

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs
(Testament of Levi 3.1-8)

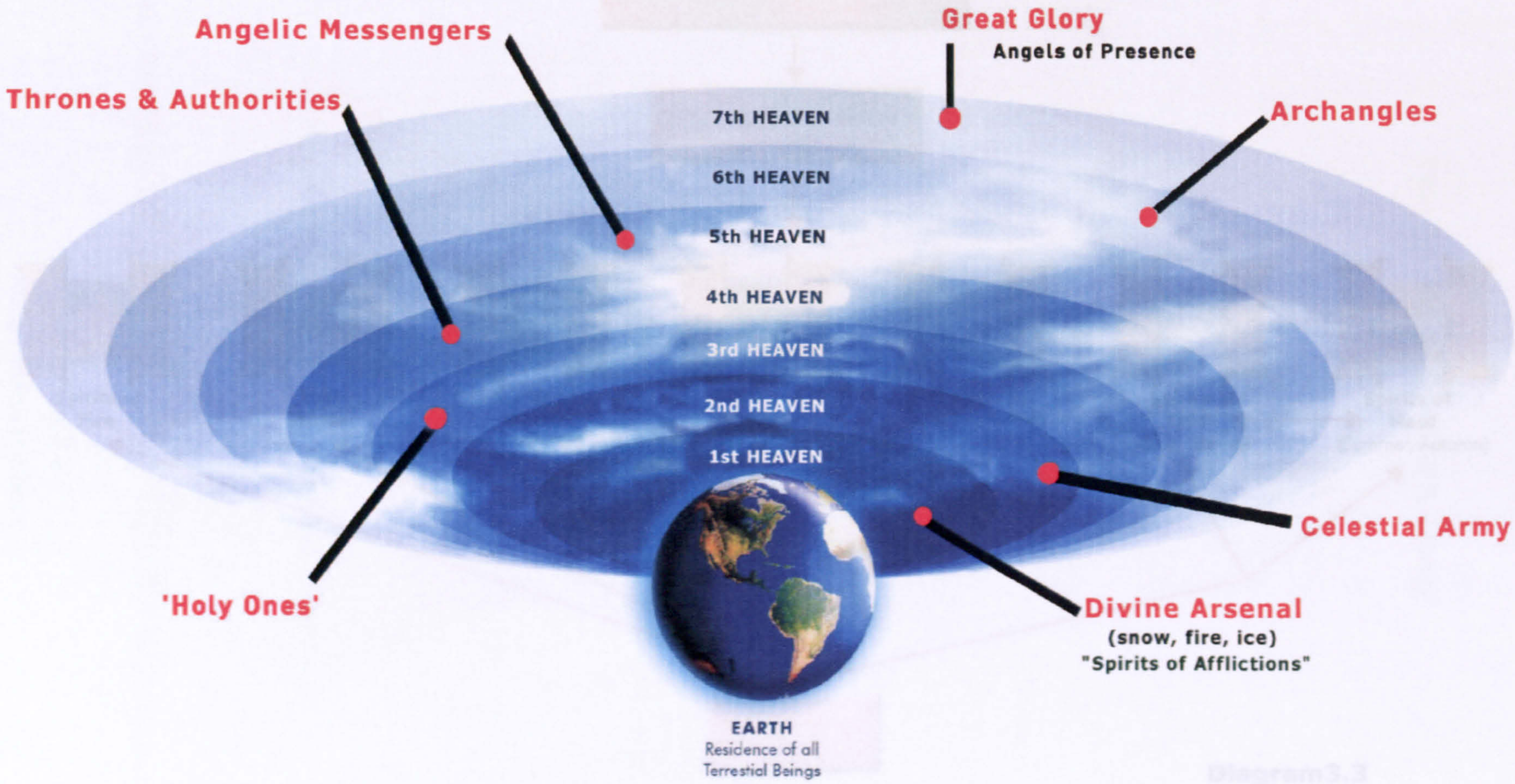

Diagram 3.2

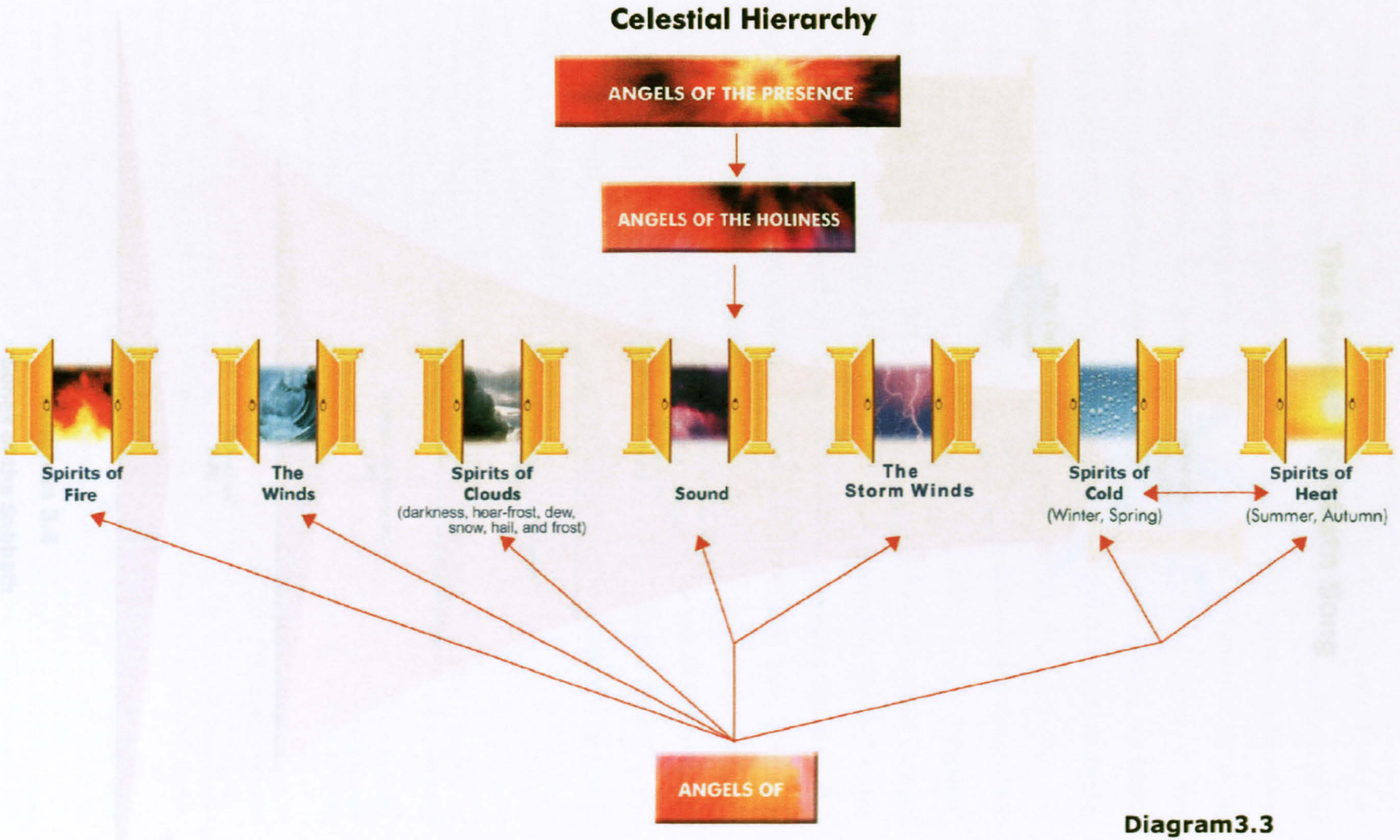

Diagram3.3
(Jubilees 2.2)

The Seventh Sabbath Song

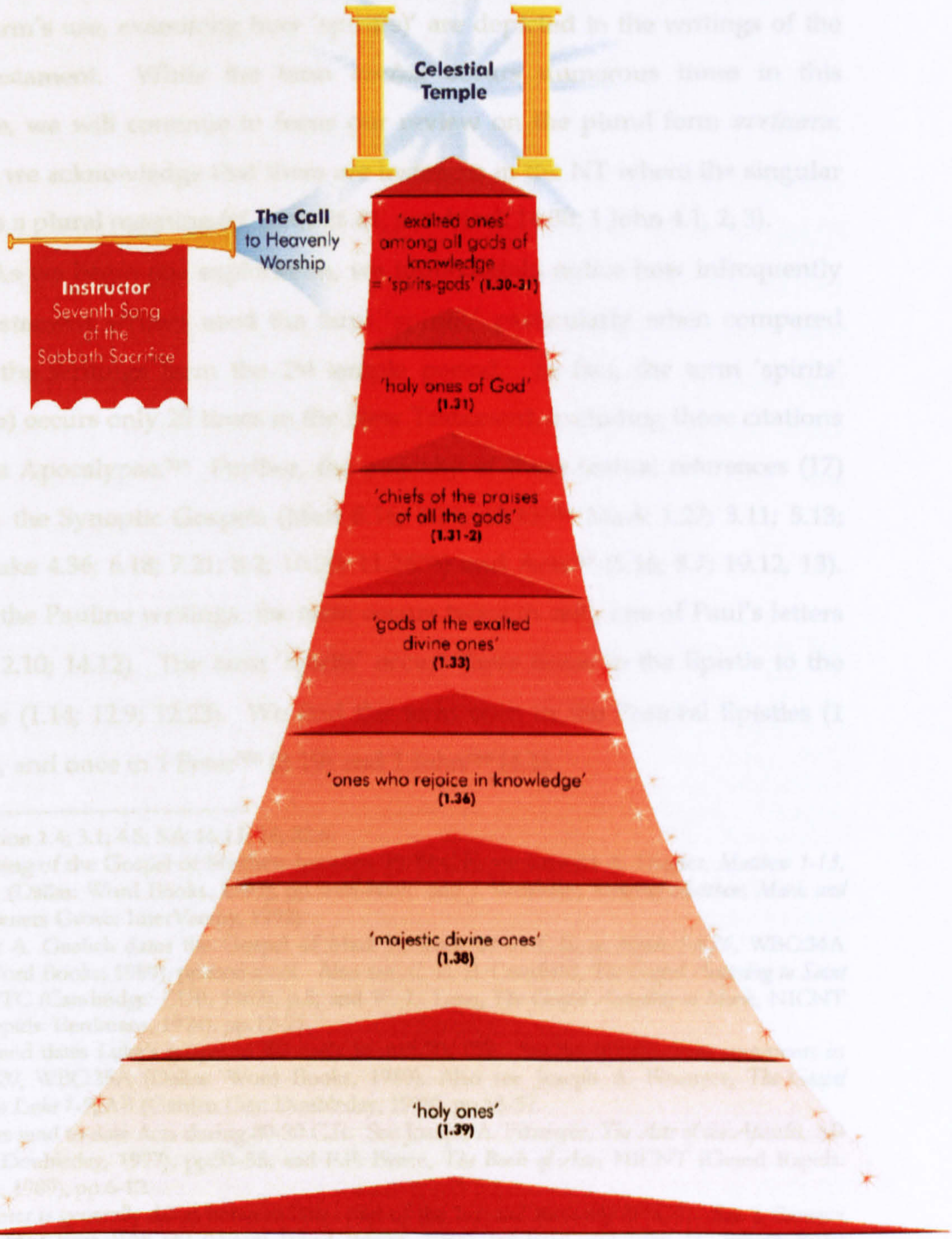

Diagram 3.4

Songs of the Sabbath

4Q403 frg.1,1.30-45

CHAPTER FOUR
Spirit(s) in the New Testament

Thus far we have examined 'spirit(s)' in the Old Testament and in Jewish apocalyptic literature from the 2nd temple period (pseudepigraphal apocalypses, the *DSS*). In Chapter Four, we continue our historical exploration of the term's use, examining how 'spirit(s)' are depicted in the writings of the New Testament. While the term *πνεῦμα* occurs numerous times in this literature, we will continue to focus our review on the plural form *πνεύματα*. Further, we acknowledge that there are instances in the NT where the singular form has a plural meaning (*cf.* Matt 26.41, *par.* Mark 14.38; 1 John 4.1, 2, 3).

As we begin our exploration, we immediately notice how infrequently New Testament writers used the term 'spirits,' particularly when compared against the writings from the 2nd temple period. In fact, the term 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) occurs only 25 times in the New Testament, excluding those citations in John's Apocalypse.[703] Further, the majority of these textual references (17) occur in the Synoptic Gospels (Matt 8.16; 10.1; 12.45;[704] Mark 1.27; 3.11; 5.13; 6.7;[705] Luke 4.36; 6.18; 7.21; 8.2; 10.20; 11.26[706]) and Acts[707] (5.16; 8.7; 19.12, 13). Among the Pauline writings, the term occurs twice in only one of Paul's letters (1 Cor 12.10; 14.12). The term 'spirits' occurs three times in the Epistle to the Hebrews (1.14; 12.9; 12.23). We find the term once in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 4.1), and once in 1 Peter[708] (3.19) and 1 John[709] (4.1).

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[703] Revelation 1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6; 16.13, 14; 22.6.

[704] For dating of the Gospel of Matthew between 70-79 C.E. see Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, WBC:33A (Dallas: Word Books, 1993), pp.lxxiii-lxxv; and J. Wenham, *Redating Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1992).

[705] Robert A. Guelich dates the Gospel of Mark between 67-69 C.E. in *Mark 1-8.26*, WBC:34A (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), pp.xxxi-xxxii. Also see, C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark*, CGTC (Cambridge: CUP, 1963), p.8; and W. L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), pp.17-21.

[706] J. Nolland dates Luke's gospel in the early to mid-70s CE. See his Introduction comments in *Luke 1-9.20*, WBC:35A (Dallas: Word Books, 1989). Also see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke 1-9*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), pp.53-57.

[707] Scholars tend to date Acts during 80-90 C.E. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Acts of the Apostles*, AB (London: Doubleday, 1997), pp.51-55; and F.F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), pp.6-12.

[708] First Peter is generally dated between latter part of the 1st and the early 2nd C.E. See J. Ramsey Michaels, *First Peter*, WBC:49 (Waco: Word Books, 1988), lxii-lxvii; and John H. Elliott, 'First Epistle of Peter,' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.269-278. For an earlier dating of 64-96 C.E. see E.F. Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp.219-220.

[709] Traditionally scholars date this epistle within the first quarter of the 2nd C.E. See E.F. Scott, *Literature*, pp.260-261; Robert Kysar, 'The Epistles of John,' in *ABD*:3 (1992), pp.900-912; and R.L. Culpepper, '1,2,3 John,' in *HBC*, James L. Mays, ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988), p.1290. For dating the epistle during the last decade of the 1st C.E. see Stephen S. Smalley, *1,2, and 3 John*, WBC:51 (Waco: Word Books, 1984), p.xxii; and I.H. Marshall, 'Epistles of John,' in *ISBE*, Vol.2, pp.1091-1098, esp. p.1096.

We have previously defined the scope of our study to include those writings prior to the Apocalypse of John, which is typically dated between 81-96 C.E.[710] While we presume John's familiarity with Christian traditions, both oral and written, our examination will be limited to the following canonical writings of the New Testament from the 1st century C.E.: 1 Corinthians,[711] 1 Timothy,[712] Hebrews,[713] Mark, Matthew, Luke and Acts.

Pauline Corpus – First Letter to the Corinthians

Among the early writings of the New Testament, we find only one letter written by the Apostle Paul – 1 Corinthians – where the term 'spirits' occurs.[714] Whether John was familiar with the letter is uncertain. However, we can presume that in referring to 'spirits' in his Apocalypse, John would have been aware of the term's use in extant Jewish and Judeo-Christian literature and correspondence. Further, his understanding and application of the term in his writing would also reflect how his intended audience perceived and understood his use of 'spirits.'

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[710] See Chapter 1, pp.26-27, esp. p.27, n(n).98 and 99.

[711] First Corinthians is consistently dated around mid-50 CE by such scholars as Leon Morris, *First Corinthians*, TNTC (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, rev. ed., 1985), p.31 and in *ISBE*, p.777; Hans D. Betz and Margaret M. Mitchell, 'First Corinthians,' in *ABD*:1 (1992), pp.1139-1148; and C.K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, (London: Black, 2nd ed., 1971), p.5. Also see H. Merklein, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther Kapitel 1-4*, OTK (Gütersloh: Echter Verlag, 1992), p.15; C. Wolff, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*, THKNT (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1996), pp.12-13; R.F. Collins, *First Corinthians*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1999), p.24; and W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther 1-3*, EKKNT, Vol:1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger Verlag, 1991-1999), p.36.

[712] For First Timothy dated between 61-70 C.E., see George W. Knight, III, *The Pastoral Epistles: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), p.54; and I.H. Marshall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Pastoral Epistles* (Edinburgh, T&T Clark, 1999), pp.57-58. Some scholars support a later date (the early 2nd C.E.). See Jouette M. Bassler, *1Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus*, ANTC (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), p.20; and Jerome D. Quinn, 'Epistles to Timothy and Titus,' in *ABD*:6 (1992), pp.560-571.

[713] Scholars differ in dating the Epistle to the Hebrews. Those who support 60-90 C.E. include Harold W. Attridge, 'Epistle to the Hebrews,' in *ABD*:3 (1992), pp.97-105; 'Hebrews,' in *HBC*, pp.1259-1271, esp. pp.1259-1260; and Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews*, AB (New York: Doubleday, 2001), pp.50-54. A majority of scholars support a mid- to latter-60's C.E. date. See F.F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, rev. ed., 1990), pp.20-22; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), pp.29-33; W. Lane, *Hebrews Chapters 1-8*, WBC:14A-B (Dallas: Word Books, 1991), pp.lx-lvi; D.G. Maeso, 'Lengua original, autor y estilo de la Epístola a los Hebreos,' *CB*:13 (1956), pp.202-215, p.208; and R. Mercier, 'La Perfección de Cristo y de los cristianos en la carta a los Hebreos,' RevBib:35 (1973), pp.229-236, esp. p.230.

[714] First Corinthians appears to enjoy scholarly consensus as a Pauline writing. See Betz and Mitchell, 'First Epistle to the Corinthians'; Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians*, Interpretation (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1997), pp.1-6; Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 'First Corinthians,' in *HBC*, James L. Mays, ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1988), pp.1168-1189, esp. p.1168; Leon Morris, *First Corinthians*, p.28; and 'First Epistle to the Corinthians,' in *ISBE*:1, pp.774-779, esp. p.775.

1. First Corinthians

There are only three instances in which Paul mentions 'spirits' in his letter to the church in Corinth (12.10; 14.12; 14.32). While Paul's letter displays an infrequent use of the plural form of the noun, there are numerous verses which include the singular form *πνεῦμα*. Paul writes of the human spirit (2.11; 5.3, 4, 5; 6.17; 14.14, 15, 16; 15.45; 16.18),[715] the 'spirit of the world' (2.12), 'spirit of gentleness' in a moral or religious context (4.21; 7.24),[716] as well as the Spirit of God (2.11, 12, 13, 14; 3.16; 6.11, 17; 7.40; 12.3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13; 14.2) or Holy Spirit (6.19; 12.3). Demons are mentioned twice (10.20, 21) and in four instances angels are mentioned (4.9; 6.3; 11.10; 13.1). Interestingly, in 1 Corinthians Paul's use of *πνεῦμα*, whether in its singular or plural form, never overlaps with textual references which include demons or angels (*cf.* Tob 6.8; Luke 4.33; Acts 23.8, 9; 1 Tim 4.1). Nor, are the terms used interchangeably (*cf.* Matt 8.16; Luke 8.2, 29; 9.42). Is this deliberate? Was Paul conscious of any fluidity in usage between these terms? At this early stage it is difficult to say. Rather, it is sufficient to acknowledge that Paul uses the terms independently in different sections of his letter.

1.1 *'Spirits' in 1 Corinthians* (12.10; 14.12, 32)

Paul's first mentions 'spirits' in the pericope (12.4-11) in which he explains the diversity of spiritual gifts[717] distributed by the Holy Spirit among members of the Corinthian congregation (v.1).[718] This pericope is only a small section of a much larger argument (12.1-14.40) that includes: Identification of gifts and their source (vv.4-11), the unity of the Christian body (vv.12-30) and the essential criteria of love (13.1-13). Further, in his teaching on the greater community benefit of prophecy over speaking in tongues, Paul also outlines the appropriate use of the various gifts during Christian worship (14.1-25). Here he urges that self-control be exhibited among those exercising spiritual gifts

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[715] See James D.G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (London: T&T Clark, repr., 2003, 1998), p.261. *Cf.* Burton, *Spirit*, pp.58, 60 who identifies one of the meanings of *רוח* as 'the spirit of man as the seat or cause of life, often denoting God as its source.'

[716] Burton, *Spirit*, p.59.

[717] For *τῶν πνευματικῶν* as 'spiritual gifts' see Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p.204; F.W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953), p.287; William F. Orr and James A. Walther, *1 Corinthians*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), p.278; and F. Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, NTD (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), p.162.

(vv.26-40). The term 'spirits' also appears in the final section (14.26-40) where Paul outlines the need for orderly conduct and spiritual discipline during worship.

1.1.1 Discerning of 'Spirits' (12.10) – A brief introduction of the topic (12.1-3) precedes the section in which we find Paul first writes of 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*). Paul writes that there are different spiritual gifts (v.4), the different gifts have different uses (v.5), and they function differently (v.6) in different individuals.[719] Likewise, unity exists through their administration by the one Spirit (v.4), the same Lord (v.5), and the same God (v.6) who activates all of the gifts in all of the people. For Paul spiritual gifts are manifestations of the Spirit, present and at work in the community for the good of the community (v.7).

In verses 8-11, Paul provides a list of gifts that neatly fit into categories based on revelation (word of wisdom and word of knowledge, v.8), miracles (faith,[720] healing, mighty deeds of power, vv.9-10*a*), and inspired utterance (prophecy, discernment, speaking in tongues and interpretation of tongues, v.10*b*).[721] Thus, we find Paul's first citation of the term located within the context of inspired speech – *διακρίσις πνευμάτων* – distinguishing 'spirits.'

In the 1970s, three scholars, Gerhard Dautzenberg,[722] Wayne Grudem,[723] and James D.G. Dunn[724] presented detailed arguments on *διακρίσις πνευμάτων* (1 Cor 12.10) in their respective articles. Dautzenberg[725] positions the gift of *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων* as one side of a two-sided coin incapable of operating in isolation. He argues that *διακρίσις πνευμάτων* should be understood as the gift of interpreting revelations given by the Spirit through prophecies (12.10),

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[718] For *τῶν πνευματικῶν* as 'spiritual persons' see J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, rev. ed., 1910, repr., 1977), p.294 and C.L. Blomberg, *1 Corinthians*, NIVAC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), p.243.

[719] Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p.207.

[720] It is unlikely that Paul's use of *πίστις* (faith) means the appropriation of salvation through faith, as Paul specifically identifies *πίστις* here as a gift apportioned by the Spirit to different individuals for different purposes. See A.C. Thiselton, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p.944.

[721] See James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit: A Study of the Religious and Charismatic Experience of Jesus and the First Christians as Reflected in the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975), pp.201-258.

[722] 'Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund der *διάκρισις πνευμάτων* (1 Kor 12.10),' in *BZ*:15 (1971), pp.93-104.

[723] 'A Response to Gerhard Dautzenberg on 1 Corinthians 12.10,' in *BZ* 21-22 (1978), pp.253-270.

[724] 'Discernment of Spirits – A Neglected Gift,' in his collection of short essays in *The Christ & The Spirit, Vol2 Pneumatology* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998), pp.311-328. This article is a reprint of the original article appearing in *Witness to the Spirit: Essays on Revelation, Spirit, Redemption*, W. Harrington, ed. (Manchester: Koinoia Press, 1979), pp.79-96

[725] Also see his book, *Urchristliche Prophetie* (Stuttgart: 1975), pp.122-149.

with the phrase *οἱ ἄλλοι διακρινέτωσαν* ('let the others interpret,' 14.29) lending support for this rendering.[726] Grudem, writing seven years later, argued against Dautzenberg concluding that the terms *διακρίσεις* (12.10) and *διακρίνω* (14.29) are not used in Jewish or Christian literature with the meaning of interpreting or explaining prophecies. Further, he describes Dautzenberg's translation of *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων* as the 'gift of interpreting prophecies' as being 'unique and unprecedented for its time.'[727] Alternatively, Grudem maintains that *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων* should be interpreted as the gift of distinguishing *between* 'spirits.'

One year later, James Dunn's article 'Discernment of Spirits' focused scholarly attention on the link between the gifts of prophecy and discernment addressed in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians.[728] One aspect Dunn mentions, is that the gift of discernment (*διακρίσεις*) of 'spirits' would have held significant import among 1st generation Christians concerned with the potential influence of demonic inspiration whose source and prophetic utterances could not be trusted.[729] Thus far, our examination, particularly as it applies to Jewish writings from the 2nd temple period, support this assumption.

As Dunn points out, false prophecy and false inspiration were not new phenomena within Judaism (Judg 9.23; 1 Sam 16.14; 18.10-11; 19.9-10; 2 Sam 24.1-17; 1 Kgs 22.1-28; Jer 5.12-13, 31; 14.14; 20.6; 23.25, 26, 32; 27.14-15; Lam 2.14; Ezek 13.9, 22; 22.28; Zech 13.3; Wis 14.28) and early Christianity (Matt 7.15; 24.11, 24, *par.* Mark 13.22; Luke 6.26; Acts 8.10; 13.6). Consequently, it was necessary for the inspiring spirit, the inspired words, *and* the inspired individual exercising the gift to be subjected to close scrutiny.

We have already noted several examples where writers depicted the 'spirits of Beliar' as being able to possess and influence the thoughts and actions of humans (*T.Jud* 16.1; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T.Dan* 1.8; *T.Ben* 3.3).[730] Consequently, in such a cultural and religious milieu, the gift of distinguishing 'spirits' appears to be a necessity – one that functions as part and parcel of the entire congregation's ability to utilise various criteria in evaluating and testing

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[726] See a more recent review of Dautzenberg's argument by Helmut Merklein who accepts his conclusions in 'Der Theologe als Prophet. Zur Funktion prophetischen Redens im theologisvhen Diskurs des Paulus,' *NTS*:38 (1992), pp.402-429.
[727] Grudem, 'A Response,' pp.262-263.
[728] Dunn, 'Discernment of Spirits,' p.312.
[729] 'Discernment of Spirits,' p.314.

'spirits,' inspired utterances and individuals. As such, whether or not the Christian assembly experiences edification[731] (14.3, 5, 12, 26; *cf.* Rom 14.19; Eph 4.12, 16, 29) seems a reasonable criterion for use in distinguishing the spirit behind inspired utterances. However, we must ask if these alone – edification, character, and source of the revelation – provide sufficient criteria for distinguishing the work or words of 'spirits'?

We must bear in mind that our examination, particularly those writings from the 2nd temple period (*T.Levi* 3.3; *T.Jud* 20.1; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *1 En* 1.4), identifies 'spirits' as being capable of deceiving human beings and leading them astray. It is quite conceivable then, that during the 1st century C.E. early Christians believed 'spirits' were capable of inspiring false teachings and false prophecies.[732] Does Paul have this in mind when he writes of the gift of 'distinguishing spirits'?

Writings in the OT acknowledge that at times certain prophecies were readily received because the prophecy supported popular opinion – it was what they wanted to hear. Yet, the prophecy was not inspired by God (1 Kgs 22; Lam 2.14; Ezek 13.9-10; 22.8; Jer 28). Nor can the character of the individual (or prophet) serve as a means to validate the prophecy as being God-inspired (Deut 18.20-22; Jer 27.9-10). In Jeremiah 27-28 two prophets – Hananiah and Jeremiah – give opposing public prophecies to the people of Judah (27.16; 28.1, 5, 11). While Jeremiah prophesies a period of bondage and servitude for the kingdom of Judah, along with the lands of Moab, Edom, Tyre, Sidon, and the Ammonites (27.3-7), Hananiah gives an opposing prophecy predicting the fall of the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar (28.2-4). Here is a classic example of two prophets delivering two definitively different prophecies. Hananiah's prophecy appears to garner community support. So much so, that Jeremiah's prophetic declaration includes a warning against false prophecy (27.9-10, 14-15; 28.15; also *cf.* 29.8-9), whereby he cautions the people of Judah to beware of prophets who predict peace (28.9).

In this instance, neither the prophet's character nor the edification of the people appear to be in question. Rather, the difficulty lies in the audience's

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730 See Chapter 3, pp.118, 119, 120, 122-123.
731 See also Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, p.228.
732 *Cf.* Grosheide, *Corinthians*, p.287. He argues that 'evil spirits manifested themselves in false prophecies…also in performing of miracles (Acts 19.13*ff*.).'

ability to discern the source of the prophecy and its relevance to the current state of events. Which prophecy is from Yahweh? Which prophecy is Yahweh's will for this time in human history? The Jeremiah 27-28 narrative more fully depicts the complexity associated with the task of discerning true prophecy from false, and distinguishing 'spirits' behind the oracles. In 27.9 prophets are identified as only one resource among many (diviners, dreamers, soothsayers, and sorcerers) from which insightful input is obtained.

Is the gift of discerning 'spirits' (12.10) simply the ability to distinguish true prophecy from false (*cf.* 1 John 4.1-3)? Or, does it also include the spiritual endowment by which an individual or the congregation is able to identify the 'spirit' or source of the prophecy? We see this exemplified in 1 Kings 22.19-23, whereby the prophet Micaiah identifies a 'lying spirit' as the source of the prophecies delivered by the prophets of King Ahab. Perhaps the question to be asked is, 'What does the gift of discerning spirits include?' For instance, does it incorporate the ability to discriminate the appropriate response to be taken when an action is required, as well as the applicable timing?[733]

In Acts 21.7-15, Paul appears to ignore the prophetic warning he receives. In this instance, the prophetic word is both accurate and timely, for Paul is indeed bound and arrested in Jerusalem (21.33) as foretold by the prophet Agabus (21.10-11). Further, the community is not receptive to Paul's responsive action – to proceed with his journey to Jerusalem (21.12). In fact, they are grieved by the prophecy and Paul's responsive action (v.13). Thus, we have an example whereby a true prophecy, which corresponds to Paul's criteria in 1 Corinthians, does not edify the community. Does Luke have a different understanding of this situation? Perhaps in this instance Paul is able to distinguish the 'spirit 'of this prophecy as the Spirit of God. Thus, while the prophecy was accurate regarding his future arrest, Paul discerned this event was not to be avoided, but was somehow significant to his mission.

This introduces a new dimension to understanding the gift of discerning 'spirits'. The gift appears to be more than interpreting prophecy or distinguishing *between* true or false 'spirits.' As we learned from Jeremiah 27-28, false inspiration appears capable of duplicating true inspiration.

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[733] Gerald L. Keown, Pamela J. Scalise, and Thomas G. Smothers argue that the inability to discern true prophecy from false creates the danger of inappropriate action or inaction on behalf of the receiving audience. See *Jeremiah 26-52*, WBC:27 (Dallas: Word Books, 1995), p.51.

Previous studies on the text (12.10) typically associate the gift with distinguishing between demonic or angelic 'spirits.'[734] As we have previously discovered in our present research, 'spirits' are not limited to angels and demons, and modern scholarship may need to consider this aspect in future explorations of NT writings. Anthony Thiselton in his commentary, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians,* argues the following:

> 'In fact the matter (Paul's use of the term 'spirits') is that the use of *πνεῦμα* or *πνεύματα* to denote evil spirits appears either to be absent or to be virtually absent from Paul.'[735]

We concur with Thiselton's findings. For Paul rarely mentions demons in this letter (*δαιμόνιον*, 10.20, 21). Even here we cannot be certain if Paul is espousing his own belief or simply drawing from Jewish sources (Deut 32.17; *Bar* 4.7). Or, it may be that Thiselton's argument does not go far enough. Our examination thus far has also revealed that 'spirits,' while a term used to indicate celestial beings, was also used to represent 'gods.' More importantly, in his letter to the church at Corinth, Paul seemingly acknowledges the existence of other gods (8.4-6).[736] Yet again, we cannot be certain if Paul is conceding the ontological existence of other gods (8.5), or merely acknowledging a social construct present in the minds of the Corinthians.[737]

Paul's statement that 'there are many gods and many lords' appears to suggest that some Corinthians believed in the existence of other gods and had formerly worshipped their idols. There are several passages in the OT that link pagan gods with idolatry (Deut 12.3; 1 Chr 16.26; 2 Chr 33.15; Ps 96.5; 97.7; Dan 11.8; Wis 15.15; Ep Jer 1.44). In 12.2, Paul reminds the Corinthian congregation of their previous pagan lifestyle – a time when they too were being led astray (*ἀπαγόμενοι*) by idols. Earlier in his letter (10.14) Paul encourages the Corinthians to flee from the worship of idols and pagan gods who he calls

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[734] See E.E. Ellis, 'Christ and Spirit in 1 Corinthians,' in *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), pp.63-71, esp. p.71; Grudem, *The Gift of Prophecy in 1 Corinthians* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982), pp.63-71. Some argue this means the ability to discern between true and false prophecy. See Orr and Walther, *1 Corinthians*, pp.282, 310.

[735] See Thiselton, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p.966.

[736] See Wolff, *Der erste Brief*, pp.171-172; Morris, *1 Corinthians*, p.122; and Hays, *First Corinthians*, pp.139, 145-146.

[737] Some scholars take v.5 to be Paul quoting members of the Corinthian congregations. See W.L. Willis, *Idol Meat in Corinth: The Pauline Argument in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10*, SBLDS (Chico: Scholars Press, 1985), p.86. On Paul presenting an hypothetical argument *cf.* A.T. Robertson and A. Plummer, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC

demons (10.20, 21). These textual references are significant, especially as Paul opens this pericope by reminding the Corinthians of previous pagan influence (12.2; *cf.* 10.7), and of their need for new revelatory teaching.

For the Corinthian church there can now only be *one* God (8.4, 6) and *one* Lord (8.5; 12.1). Thus, if Paul is attempting to completely extricate the Corinthians from their previous idolatrous lifestyles (and I believe he was), it is very likely that the gift of discerning 'spirits' plays a crucial role. The significance of this spiritual gift is attested to through its association with and placement alongside of the gift of prophecy (14.5, 29).

From this perspective, distinguishing 'spirits' allows individuals to discern between the supernatural activity of God and that of pagan counterparts – whether pagan gods, demons, or human charlatans. While the gift certainly appears to have other applications, as we have already determined, this appears to be the most crucial. Why? Because in distinguishing the source of the prophetic utterance, one is also able to determine from the outset if the prophecy is an authentic utterance from God. Further, while the gift of distinguishing 'spirits' also appears to include other discernment abilities, it is not necessary to exercise these other applications if it can be immediately discerned that God is not the author of the prophecy. Thus, we can conclude that in this instance, 'spirits' represent celestial beings – quite possibly pagan gods, which he also calls demons.

1.1.2 'Spirits' or spiritual gifts (14.12) – The next occurrence where Paul's uses the term 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) is understood by several scholars to mean spiritual gifts and the spiritual phenomena associated with their use.[738] In this section of the letter (14.1-40), Paul attempts to dissuade the Corinthians from exploiting their spiritual gifts for self-edification and grandiloquence. By comparing speaking in tongues and prophecy, Paul attempts to instruct the Corinthians on the nature of Christian community relationship. In verses 1-5 Paul explains that speaking in tongues is unintelligible speech, containing mysterious utterances spoken in the Spirit (v.2), which only edify the speaker

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(Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2nd ed., 1914), p.167; Collins, *First Corinthians*, p.315; and Schrage, *Der erste Brief*, Vol:2, p.239.

[738] See Conzelmann, *1 Corinthians*, p.237; Lang, *Briefe*, p.193; Morris, *1 Corinthians*, pp.189-190; Hays, *First Corinthians*, p.235; Gordon Fee, *God's Empowering Presence: The Holy Spirit in the Letters of Paul*

(v.4). Next, he challenges each member of the congregation to strive to exercise those gifts that benefit the entire community of faith – particularly prophecy (vv.3, 5). In the following verses (6-11), Paul delivers his argument concerning the need for intelligible speech during congregational worship, teaching that messages need to be comprehended in order to benefit listeners.

In v.12, Paul challenges the Corinthians to direct the same zeal and enthusiasm they exhibit for 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) toward building up the church. It could be that here Paul is speaking of their desire for spiritual inspiration, particularly that associated with *glossolalia* (speaking in tongues).[739] Misplaced zeal for 'spirits' or spiritual inspiration in this instance may be understood as an 'openness to otherly divine powers,' which the individual allows to come to the fore.[740] While this seems highly probable, Paul clarifies that those who 'speak in tongues' speak to God. Thus, Paul eliminates any possible speculation, if any existed, that those speaking in tongues were experiencing the empowerment of other 'spirits' (*cf.* 12.2; 14.12). Further, he explains that while the life-giving mysteries spoken in the Spirit 'build up' the individual (v.4), they do little for the congregation mainly because the speaker is unable to communicate these utterances intelligibly to the congregation.[741]

Is it possible that some of the Corinthians came to prefer speaking in tongues rather than ordinary speech? If 'speaking in tongues' is a heavenly language, did the Corinthians believe that they were conversing with God[742] as well as with other celestial beings? Was this Paul's belief as well? In 13.1, Paul writes of the 'tongues of men and angels' drawing a contrast between verbal gifts and the gift of love. It is most likely that Paul's use of the phrase 'tongues of men' means human speech as a rhetorical skill, while 'tongues of angels' distinguishes glossalalia as a 'language of heaven.'[743] Several allusions to heavenly speech occur in Jewish writings (*cf.* 4 *Macc* 10.21; *1 En* 40; 71.11;

(Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994), p.227; and Thiselton who translates, 'powers of the Spirit,' in *Corinthians*, p.1106.

[739] Dunn, *Jesus and the Spirit*, n.88, p.227.

[740] See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, p.429.

[741] See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, '1st and 2nd Corinthians,' in James D. G. Dunn, ed., *St. Paul* (Cambridge, CUP, 2003), pp.74-90, esp. p.81

[742] See Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, p.218.

[743] See Thiselton, *Corinthians*, who argues that 'tongues of men' suggest inspired human utterances. However, he concludes 'tongues of angels' identifies 'tongues' as an 'angelic language of heaven,' pp.972-973, 1033. Also Lockwood, who argues 'tongues of angels' is directed at those in the Corinthian congregation who are 'tongues-speakers,' in *First Corinthians*, CC (St.Louis: Concordia

Jubilees 25.14; *T.Judah* 25.3; and *T.Job* 48.1-50.3). Perhaps one of the reasons the Corinthians held glossolalia in such high esteem was because they believed it was a heavenly language. From this perspective it certainly appears possible that the Corinthians believed that glossolalia as inspired speech allowed them to interact or at least be open to the powers and influence of heavenly beings – specifically 'spirits.'

While it is quite probable that Paul might have been familiar with these traditions in Jewish religious culture and teachings, we cannot assume that the same applies to the Corinthian congregation. Whatever the Corinthians or Paul believed, Paul makes his position clear in his writing. He argues for order and the use of those gifts which edify the entire community of faith. For Paul, verbal gifts exercised without the benefit of love are akin to the noise generated by 'clanging' unharmonious instruments. He encourages the use of intelligible speech during corporate worship in order that all members of the congregation may benefit from what is revealed and said.

1.1.3 'Spirits' of the prophets (14.32) – We also find 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) mentioned in Paul's discussion on orderly worship (14.26-40). The apostle begins by recommending diversity during typical gatherings of the worshipping community,[744] because all members of the congregation potentially have something to contribute. Thus, a typical worship gathering[745] might include a hymn, a specific teaching, glossalalia, as well as revelation and an interpretation. Here Paul encourages the congregation to accommodate the manifestation of gifts during worship, yet in an orderly fashion (v.40). Further, all contributions when occurring in a public setting should mutually edify the entire assembly (14.26).[746]

In verses 27-28, Paul addresses those who speak in tongues while in the following verses (vv.29-32) he gives instructions to prophets, specifically focusing his comments on the gift of prophecy. First, Paul proposes that only

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Publishing House, 2000), pp.458-459. Also see Fee on 14.3 as meaning human speech (tongues of men) and heavenly speech (tongues of angels) in *God's Empowering Presence*, p.200-201.

[744] See Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, p.583.

[745] Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, p.583. Also see Lockwood, *First Corinthians*, p.499. Also, see Thiselton who argues that the text presents a hypothetical scenario, in *First Corinthians*, p.1133.

[746] David G. Horrell, *The Social Ethos of the Corinthian Correspondence: Interests and Ideology from 1 Corinthians to 1 Clement* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), pp.177-178; Barrett, *First Epistle to the Corinthians*, p.327; C.T. Craig and J. Short, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, IB:10 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), p.211; and Hays, *First Corinthians*, pp.220, 241.

two or three prophets speak in turn, while others discern (*διακρίνω*, to evaluate or judge) what is being spoken. In verse 32, Paul makes it clear that this is possible because prophets are capable of restraining the prophetic impulse until the appropriate time, assuming that God indeed is the source of the inspiration (v.33*a*). Here the discernment process includes the assembly, the other prophets (14.32; *cf.* 1 Thess 5.20-21),[747] as well as those persons who have specifically been endowed with the gift of discerning 'spirits' (1 Cor 12.10).

In 14.32 Paul writes, '*καὶ πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται.*' Is Paul suggesting the prophets suppress prophetic inspiration? Elsewhere he counsels against 'quenching' spiritual gifts and prophetic inspiration (1 Thess 5.19) during worship.[748] Instead, he encourages everyone to exercise discernment in all instances (5.21). In Paul's first letter to the church at Thessalonica it is difficult to determine if his use of the phrase '*τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε*'[749] is meant to encourage prophets to restrain themselves from delivering a prophetic oracle as in the case of Jeremiah (Jer 20.9), or is the imperative a caution to members against quenching the prophet's words (*cf.* Amos 2.12).[750] In either case, when prophetic inspiration occurs, discernment must be exercised.

With this in mind, we must ask which 'spirits' are the prophets being asked to control (*ὑποτάσσω*, to subject, submit or be under the authority of) in the 1 Corinthians text? Certainly this statement does not apply to the Holy Spirit, or does it? While the text identifies the 'spirits' that Paul calls the 'spirits of the prophets,' biblical scholars such as Anthony Thiselton argue that it is uncharacteristic of Paul to use *πνεῦμα* to mean the human spirit or even prophetic inspiration.[751] Thiselton addresses this concern by translating the text in verse 32 to read, 'And the spiritual utterances of the prophets are subject to the prophets' control.' While this may capture Paul's intent, it does not explain his use of *πνεύματα προφητῶν* – 'spirits (of) prophets.'

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[747] Craig and Short argue discernment is the responsibility of the other prophets. See 'The First Epistle to the Corinthians,' p.211; also Lockwood, *1 Corinthians*, p.500.
[748] Dunn, *Theology of Paul*, p.420. F.F. Bruce argues that the phrase *τὸ πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε* speaks of the Holy Spirit or his activity. See *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, WBC:45 (Waco: Word Books, 1982), p.125.
[749] 1 Thess 5.19 – 'Do not quench the Spirit.'
[750] See Bruce who makes a similar observation in *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, p.125.
[751] Thiselton, *Corinthians*, p.1144. See Dunn who notes the ambiguity of *πνεῦμα* retained in Pauline writings, i.e., 1 Cor 5.3-4; 6.17; 14.12, 14-15; Col 2.5, in *Theology of Paul*, p.429. Also see Fee,

How does Paul understand the mediation of prophetic oracles? Is divine revelation transmitted to the human psyche, and awakened by the Spirit? Or, are oracles inspired extemporaneously and conveyed to the personal human spirit[752] of the prophet? Paul speaks of the human body as God's temple, a human receptacle per se in which God's Spirit dwells (1 Cor 3.16; 6.19; 2 Cor 6.16; Eph 2.21-22). In fact, it is reception of God's Spirit that unites the members of the Corinthian church as a body (1 Cor 6.17; 12.13; *cf.* Eph 4.4). Thus, the unity of the body is indicative of a mystical union between God and each individual.

If this is the case, then prophetic inspiration of which Paul speaks in 14.12 can be understood as a divine impartation that occurs through some form of synthesis between God's Spirit and the human spirit (*cf.* Rom 8.15-16). Dunn writes of an 'interface between human spirit and divine Spirit' whereby a conceptual distinction between the two may not be significant to Paul.[753] However, this does not eliminate or diminish the role of the prophet. Active participation is yet required. Even when the revelation or prophecy is given by the Spirit to the prophet, he or she retains the ability to discern and deliver the oracle.

Alternatively, other scholars argue that unlike their pagan counterparts – Greco-Roman sibyls or oracular speakers for pagan cults – Christian prophets were able to exercise self-control when delivering prophetic oracles.[754] While Paul does call for controlling human desires and passions (1 Cor 7.37; 1 Thess 4.4), does this also apply to prophecy? Perhaps within the context of the letter, Paul is encouraging the Corinthian prophets to set an example. In the previous verses Paul clearly indicates that all (not merely prophets) can prophesy (14.24, 31), and he later encourages the Corinthians to be eager to do so (v.39). However, he also limits those who do so to only two or three (v.29)

Empowering Presence, where he indicates this ambiguity by use 'Spirit(s)', pp.24-26, 123-127, 229-230, 462, 645.

[752] *Cf.* Lockwood who calls the personal human spirit the 'inner self' in *1 Corinthians*, pp.482, 501.

[753] Dunn, *Theology*, p.429.

[754] Robertson and Plummer, *Corinthians*, p.323; Barrett, *Corinthians*, p.329; also Fee, *Corinthians*, p.696; and *God's Empowering Presence*, p.254.

The key is Paul's use of the verb *ὑποτάσσω* (to submit). Just as prophets are receptive to the inspiration of God's Spirit, likewise in a corporate setting they are to submit their 'spirits' or spiritual utterances to other prophets.[755] This means mutual respect among prophets. Prophets were to allow each to prophesy in turn and to submit their own oracle or inspiration for evaluation by others (vv.29-30). Thus, the 'spirits' of prophets are subject to other prophets, as well as the congregation (12.10). We conclude that here Paul's use the phrase 'spirits of prophets' means the human spirit,[756] transformed by God and used as a vehicle through which the spiritual gift[757] – the prophetic spirit or spirit of prophecy[758] – operates. As John also uses the phrase 'spirits of the prophets' in Revelation 22.6, we will have another opportunity to further examine this interpretation.

1.2 *Conclusion* (1Corinthians)

We have examined three citations that mention to 'spirits' in Paul's letter to the church at Corinth. Paul's use of the term in this first letter suggests that early Christians also understood that 'spirits' could be demons (10.20, 21) and gods (8.5; 10.14; 12.2) capable of inducing supernatural phenomena such as prophecy and ecstatic speech. The church of Corinth's overall fascination with 'spirits' (14.12) is depicted in their preference for the gift of speaking in tongues. Hence Paul's instructions on the greater benefits of prophecy. The gift of distinguishing 'spirits' empowered Christians to determine the source of all prophetic and revelatory speech they encountered. In these two instances (12.10; 14.12), our examination has determined that 'spirits' should be interpreted as celestial beings, either gods or demons.

Paul's letter also provides some insight to his understanding of 'spirits' in relation to human existence. From Paul's letter to the Corinthians, we find the perspective that through the Spirit, humans are capable of being transformed, redeemed through Christ and united with God (1 Cor 6.17; 8.6; *cf.* 5.7). In our analysis of 14.32 we uncover a glimpse of Paul's understanding of how the gift of prophecy functioned. His use of the phrase 'spirits of the

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[755] See Thiselton, *First Corinthians*, p.1144; Dunn, *Theology*, p.581.
[756] Fee argues for the 'spirit of prophecy,' in *God's Empowering Presence*, p.254; as does Thiselton, *Corinthians*, pp.1144-1145.
[757] Thiselton, *Corinthians*, pp.1144-1145.
[758] Grosheide, *Corinthians*, pp.339-340.

prophets'[759] describes an interface between the human 'spirit' and the Spirit of God, resulting in the operation of this particular gift. While God inspires the 'spirits of prophets' through the Spirit (whereby they receive and discern prophetic oracles), the prophet remains capable of controlling his or her own spirit, and consequently operation of the gift.

Pastoral Epistles – 1 Timothy

Debate concerning the authorship of the epistles continues today with only a minority of contemporary scholars supporting them as the work of the Apostle Paul. They contend that the epistles were written by Paul directly, indirectly or by the use of amanuensis.[760] Similarly, for many biblical scholars dating the epistles is directly linked with their authorship. However, there appears to be a consensus on dating the letters in the mid- to late 1st C.E.,[761] a date parallel with that attributed to Revelation. Thus, we can conclude that the writer[762] of the epistles, whether the Apostle Paul or one of his disciples, would have been familiar with the contemporary use and understanding of the term 'spirits.' The term 'spirits' is found only once in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Tim 4.1). We will include this citation in our survey.

1. 1 Timothy (4.1)

1 Timothy is the longest of the three Pastoral Epistles, and the only one among the letters in which we find the term 'spirits' (4.1). Interestingly, in 4.1 the author also writes of the 'Spirit' (*πνεῦμα*) and demons (*δαίμοσις*). The word demons is not used in First Timothy, although angels appear twice (3.16; 5.21). In both of these instances (3.16; 5.21), the term *ἄγγελοι* is generally accepted as

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[759] Fee who argues for the 'spirit of prophecy.' See *God's Empowering Presence*, p.254; and Thiselton, *Corinthians*, pp.1144-1145.

[760] See William D. Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, WBC:46 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2000), p.cxxix; Marshall, *Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, pp57-9; Knight, *The Pastoral Epistles*, pp.4-6; B. Reicke, 'Chronologie der Pastoralbriefe,' in *TLZ*:101 (1976), pp.81-94; and S. de Lestapis, *L'Enigme des Pastorales de Saint Paul* (Paris: Gabalda, 1976). Also see Mounce, who reviews three leading proposals concerning authorship of the Epistles (amanuensis, fragment, and fiction) and argues in support of amanuensis, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.cxvii-cxxix; and Quinn who provides a more concise exploration in 'Epistles to Timothy and Titus,' in *ABD*:6, pp.560-571. Those against include Arland J. Hultgren, 'The Pastoral Epistles,' in *The Cambridge Companion to St Paul*, James D. G. Dunn, ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp.141-155, esp. pp.142-144. For a listing of those who argue for and against Pauline authorship see Marshall, *Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, p.58, n.67.

[761] See Quinn, 'Epistles to Timothy and Titus,' pp.560-561.

[762] Some scholars argue the Epistles were written by a single group of people involved in the assembly and composition of the letters. See Marshall, who presents the arguments without lending his support, *Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles*, pp.1-2

meaning heavenly beings, specifically angels.[763] The noun *πνεῦμα* occurs again (3.16) within a six-line christological hymn[764] whereby the author elucidates the mystery of the Christian faith (*εὐσεβείᾳ*, godly life, deed or religion). While biblical scholars differ on the author's exact meaning of *ἐν πνεύματι* in 3.16, most acknowledge that the phrase stands parallel with the phrase *ἐν σαρκί* in the preceding line[765] and that contextually *πνεῦμα* should be interpreted to mean the Holy Spirit,[766] Jesus' spirit,[767] or the spiritual realm.[768]

1.1 'Spirit(s)' in 1 Timothy (4.1)

Chapter Four begins the second major section of the letter and opens with continuing instructions on false teaching and apostasy already set out in the letter's opening (chapter 1.3-11). In 4.1-5, the author's opening statement appears in the form of a prophetic declaration:[769]

> [1] 'Now the Spirit clearly says that in the last times some of the faith will apostatise by being devoted to deceitful spirits and teachings of demons, [2] by the hypocrisy of liars whose own consciences have been branded, [3] forbiding to marry, demanding abstinence from foods that God created to be received with thanksgiving by those who are faithful and know the truth, [4] since all of God's creation is good, and nothing is unclean if it is received with thanksgiving; [5] for it is sanctified through [the] word of God and prayer.[770]
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> 1 Timothy 4.1-5

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[763] See Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.527, 619-620; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.228-229, 314-316; and Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.185-186, 237-129. However, some scholars argue *ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις* (1 Tim 3.16) this to mean human messengers, primarily the disciples of Christ. See A. Seeberg, *Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit* (Munchen: Chr. Kaiser, 1966, 1903), pp.113-125, esp. pp.119-120; W. Metzger, *Der Christushymnus 1 Tim 3.16* (1979), pp.97-100. Others suggest this means fallen angelic powers. See R.H. Gundry, 'The Form, Meaning and Background of the Hymn Quoted in 1 Timothy 3.16,' in *Apostolic History and Gospel*, W.W. Grasque and R.P. Martin, eds. (Exeter: Paternoster, 1970), pp.203-222, esp. p.219; and B.S. Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles* (London: SCM Press, 1947), pp.136-137.

[764] Scholarly debate categorises the statement as either a confession, affirmation or hymn. See O. Miche, who argues that the statement is a confessional prelude used in early church meetings, in '*ὁμολογέω*,' in *TDNT*:5, p.213. Also see Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.522; and Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.182. Mounce argues the statement is a Christological hymn quoted by Paul to build on his use of *ἀλήθεια* (truth, reality) in v.15, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.224. For those in support of the v.16 as a statement of affirmation see C. Spicq, *Saint Paul: Les Épîtres Pastorales*, Vols.1-2, Ebib (Paris: 4th ed., repr., J. Gabalda, 1948, 1969), p.1.468; Easton, *The Pastoral Epistles*, p.1:134.

[765] See Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.227-228; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.525-526. Also see Knight who argues that *ἐν πνευμα* in 3.16 and in 4.1 is parallel in meaning when used by Paul in Rom 1.4 and 8.11, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.184-185.

[766] See Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.526, Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.184; and Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, p.766.

[767] See Spicq, *Pastorales*, p.1:472. Mounce seems to take this position also, although he does not state so explicitly in *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.227-228.

[768] See Donald Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles: An Introduction and Commentary*, TNTC:14 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2nd ed., 1990), p.89.

[769] *Cf.* 2 Tim 4.3-4.

[770] Translation taken from Mounce, *Pastoral*, p.232.

There is little disagreement that here *τὸ πνεῦμα* means the Holy Spirit[771] as the source of warnings to the church against false teachings and apostasy. Thus, here the Spirit's role in 1 Timothy is a prophetic one. The present tense of the verb *λέγω* (to say, speak)[772] makes it unclear if the author is describing eschatological prophecies recorded in Jewish literature (Dan 12.1; *1 En* 80.2-8; 100.1-3; *4 Ezra* 5.1-12; 1QS 3.19-21; 1QH 4.9), prophetic teachings from Christ (*cf.* Matt 24.10; Mark 4.16; 13.21-23) or Paul, or if the author of the letter is the medium of this particular revelation even as he applies it to the receiving audience.[773] What is clear is that deceitful 'spirits' and demons are associated with the false teachings.

The influence of deceiving 'spirits' (*cf.* 1 Kgs 22.22-23; par. 2 Chr 18.21-22; Col 2.8) and demons has already been well noted in this study.[774] The concept of demonic influence contributing to heresy appears in earlier (chapters 2.14; 3.6) of the epistle. Further, deceit, apostasy, and heresy frequently appear together as compatible concepts in NT writings (Matt 24.1; 2 Cor 4.4; 11.3-4, 13-15; 2 Thess 2.2-4; Jas 3.14-16; 2 Pet 2.1-2; 3.3-4; 1 John 4.1, 3, 6).

For whatever reason, the author of the epistle links deceitful 'spirits' with demons. Are they synonymous? Demons and 'spirits' occur together in only two other instances in the NT (Matt 8.16; Luke 8.2).[775] Both of these citations appear in sections which depict the authoritative power of Jesus' earthly ministry. In both instances, the narratives speak of demonic possession linked with illnesses (*κακῶς*) Jesus cured (*θεραπεύω*). In the Matthean and Lukan passages demons and 'spirits' appear to be synonymous as they are used interchangeably by the authors. However, here in 1 Timothy there is nothing to denote physical infirmity or demonic possession. Or, is there?

The false teachers or opponents of the author are identified as hypocrites (*ὑποκρισει*, 4.2). They are persons who fulfill the prophetic warning

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[771] Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.234; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, p.536; and Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, pp.187-188.

[772] See Knight who argues 'the use of the present tense when referring to the communication of God, even when the communication was given in the past...conveys a constantly present authority...' *Pastoral Epistles*, p.188. Also see Mounce, *Pastoral*, p.234; and J. Roloff, who also argues the meaning applies to past prophetic activity, in *Der Erste Brief an Timotheus, Evangelisch-Katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament* (Zürich/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger/Neukirchener, 1988), p.220.

[773] *Cf.* Marshall, who argues convincingly for Paul relaying a current revelation in his writing in *Pastoral Epistles*, p.537.

[774] See Chapter 3.

[775] *Cf.* Luke 4.33; 8.29; 9.24; and Tob 6.8 where the singular forms of spirit and demon are used interchangeably.

being given about those who renounce (*ἀφίστημι*) their faith. The author specifies that their falling away has been precipitated by them 'giving themselves over to' (*προσέχω, cf.* 1 Tim 3.8) seducing 'spirits.' The force of the verb *προσέχω* speaks to what may be considered as an uncontrollable obsession existing in the relationship between the false teachers and the 'spirits' that have seduced them.[776] Whether it is the author's intent to express a relationship similar in context to that of demonic possession present in the Gospels narratives is uncertain and will not be assumed here.

1.2 *Conclusion* (1 Timothy)

The writer of 1 Timothy only mentions 'spirits' once (4.1). With only one example for our discussion it is wise for us to draw our conclusions not only from our discussions above, but also from the application of the term within the broader context of our previous findings. Thus far we have discussed the depiction of evil 'spirits' as the proponents of deception and false teachings in biblical literature. From this perspective, and that given in 1 Timothy concerning the role of deception in apostasy (2.14; 3.6) it appears most likely that the deceitful 'spirits' and demons are synonymous and is used here to represent evil celestial beings.

The Epistle to the Hebrews

While the date of the Epistle to the Hebrews[777] continues to inspire scholarly debate the letter is generally dated between 60-90 C.E.[778] This places the writing of this letter roughly within the same period attributed to the composition of Revelation (81-96 C.E.). Further, little agreement exists among

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[776] Knight writes that the seriousness of their action (*ἀφίστημι*) is emphasised by that which they have deserted – namely their faith. In this context, he argues that the author's use of *πίστις* is subjective with objective overtones. *Pastoral Epistles*, p.188.

[777] Although the Epistle of Hebrews is listed among the Pauline corpus, its authorship has consistently been challenged. Scholarly consensus acknowledges the letter as being written by someone other than Paul. See Harold W. Attridge, 'Epistle to the Hebrews,' in *ABD*:3, pp.97-105; 'Hebrews,' in *HBC*, p.1259; and *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Her. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), pp.1-6. Also Lane, *Hebrews*, xlix. For a good discussion on possible authors see Donald Guthrie, 'Epistle to the Hebrews,' in *ISBE*:2, pp.663-670, esp. pp.665-667, and in 'The Epistle to the Hebrews,' in *New Testament Introduction*, Vol:3 (Chicago: Inter-Varsity, 1962), pp.668-682.

[778] See C.R. Koester who argues that the epistle was written during the last half of the 1st Century (60-90 C.E.), pp.50-54. Craig R. Koester *Hebrews*, AB (London: Doubleday, 2001). Dependence on 1 Clement for dating Hebrews complicates the issue as dates for 1 Clement range from 70-140 C.E. Also see H.W. Attridge, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Her. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), pp.6-8.

scholars concerning authorship. With no less than thirteen possible authors identified,[779] scholarly consensus appears to be drawn more along the lines of agreement on which persons did *not* write the Epistle.[780]

Throughout the thirteen chapters of the letter, only three instances in which the term 'spirits' (1.14; 12.9; 12.23) is used. While no mention is made of demons, angels are mentioned twelve times (1.4, 5, 6, 7, 13; 2.2, 5, 7, 9, 16; 12.22; 13.2). Thus, in at least one instance (1.13-14) the author mentions both 'spirits' and angels. This may prove to be significant for our study if indeed we find some fluidity existing between angels and 'spirits,' or a synonymous exchange between the two terms being employed by the author.

1. Hebrews (1.4; 12.9; 12.23)

This letter's opening (1.1-4) is quite different from the typical epistolary greeting found in other NT letters (*cf.* Rom 1.1-7; 1 Cor 1.1-9; 2 Cor 1.1-2; Gal 1.1-5; Eph 1.1-2; Phil 1.1-2; Col 1.1-2; etc.). Instead, Hebrews opens with a majestic statement on the exaltation of Christ as the Son of God, whereby he and his name – here identified only as 'Son' (υἱός) – are deemed superior to angels (v.4).

1.1 *Ministering 'spirits'* (1.14)

Our first verse where the term 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) occurs (1.14), falls within an extended exposition on the Son of God's superiority over angels (vv.5-14). In the final verse of this section (v.14) we encounter a rhetorical question regarding the role of angels,[781] one which the author identifies as being that of *λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα* (ministering 'spirits'). However, this is not unusual as we have encountered angels functioning in various capacities (Ps

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[779] Paul Ellingworth's provides a review of thirteen potential authors including Paul, Clement of Rome, Luke, Barnabas, Peter, Jude, Stephen, Philip (the deacon), Aristion, Priscilla (and Aquila), Mary, Epaphras, and Apollos. See *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp.3-21. Craig R. Koester discusses Paul, and one of Paul's companions as potential author. He concludes the writer remains yet unknown. See *Hebrews*, pp.42-46.

[780] There appears to be scholarly consensus that Hebrews was written by someone other than the Apostle Paul. See Ellingworth, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp.3-12; C. Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, Vol.1, p.154; Lane, *Hebrews*, and Bruce, *Hebrews*, pp.14-23. However, some scholars continue to include the Epistle within the Pauline corpus of literature. See Attridge, 'Hebrews,' *ABD*:3; pp.97-98. Guthrie, 'Hebrews,' p.665; Scott, *Literature*, p.198; and Charles B. Cousar, *The Letters of Paul* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), p.165.

[781] Lane argues v.14 is an exegesis of Pss 104.4 and 110.1 denoting the inferior rank and status of angels. See *Hebrews*, p.24. Also see Buchanan, *Hebrews*, p.24; and Koester, *Hebrews*, p.193.

104.4; *T.Levi* 3.5; *Jub* 2.2; 1QM 10.4; 12.1, 4, 8) throughout our examination on 'spirits.' Here the author identifies them as servants of God without any power to rule, reign, or act on their own initiative.[782] Rather, they are commissioned as ministering 'spirits' (*cf.* Matt 4.11; *par.* Mark 1.13, *cf.* Philo, *Virtues* 74) in the service (*διακονία*) of the heirs of salvation – namely Christians.

The author's description of ministering (*λειτουργικός*) 'spirits' in God's employ corresponds with those mentioned in Psalm 104.4 (also *λειτουργικός*) and is consistent with all of the author's textual references made to the angels thus far. Clearly, they are not the 'Son of God' (Heb 1.5; *cf.* 2.5), nor are they seated at God's right hand (v.13). In fact, they are summoned to worship God's firstborn (1.6). Thus, here the phrase ministering 'spirits' means angels.

We should note that this is not a new discovery for us. We have already determined that angels are often grouped within the generic category of celestial beings, most frequently referred to as 'spirits' (*cf. Jub* 2.2; 10.5, 13; 1QH 8.12). The reverse has not yet been detected.

1.2 *'Father of spirits'* (12.9)

In this brief section (12.4-12), the author stresses the importance of instruction (vv.5, 7, 8, 9, 11) and perseverance (vv.1, 7, 20) among those following the example of Christ (vv.2, 3). Accordingly, to Christian followers, God is their heavenly father exercising both punitive and (vv.5-6, 7, 8; *cf.* Prov 3.11-12) formative discipline.

In verse 9, the author acknowledges God as the 'father of spirits.' This epithet is similar to others which we have already encountered in Numbers ('God of the spirits,' 16.22; 27.16), *1 Enoch* ('Lord of spirits,' *1 En* 37.2, 4; 38.2, 4, 6; 39.2, 7, 8, 9, 12), and *Jubilees* ('God of spirits,' 10.3). Within its context in Hebrews, the writer's epitaph identifies God as the spiritual or heavenly father of human 'spirits,' implying divine sonship[783] legitimated through God's parental discipline (v.8). Further, the author's discussion of God's salvific

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[782] James Moffatt, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924), p.15.
[783] See David A. de Silva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p.448. Koester argues for the unique sonship of Jesus, with other human sons and daughters in an extended sense. See *Hebrews*, p.529.

plans for humanity (2.16) eliminates any possible confusion concerning a parental relationship between God and angels (1.5).[784]

1.3 *'Spirits of the righteous'* (12.23)

In v.23, the term 'spirits' probably represents human 'spirits.'[785] We have already encountered the 'spirits' of the righteous (*1 En* 103.4; *Jub* 23.31; *cf. 1 En* 102.4; 103.3; and *4 Ezra* 7.99 for 'souls of the righteous) in our previous Chapter Four, and in each instance 'spirits' referred to righteous human beings who had died.[786] Thus, the writer's application of the term 'spirits' here appears to follow this particular strand within Jewish apocalyptic writings. Even the writer's analogical recitation of the Esau narrative, the loss of his birthright, as well as the Jewish Sinai experience (vv.18-21) speak to a human plight (vv.16-17), rather than that of celestial beings. Thus, in this instance 'spirits' can be interpreted as those humans redeemed through Christ, whereby their 'spirits' continue to exist even after physical death.

1.4 *Conclusion* (Epistle to the Hebrews)

In our review of the three scriptures where 'spirits' are mentioned in Hebrews we have detected a variety of applications and interpretations. For instance, in our first verse (1.14) the author's use of ministering 'spirits' is consistent with that identified in Jewish literature (Psa 104.4; *cf.* Psa 91.11; Matt 4.11). According to the writer of Hebrews, angels are subordinate to Christ and act as divine servants, ministering to the needs of God's human children (1.14).

We also find that the author's use of the epithet 'father of spirits' (12.9) is similar to other appellations given to God in Jewish OT and pseudepigraphal writings. The epithet distinguishes God as the creator and source of all 'spirits.'

For the author of Hebrews, the 'spirits of the righteous' (*cf.* Wis 3.1; Pray Azar 1.64; *4 Ezra* 4.35; 7.99; 15.8) are those humans redeemed through Christ. Through Christ, they are children of God (Heb 2.10; 12.5, 7, 8), and their 'spirits' continue to exist even after physical death (2.23).

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[784] Koester argues this point in *Hebrews*, p.529. Also see those who argue for spirits as pre-existent souls: H. Braun, *An die Hebräer*, HNT (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1984), and E. Grässer, *An die Hebräer*, Vols.1-3, EKK (Zürich: Benzinger, 1990-97), pp.60-61.

[785] This interpretation appears to enjoy scholarly agreement, see deSilva, *Perseverance*, p.466; Koester, *Hebrews*, pp.546, 551; Alexander C. Purdy and J. Harry Cotton, 'The Epistle to the Hebrews,' in *IB*:11 (New York: Abingdon, 1955), pp.747-748; and Lane, *Hebrews 9-13*, WBC:47B, p.471.

Synoptic Gospels and Acts of the Apostles

The vast majority of instances in which the term 'spirits' occurs in the NT are located in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts. Seventeen citations mention either to evil 'spirits' (Matt 12.45; Luke 7.21; 8.2; 11.26; Acts 19.12, 13), demons (*δαίμονες*, Matt 8.16; Luke 10.20), or unclean 'spirits' (Mark 1.27; 3.11; 5.13; 6.7; Matt 10.1; Luke 4.36; 6.18; Acts 5.16; 8.7). Further, at least fifteen of these occur within the context of exorcism (Matt 8.16; 10.1; Mark 1.27; 3.11; 5.13; 6.7; Luke 4.36; 6.18; 7.21; 8.2; 10.20; Acts 5.16; 8.7; 19.12, 13). In the remaining two instances, (Matt 12.45; *par.* Luke 11.26) evil 'spirits' are described in a parable on the return of unclean 'spirits.' However, the parable also falls indirectly within the context of exorcism.[787] As we have already discussed 'spirits' from the aspect of being evil, unclean, or as demons, we need not consider them further here. However, we shall note that in the NT, particularly in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts, 'spirits' almost always means demons. In the majority of these texts, the literary context is one of demonic possession for which exorcisms performed by Jesus or his disciples cure the physical and mental infirmities depicted.

However, this is not the case when we examine the singular form of the lexical term 'spirit' (*πνεῦμα*). The term occurs most frequently in Luke-Acts. In the Gospel of Luke the term occurs 28 times, and is most frequently interpreted as the Holy Spirit/Spirit of God.[788] This also holds true for Acts where *πνεῦμα* occurs at least sixty-four times. In all of these instances, except seven, *πνεῦμα* always means the Holy Spirit. In six citations, the term can be interpreted as a demon or evil spirit (16.16, 18; 19.15, 16) and a spirit other than an angel (23.8, 9).[789] We find similar interpretations of *πνεῦμα* in the Gospel of Matthew, although with less frequency. Only once in Matthew, is *πνεῦμα* used to

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[786] In Chapter 3 for *1 En* 103.4 see p.88; for *Jub* 23.31 see p.141-143.
[787] See Donald A. Hagner, *Matthew 1-13*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1993), p.357; Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Matthew*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1991), p.191; Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1992), pp.329-340; E. Earle Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, The Century Bible (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1966), p.166; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel of Luke 1-9*, AB (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), pp.924-925; and Luke T. Johnson, *The Gospel of Luke*, Sacra Pagina (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1991), pp.183-184.
[788] At least sixteen occurrences – 1.25, 41, 67; 2.25, 26, 27; 3.16, 22; 4.1 (2), 14, 18; 10.21; 11.13; 12.10, 12.
[789] The human spirit of Stephen (7.59).

represent an unclean spirit (12.43), while on twelve occasions[790] the term applies to the Holy Spirit/Spirit of God.[791]

Only in the Gospel of Mark is there a striking difference. The term *πνεῦμα* is cited nineteen times in Mark, and over half of these can be interpreted as a demon or evil spirit.[792] In six of the remaining nine verses, *πνεῦμα* represents the Holy Spirit (1.8, 10, 12; 3.29; 12.36; 13.11).[793] Interestingly, in the Gospel of Mark, the earliest of the three Synoptic works, the term *πνεῦμα* occurs an equal number of times whether referring to the Holy Spirit or unclean 'spirits.' It is only in the later gospels, Matthew and Luke, and Acts where we can detect a significant shift in *πνεῦμα* language as primarily referring to the Holy Spirit.

Chapter Summary

From our review of the above NT writings we find that 'spirits' are depicted in ways similar to that encountered in OT literature, pseudepigraphic writings, and the *DSS*. To a much lesser degree we find that in the NT writings the lexical term 'spirits' is used to represent pagan gods, angels, and the life force within all humans. Yet, most notably, there is a tendency by these NT writers, particularly the writers of Matthew, Luke and Acts, to describe demons as 'spirits.' We can detect a significant difference between the *influence* evil 'spirits' are thought to have on humans as depicted in the pseudepigrapha and the full demonic *possession* portrayed in the Gospels. In the Gospels demonic possession is clearly associated with physical illnesses cured by exorcism. Alternatively, in the pseudepigrapha demonic influence is associated primarily with sinful behaviour.

During the 1st century C.E. demonic possession was believed to be the cause of human infirmities and afflictions, or at least was an attempt to explain it. This would be a natural progression from the demonic influence portrayed in the pseudepigrapha and those of the *DSS*. Human behaviour perceived to be outside the perimeters of appropriate human conduct by members of the community was interpreted as being demon inspired. In the NT physical illness and seizures have been included.

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[790] Matt 1.18, 20; 3.11,16; 4.1; 10.20; 12.18, 28, 31, 32; 22.43; 28.19.
[791] The remaining two represent to the human spirit – 5.3; 26.41.
[792] Mark 1.23,26; 3.30; 5.2; 5.8; 7.25; 9.17, 20, 25 (2).

Further, because the gospel writers focus primarily on Jesus and his unique ability to perform extraordinary deeds, the writers may have singled out those narratives and accounts which presented more extraordinary examples of his miraculous abilities. The meaning of 'spirits' as angels, gods, or even cosmic beings is totally absent in these writings. Instead the authors of Mark, Matthew, and Luke-Acts direct their attention to Jesus, his disciples, and later Christian followers along with the amazing deeds they performed.

In 1 Corinthians the powers exhibited by Jesus in the Gospels are bestowed upon members of the Corinthian church as 'spiritual gifts' from God. These gifts include healing and miracles, prophecy, discernment, wisdom, knowledge, revelation, speaking in tongues, and interpretation of tongues. However, the perception that 'spirits' influence human speech and actions remains present.

It is possible that this decrease in 'spirits' and other celestial beings occurs in Paul's letter for several reasons. First, he clearly perceives the power of God active in the Church through the Holy Spirit. Second, he considers all other gods, if indeed they exist, as demons. It is possible that Paul's letter represents a changing attitude towards 'spirits.' Or, perhaps Paul's perspective on the matter deviates from the typical view at the time.

We also find very few instances where 'spirits' are mentioned in 1 Timothy. The epistle provides a single occurrence whereby seducing 'spirits' and demons are deemed responsible for false teachings and apostasy. Unlike the OT where lying 'spirits' receive divine permission to act (1 Kgs 22.22-23; *par.* 2 Chr 18.21-22), the 'spirits' in 1 Timothy appear to be adversaries of God and his people. However, their autonomous actions are not thwarted. Rather, prophetic warnings alert God's followers to guard against their seductive teachings. We have certainly encountered these thematic applications in writings from the 2nd temple period, particularly in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*

Finally, in Hebrews the term 'spirits' forms part of a divine name for God. He is the 'father of spirits,' or their creator. We also find ministering 'spirits' and the 'spirits of the righteous.' All of these applications are common in OT writings and literature with an apocalyptic worldview.

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[793] Two apply to Jesus' spirit (2.8; 8.12) and one means the human spirit (14.38).

At this juncture, we can note that the term 'spirits' occurs with more frequency in literature with an apocalyptic worldview written during the 2nd temple period than it does in the literature of the OT and NT writings.[794] The sheer volume of instances in which the term occurs in the pseudepigrapha may suggest a fascination with 'spirits' among the writers of apocalyptic literature. The OT and NT each preserve only one apocalypse in their canons,[795] and limited apocalyptic sections are present in other canonical writings.[796] This may explain the decrease in the number of citations that mention 'spirits'.

In the New Testament writings we have examined, we have observed that the term 'spirits' is frequently used to represent demons; and on increasingly rare occasions the term is used to mean gods, angels, or human 'spirits' redeemed by Christ. Finally, there are no instances where the term 'spirits' is used to mean cosmic forces or meteorological elements.

Thus far, our inquiry has revealed that the term 'spirits' has a variety of principal meanings within the spectrum of Jewish literature with an apocalyptic worldview. Further, we can acknowledge that we have detected no distinctive differences, outside the infrequency of use, between how 'spirits' are depicted in apocalyptic literature from the 2nd temple period and the non-apocalyptic NT writings from the 1st century C.E. However, there is one observation worth noting here.

In 1 Corinthians, the term *πνεύματα* is associated with a divine *χάρις* – the discernment of 'spirits.' Of course, one of the defining characteristics of literature with an apocalyptic worldview is that of revelatory information mediated to a human recipient by an otherworldly being. In 1 Corinthians 12.10, the ability to discern the source of prophetic and revelatory speech is

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[794] For instance, the term 'spirits' occurs 23 times in the First Book of Enoch which is a compilation of writings by several authors. Of course, the figure does not include those texts which mention the 'Lord of the spirits.' This phrase occurs well over 100 times throughout the Enochic corpus as compared to the 'Spirit of God' (12 in the NT) and 'Holy Spirit' (90 in the NT). Further, the term 'spirits' occurs only 37 times throughout the entire New Testament and seven of these (approximately 20 percent) are located in the Book of Revelation.

[795] See the definition of 'apocalypse' acknowledged in this study in Chapter 1, p.26 and that of 'apocalyptic sections' in Chapter 2, p.39. Also see J. Charlesworth, 'Introduction,' pp.3-4; and P. Hanson, 'Apocalypses and Apocalypticism,' pp.279-280.

[796] In the Old Testament these include Isa 24-27, 34-35, 56-66; Ezek 40-48; Zech 9-14; and the Book of Daniel. For apocalyptic material preserved in the Gospels see Matt 24; Mark 13; and Luke 21. On the apocalyptic character of the parables in the Gospels see Joel Marcus, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), pp.62-65, 229-233. While selected portions of Paul's writings present an apocalyptic worldview, such as Rom 8.18-25; 1 Cor 15.12-20, 20-28; and 2 Cor 12.1, they yet do not meet the criteria to be considered as apocalypses.

specifically identified as a divine *χάρις*. The Corinthians' zeal for 'spirits,' or the ability to be open to the influence of other heavenly beings, is noted in Paul's instructions on the benefits of prophecy and his admonitions against *glossolalia*. Based on our review of the term 'spirits' in the Book of Daniel, we noted that it appeared that the seer was able to gain revelatory insight from 'spirits' or lesser celestial beings (holy gods), as well as the 'God of Gods.' From this perspective, it appears that the term *πνεύματα*, while used frequently to represent celestial beings, at times may engender within its meaning those 'spirits' specifically capable of disclosing revelatory knowledge.

We concluded Chapter Three with a small listing of those principal meanings represented by the term 'spirits' within the spectrum of Jewish literature we have examined thus far. Eugene Nida and Johannes Louw provide a similar listing of principal meanings for *πνεῦμα* in their monograph, *Lexical Semantics of the Greek New Testament*.[797] A table is provided below:

Nida and Louw *πνεῦμα*	**Literature w/Apocalyptic Worldview** *πνεύματα*
1. the Holy Spirit	1. name for God *('Lord of the Spirits')*
2. non-material being (spirit)	2. non-material celestial beings *(spirits)*
3. an evil, non-material being (demon)	3. demons *(evil spirits)*
4. an apparition (ghost)	4. disembodied beings
5. a psychological faculty potentially sensitive and responsive to God	5. ways of describing deeds *(good and evil)*
6. a mode of intellectual activity *(way of thinking)*	6. ways of thinking *(good and evil)*
7. atmosphere (wind)	7. winds
8. air coming from the lungs (breath)	8. inner life force *(given from God)*
	9. animating powers *(infusing meteorological elements, cosmic powers)*
	10. lesser deities *(or pagan gods)*

797 See Nida and Louw, *Lexical Semantics*, p.82.

We have yet to establish the impact, if any, these definitions will have on our examination of the term 'spirits' in John's *Apocalypse*, particularly as it relates to his understanding and application of the term *πνευμάτα* in his writing. However, it is worth stating that based on our observations thus far, we can explore the meaning of 'spirits' in John's Apocalypse with fresh insight, particularly the understanding that within apocalyptic literature the term 'spirits' is used to represent lesser gods and animating powers. The fact, that these two meanings are used less frequently in New Testament literature does not invalidate our earlier findings. Rather, the limited presence of these meanings in the Pauline letters increases the possibility that John may have been familiar with these definitions as well. With this in mind, we now begin our examination of John's *Apocalypse*.

CHAPTER FIVE
Spirit(s) in the Book of Revelation

Thus far, we have conducted an exegetical and comparative analysis of 'Spirit(s).' This has been accomplished by using a traditio-historical method to survey how 'spirits' are depicted in the OT, Jewish apocalyptic writings of the second temple period, the *DSS*, and early writings of the NT. Our intent has been to explore how the lexical term 'spirits' is utilised and can be interpreted in these texts in order to determine the traditio-historical milieu that may have influenced John's understanding of the term. Our assumption is that John was a Jewish-Christian and as such he was familiar with some, if not all of the Jewish and Christian conventions expressed in the texts we have examined thus far. From this perspective our premise is that it is highly probable that the apocalyptic literary traditions exemplified in these writings informed John's pneumatology, and more particularly his understanding of 'spirits,' and thereby shapes how he employs the term *πνεύματα* in his writing to convey this information.

At this point in our study we turn our attention to 'spirits' in Revelation. More specifically, we begin our analysis of John's understanding of 'spirits' by examining his use of *πνεύματα* (1.4, 22.6) and the phrase *πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ* (3.1, 4.5, 5.6) in the *Apocalypse*. In the process, we will attempt to detect any discernible similarities and differences between John's perspective and treatment of 'spirits' and the term's application in the writings we have thus far examined.

1. 'Spirits' in Revelation (1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6; 16.13, 14; 22.6)

There are seven instances where the term 'spirits' is used in Revelation – 1.4; 3.1; 4.5; 5.6; 16.13, 14; 22.6 – five of these we will examine in detail. In one instance we find unclean 'spirits' (16.13), and in another the phrase 'spirits' of demons (*δαίμονες*, 16.14). At this phase in our study we are well aware that the term 'spirits' is frequently used to represent demons. So there is no need to consider these texts in full detail. However, in the course of our review we will have an opportunity, on a limited scale, to consider John meaning when he uses the word 'spirits.'

1.1 *Epistolary Greeting* (1.4)

The term 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) first occurs in John's epistolary greeting to the seven churches in Asia (1.1-8). Here we find John extending salutations on behalf of God, the seven 'spirits,' and Jesus Christ (1.4). While it has been suggested that the phrase '*καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ*' is an interpolation,[798] this seems unlikely. First, numerology appears to play a significant role in the Apocalypse. Several numerals figure prominently – three,[799] four,[800] seven[801] and ten.[802] In these two verses (vv.4-5) the number seven is featured along side two tripartite formulas. Consider the following:

1.4	*...ταῖς ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαις...*	the *seven* churches
	χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη	Grace and peace[803]
	ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος	Him who is, was, and is coming (*three-fold* divine name of God)
	...τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων...	the *seven* spirits
	ἃ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ	Before (in the presence of) his throne
1.5a	*...ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς.*	Faithful witness, firstborn of the dead, and ruler of the kings of the earth (*three-fold* title for Jesus Christ)

It is difficult to determine if the tripartite divine name for God reflects an early Christian liturgical tradition or if John adapts a shorter bipartite epithet (Exod 3.14; *cf.* Rev 11.17; 16.5) for use here as a literary device to complement the three-fold Christological title that he attributes to Jesus. The divine name for God only occurs here in the NT (Rev 1.4, 8; 4.8), as do the titles given to Jesus. However, the tripartite name for God does appear in Targumic texts (*cf. Tg. Ps.-J.* Deut 32.39) and the Christological title for Jesus appears to be derived from Psalm 89, a hymn of praise celebrating the covenantal relationship between God, David, and his descendants (Ps 89.27, 37; LXX 88.28,

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[798] See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.8-9, 11-13. *Cf.* Kraft, who argues against in *Die Offenbarung*, p.32.
[799] The number three (*τρεῖς*)occurs eleven times – 6.6; 8.13; 9.18; 11.9, 11; 16.13, 19; 21.13(4). *Cf.* 'third' in 8.7, 9, 10, 11, 12; 9.15, 18; 12.4.
[800] The number four (*τέσσαρας*)occurs eighteen times – 4.6, 8; 5.6, 8, 14; 6.1, 6; 7.1(3), 2, 11; 9.13, 14, 15; 15.7; 19.4; 20.8.
[801] The number seven (*ἑπτά*)occurs at least 55 times – 1.4(2), 11, 12, 13, 16, 20(6); 2.1(2); 3.1(2); 4.5(2); 5.1, 5, 6(2); 6.1; 8.2(2), 6(2); 10.3, 4(2); 11.13; 12.3(2); 13.1; 15.1(2), 6(2), 7(2), 8(2); 16.1(2); 17.1(2), 3, 7, 9(3), 11; 21.9(3). *Cf.* 'seventh' (*ἕβδομος*) in 8.1; 10.7; 11.15; 16.17; 21.10.
[802] The number ten (*δέκα*) occurs nine times – 2.10; 12.3; 13.1(2); 17.3, 7, 12(2), 16.
[803] Wishes of 'grace and peace' are standard in early Christian letters, *cf.* Rom 1.7; 1 Cor 1.3; 2 Cor 1.2; Gal 1.3; Eph 1.2; Phil 1.2; Col 1.2; 1 Thess 1.1; 2 Thess 1.2; 1 Tim 1.2; 2 Tim 1.2; Titus 1.4; Phlm 1.3; 1 Pet 1.2; 2 Pet 1.2.

38).[804] So within these two verses we find coalescence between Jewish and Christian religious traditions.[805] Is this also the case with John's presentation of 'spirits'?

While some scholars argue that here the seven 'spirits' represent angelic beings[806] or gods,[807] others hold for an early trinitarian concept,[808] the sevenfold gifts depicted in Isaiah 11.2,[809] or an allusion to the seven lamps in Zechariah 4.2-7.[810] The question is not whether John was familiar with these traditions. And, if he was, is this really what is being expressed here in this writing? I believe the symmetry of John's greeting – seven churches/tripartite divine name, seven spirits/tripartite divine name – conveys more than symbolic imagery and numerology? Is it possible that seven 'spirits' represent celestial beings in heaven in a manner akin to the way the seven churches represent Christian congregations on earth?

Perhaps these seven spirits represent another group of celestial beings, such as lesser deities.[811] We make this suggestion because our examination has revealed that the term 'spirits' frequently serves as a capacious grouping in apocalyptic literature for all 'spirits,' among which gods and angels are included. Wilhelm Bousset made a similar assumption nearly a century ago.[812] In his commentary, he proposed that with the seven 'spirits' (1.4) John has unknowingly incorporated the seven highest spirits from Babylonian mythology into his apocalypse. However, he concedes that the seven

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[804] See Aune's work where he devotes an excursus to this discussion in *Revelation*, pp.33-34.
[805] See Schüssler Fiorenza who argues the Christological titles reflect an early Christian tradition (*cf.* Rom 8.29; 1 Cor 15.20; Col 1.18); *Revelation: Vision of a Just World* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1991), pp.41-43.
[806] See Robert A. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977), pp.69-70; Aune, *Revelation*, pp.33-35.
[807] Bousset argues for the seven planetary gods from Babylonian mythology, although he concedes John incorporated these deities without knowledge of their original meaning. See *Die Offenbarung*, pp.185-187.
[808] See Leon Morris, *Revelation*, TNTC (London: Tyndale Press, 1969), pp.47-48; Kraft, *Die Offenbarung*, p.32; and Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993), p.25.
[809] See William Barclay who suggests a connection between the seven spirits and the seven churches, with each spirit representing a portion of God's Spirit given to each human being. *The Revelation of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 2nd ed., 1960), pp.39-40.
[810] See G.K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), pp.189-190.
[811] See Bruce J. Malina and John J. Pilch, who define the seven 'spirits' as non-visible, intelligent, celestial entities personified as 'sky powers.' See *Social-Science Commentary on the Book of Revelation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), p.34.
[812] See Bousset, *Die Offenbarung*, pp.185-186.

Babylonian spirits never appear as a connected unit, thus this combination of the seven developed later over time in Jewish angelology. Is this the case?

1.1.1 'Spirits' (*1 En, Jub,* and *Songs*) – In the *BW* we found seven Watchers (*1 En* 8.1-4; *cf.* Tob 12.15) that are classified as angels. These angels held positions of responsibility in the angelic hierarchy and possessed hidden knowledge not readily accessible to humans. However, their disobedience and unsanctioned actions make it quite unlikely that John is referring to them in his epistolary greeting. Also in the *BS* (*1 En* 60.11-21) and in *Jubilees* (2.2) 'spirits' are depicted as meteorological elements. In these writings the number of 'spirits' vary between the accounts, and the meteorological elements they represent or govern are not always consistent. Further, the 'spirits' in the *BS* and *Jubilees*, are never associated with God's throne, rather they are depicted as elemental forces of the firmament. We have also encountered seven 'spirits' in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In *TReuben* (2.3-9), seven 'spirits' of sensory perception are given to all human beings at creation to counter the seven 'spirits of deceit' (2.2). These too appear inappropriate for use in John's greeting.

The only instance where we have discovered 'spirits' associated with the divine throne-chariot of God is in the *DSS*, the *Songs*. While they are not specifically identified as being seven in number, these 'spirits' are said to encircle the habitation of God (4Q403 frg.1, 1.46), for example as the planets rotate and encircle the earth. They also appear to move in unison with the divine throne-chariot (frg.20, 8-11), quite possibly in wonderful chariots of their own (4Q405 20, 2.11). It has long been accepted that the ancients envisioned celestial bodies transported through the heavens in chariots (1 En 72.3-5; 75.3, 8; *cf.* 41.5-7).[813] The 'spirits-gods' of the *Songs* are also connected with the glory of God, the celestial temple, and the heavenly holy of holies (1.44; 4Q405 4-6, 1.12). They are part of God's celestial entourage, ranked above all other celestial beings (4Q403 frg.1, 1.33, 44, 45; 4Q405 4-6, 1.13), and appear to have realms and domains which they govern – for they are also called the 'spirits-gods' of the firmament (4Q404 5.3; 4Q405 4-6, 1.13). Their association with the firmament and the fact that they are called 'spirits-gods' suggests these beings were perceived as lesser gods, possibly over meteorological elements, celestial bodies, or an amalgamation of the two.

The noteable status of the 'spirits-gods' is further attested to in that their effigies are engraved on the walls, vestibules and columns of the inner shrines of the heavenly sanctuary (4Q405 14-15, 1.5, 6, 7; frg.15, 2.4; frg.19, 1.4-6). If they were planetary or meteorological gods, this would explain why their effigies are engraved on the walls, vestibules, and columns of the celestial temple. Perhaps these images are depictions of the planets or cosmological realms they govern. Further, if this concept has its origin in Babylonian mythology, is this the mark of its influence on Jewish pneumatology? This would certainly explain why the author of the *Songs* affirms their loyalty to the one God (frg.23, 1.11), and declares that they remain ever-ready to respond to his authority, and that they always carry out God's missions (frg.23, 1.12, 13).

Perhaps what we find in Rev 1.4, actually represents a coalescence of two or possibly three earlier traditions in Jewish pneumatology. If so, then the 'spirits-gods' of the firmaments that we find in the *Songs* quite possibly represents an initial amalgam. First, the 'spirits-gods' navigate the heavens in divine chariots as depicted in *1 Enoch* (75.3, 8) although they are also closely associated with the divine chariot (4Q403 frg.20, 8-11, 2.11). Further, just as the 'spirits' in *Jubilees* (2.2) are linked with the firmament, as are their residential storehouses (*1 En* 33.2-3; 60.12, 20), likewise the 'spirits-gods' are also linked with the firmament and celestial temple. While both traditions appear to coalesce initially in the *Songs*, John's Apocalypse prominently displays the beings depicted in *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Songs* by assigning a numerical significance to them through use of the number seven.[814]

Further, the 'spirits' in John's epistolary greeting are prominently positioned between God and Jesus Christ. If John was familiar with these apocalyptic traditions, then the 'spirit-gods' of the firmament would certainly appear to warrant such prominent placement. When we examine the greeting with the 'spirits-gods' of the firmament in mind we find a developing trajectory towards an early three-fold celestial hierarchy. (See Diagram 5.1, p.275)

The supreme eternal God is identified as the ruler of the universe by his three-fold divine name – the one who is, who was, and is to come – he is all-

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[813] See M.L. Margolis, 'Chariots of the Sun, in *ISBE*:1, p.636.
[814] The number seven occurs quite frequently in the *Songs*. See 4Q400 frg.1, 1.9; frg.1, 2.7; frg.3, 1.9, 12; 4Q403 frg.1, 1.2-10, 12-14, 16-20, 22-27; 2.23, 27-29, etc.

eternal. The seven 'spirits' before his throne reign within the realm of the firmament, or the heavens. Jesus Christ, the faithful witness and firstborn of the dead, is the ruler over all the earth and its kings.[815] Of course, at this point, we cannot be certain John was familiar with the writings of the *DSS* or the traditions present in the writings of *1 Enoch* or *Jubilees*. However, we can presuppose that he would have been familiar with the prevalent apocalyptic traditions of his day – literary themes, imagery, and word use – and how the term 'spirits' was understood. However, at this early stage in our review of John's writing, it remains too early to make a determination beyond this point.

2. The Message to Sardis

Here in John's message to the church of Sardis (3.1-6) we again find the seven 'spirits' of God.[816] The singular *πνευμα* also occurs in the closing injunction to the Church of Sardis to 'listen' to what the Spirit is saying to the churches.[817] This formulaic proclamation occurs seven times in the Apocalypse, strategically placed at the conclusion of each of the oracles to the seven churches (2.7, 11.17, 29, 3.6, 13, 22; *cf.* 13.9, 18). In this instance, *πνευμα* represents the 'Spirit of prophecy' speaking through Jesus, while John acts as a scribe recording that which is being relayed to the churches.[818] However, in these instances the 'Spirit' is not to be confused with the seven 'spirits.' Rather, the instruction at the conclusion of each letter directing the recipients to listen to what the 'Spirit' is saying suggests a fluidity between Christ and Spirit. It is not clear if Christ merely speaks by the Spirit, or if John understands Christ and Spirit to be one.

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[815] Bousset argues that Jesus is named last as he is the one closest to his communities. *Die Offenbārung*, p.187.
[816] Scholars generally agree that the seven 'spirits' identified here are the same as those mentioned in 1.4. See Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.219; Barclay, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.145-146; Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.78; as well as Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science*, p.34.
[817] See Matt 11.15; 13.9, 43; Mark 4.9, 23; Luke 8.8; 14.35 also *cf.* Deut 29.4; Isa 6.9-10; Jer 5.21; Ezek 3.27; 12.2. For a discussion on the gospel parallels see G. Bornkamm, ed., *Die Formgeschichte des Evangeliums* (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 6th ed., 1971), p.248; and Beale's comments on the same in *Revelation*, pp.236-239. Also, see Aune's assertion that the phrase is a prophetic signature in *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.123-124; and in 'The Odes of Solomon and Early Christian Prophecy,' *NTS*:28 (1982), pp.438-439.

2.1 *Seven 'spirits of God'* (Rev 3.1)

Here in 3.1, the seven 'spirits' identified are not associated with God's throne. Yet, the phrase *τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ* (שבעת רוחות אלהים) aligns them in some fashion with God.

> **3.1** *Καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἐκκλησίας γράψον· Τάδε λέγει ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας· Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχεις ὅτι ζῇς, καὶ νεκρὸς εἶ.*
>
> **Translation:**
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> **3.1** "And to the angel of the church in Sardis write: These are the words of him who has the seven spirits of God and the seven stars: "I know your works; you have a name of being alive, but you are dead.[819]

In the opening verse John identifies Jesus Christ as the one who has 'the seven spirits of God and the seven stars' (*cf.* 1.16). Aune argues that both the seven stars and the seven 'spirits' represent angels, with the *καί* functioning epexegetically to join the two phrases. In this instance, the seven stars symbolise the seven angels of the seven churches (1.20), which are in heavenly reality the seven 'spirits' or seven archangels.[820] While this supposition is tempting, we posit another theory. Is it possible that John positions Jesus here with both 'spirits' and angels to put forth a christological concept which further defines Jesus' position within the celestial hierarchy?

Throughout the Apocalypse Jesus is never depicted as being totally 'other.' Descriptions of him are blurred with those of angels[821] and the Ancient One (1.13-15; *cf.* Dan 7.9). Language about him is frequently ambiguous. In some instances, a fluidity can be detected between Jesus and the Spirit in the messages to the seven churches (*cf.* 2.1,7, 8, 11, 12, 17, 18, 29; 3.1, 6, 7, 13, 14, 22). At other points in the Apocalypse Jesus appears to function in ways similar to a mediating angel. In 1.1 John writes that God gave the revelation to Jesus to show to his servants (*cf.* 22.6). Is Jesus the messenger/angel God sends to John? In 4.1, Jesus speaks to John in a manner similar to that of the mediating angel in 17.1. However, John clearly forbids the worship of angels (19.10; 22.9).

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[818] See Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.123-124; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.90; Beale, *Revelation*, p.324; Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.53.
[819] NRSV, this translation and all others unless otherwise cited.
[820] Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.219.

Jesus also appears to share titles with God. In 2.8 Jesus is distinguished as the first and the last (*cf.* 1.17). A similar self-designation of God occurs in 1.8. In the main letter's opening God identifies himself as the Alpha and Omega, the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet, which speaks of the totality of God's power, his divine governance and authority (*cf.* Isa 41.4; 44.6; 48.12).[822] Similar statements are being made concerning Jesus' lordship in the introductory addresses of the messages to the seven churches.

In 2.12 Jesus is identified as having a two-edged sword (*τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ*, 1.16; *cf.* 19.15, 21).[823] The sword is frequently used in biblical literature to symbolise judicial power, as well as God's word.[824] Perhaps here the statement attests to Jesus' role as judge (19.11; *cf.* Rom 2.16; 2 Tim 4.1, 8) and bearer of God's word (Luke 24.19).[825] Of course, John clearly associates righteous *judgement* with God (Rev 14.7; 18.8, 20; 6.10).[826] Likewise for John the 'testimony of Jesus' is nearly inseparable from the word of God (1.2, 9; 20.4; *cf.* 6.9; 12.11). Jesus is the one who holds the keys of Death and of Hades (1.18; *cf.* 1 Sam 2.6).[827]

Further, in 2.18 Jesus is described as the 'Son of God' with eyes like a flame of fire and feet as burnished bronze, physical characteristics attributed to the celestial being depicted in Daniel (1.14b-15a; *cf.* Dan 10.6; Ezek 1). All of these examples indicate the power and authority Jesus wields in both heavenly and earthly realms. Angels submit to his authority, and serve under the command of his right hand (2.1). Further, his governance extends over the

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[821] See Stuckenbruck, *Angel*, pp.218-240; and Rowland, *Open Heaven*, pp.101-103. Also see Larry Hurtado who makes a later contribution to this discussion in *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988).

[822] See Mitchell G. Reddish, 'Alpha and Omega,' in *ABD*:1 (1992), pp.97-105.

[823] *Cf.* Hebrews 4.12 the two-edged sword imagery is associated with the word of God (*cf.* Isa 49.2; Eph 6.17).

[824] See J.K. Hoffmeier, 'Weapons of War,' in *ISBE*:4, pp.1037, 1042. Charles argues the clause, *ὁ ἔχων τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἀστέρας*, is a divine title for Christ. See *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.78.

[825] Bousset argues against any connection being formed between the title and attributes given to Christ and the seven spirits. See *Die Offenbärund*, p.222. Aune relates the seven spirits to the seven angels before the throne of God, and argues that they are indirectly identified as the angels of the seven churches. See *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.219.

[826] See Gen 18.25; 1 Kgs 8.32; 1 Chr 12.17; 2 Chr 20.12; Psa 7.6, 11; 75.7; 76.9; 82.1; Ecc 3.17; 11.9; 12.14; Ezek 20.36;p Tob 3.12; 2 Macc 12.6, 41; 2 Ezra 14.32; Rom 2.3; 14.10; 2 Thess 1.5).

[827] In the OT God is the giver of life and death (2 Kgs 5.7; Psa 13.3; 118.18; Neh 9.6; Jer 45.5). Likewise, God also controlled access to Sheol or the 'realm of the dead' (Num 16.30; 1 Sam 2.6; Ps 30.3; 49.15; 86.13; Prov 15.11). The word most commonly translated for the Hebrew Sheol (שאול) in the Greek is Hades (*ᾅδης*). See T.J. Lewis, 'Abode of the Dead,' in *ABD*:2 (1992), pp.101-105.

earth, particularly the seven churches.[828] Is it possible that a similar concept is being presented in 3.1? Perhaps John sees Jesus' authority over angels being extended to include all pneumatological beings, even those 'spirits' previously subject only to the authority of God.[829]

The verb ἔχω literally means 'to have' or 'possess.' This may explain why in the message to Ephesus (2.1) John depicts Jesus as holding (κρατῶν, *lit.* holding fast, or restraining) the seven stars in his right hand,[830] while in 3.1 John writes that Jesus 'has' or 'possesses' the seven 'spirits' of God. This appears to suggest a subtle, yet distinct difference between the seven stars (or angels) as celestial beings who Jesus restrains or holds authority over in his right hand, and the power of the seven 'spirits' of God which he possesses (3.1).

The message to the church of Sardis is one that attempts to strengthen (3.2) and encourage the people to overcome (3.5) by returning to a life of faithful service to God (3.2). They are warned that if they do not repent, Jesus will come as a thief without warning. John's literary allusion to the 'thief in the night' draws upon the imagery of the eschatological 'day of the Lord' (Matt 24.43; 1 Thess 5.2; *cf.* 2 Pet 3.10) and the *judgement* of God (Jer 2.26). It is well known that 'day of the Lord' imagery depicts the elemental powers of the firmaments (Isa 13.16-13; Ezek 30.3; Joel 1.15-20; 2.1-4, 30-31; 3.14-15; Amos 5.18, 20; Zeph 1.14-15) being unleashed upon the earth. If so, then the 'spirits' to which John refers (3.1) are those we have previously encountered in the books of *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch.* This also means that Jesus' exalted status is such that he now possesses the power of the elemental forces of the universe.

In our study we have already noted that 'spirits' are associated with the meteorological phenomena. In two of those instances, angels served in some capacity alongside these 'spirits.' In the *BS* (*1 Eno* 60.19, 21, 22) angels guard the heavenly residences of the 'spirits' who control the elements. From this perspective, the angelic guards appear to hold a subservient role. Angels reside

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[828] See Malina and Pilch, *Social-Science Commentary*, p.39.

[829] Beale posits that confinement to the celestial throne room implies that the seven 'spirits' are agents only of God operating throughout the earth. However, in 5.6 they ultimately become Christ's agents throughout the world, figuratively representing the Holy Spirit. See his comments, *Revelation*, p.355.

[830] The verb κρατέω occurs only once in Revelation, here in 2.1. A plural participial form (κρατοῦνας) occurs three times (2.14, 15; 7.1). Alternatively, John's use of ἔχων (1.16) appears to be the author's preferred verb – it occurs no less than 32 times in John's Apocalypse. The variation in use may allude to the author's understanding of God's permissive will.

in the storehouses of the 'spirits' for the sole purpose of opening and closing the storehouse gates during their ('spirits') departure and return. This imagery is reminiscent of the role assigned to sentries and sentinels (2 Sam 18.24, 26; Esth 2.21; Jer 27.13; Jdt 13.11; *4 Macc* 3.13); as well as city and temple gatekeepers (1 Chr 9.18, 23; Neh 12.35; 13.22; *cf.* Neh 7.3).[831]

A similar depiction of this extraordinary relationship between 'spirits' and angels is also present in the *BJ* (2.2). While angels are certainly classified as 'spirits,' certain 'spirits' appear to govern meteorological realms with angels serving them and assisting them in some capacity. These types of perfunctory tasks again represent a subservient position within the pneumatological hierarchy. Thus, by depicting Jesus as having the authority to hold or restrain angels in his right hand, and having the power of meteorological 'spirits' we find a comparable scenario to what we have already discovered in the pseudepigraphic writings. We must confirm this possibility by seeking to determine if in the Apocalypse we find angels performing similar functions (8.5, 7; 16.18, 21). Let us consider the following:

2.1.1 Seven Angels, Seven Trumpets (Rev 8.2-9.21) – In John's vision of the seven trumpets (8.2-9.21) we find that the actions of angels appear to release meteorological forces which cause catastrophic devastation on one-third of the earth, its waters and sea-life, as well as its human population. The pericope opens with seven angels standing before God being given seven trumpets. We must be careful not to assume that these angels are identical with the seven 'spirits' identified in 1.4.[832] While there appears to be scholarly agreement that these seven angels are the seven archangels,[833] that consensus does not extend to linking them to the seven 'spirits' in 1.4.[834] Alternatively, it is possible to suggest that the seven stars (1.16, 20; 2.1, 3.1) symbolise these seven angels. First, because John clearly calls them as angels (*ἑπτὰ ἄγγελοι*, 8.2). Second, we know they are not the seven 'spirits' because they are identified as the ones

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831 See G.A. Lee, 'Gatekeeper,' in *ISBE*:2, pp.409-410.
832 Aune draws this conclusion and identifies them as the seven archangels in *Revelation*, p.2.509.
833 See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.225; Morris, *Revelation*, p.119; Barclay, *Revelation*, p.2.51; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.180; J. Michl, *Die Engelvorstellung in der Apokalypse* (Munich: Heuber, 1937), p.184; and Beale, *Revelation*, p.454.
834 See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.225 and Michl, *Apokalypse*, pp.147-148, who both argue against the angels being identical with the 'spirits'.

who *stood* (*ἑστήκασιν*, lit. 'they have stood,' from *ἵστημι*) before God, an action clearly associated with angels (7.1, 11; 8.2, 3; 10.5, 8; 19.17) and not 'spirits' in the *Apocalypse*. R. H. Charles also relegated the role of these angels to that of celestial servants, arguing that the phrase *ἑστάναι ἐνώπιον* also means to 'to attend' or 'to serve' upon (*cf.* Luke 1.19).[835]

From the text it appears that the angels with the trumpets (*σάλπιγξ*, Heb. שופר, horn) serve in more of a perfunctory role – they are celestial trumpeters – sounding the trump which signals the release of various end-time plagues upon the earth (8.6, 8, 10, 12; 9.1, 13; *cf.* Josh 6.4, 6, 8, 13).[836] From a military perspective, the one who sounds the alarm is not generally the commander of the troops being mustered or the one leading the assault (1 Macc 4.13; 6.33; 9.12).[837] However, they are typically in close allegiance with the commander of the forces because the trumpet was fundamentally a signalling instrument, especially during times of war.

It was used to signal a call to arms (Judg 3.27; 6.34; Neh 4.18-20), warn of impending danger (Jer 6.1; Ezek 33.3-6; Hos 5.8), proclaim victories (1 Sam 13.3), or signal military manoeuvres such as when to retreat (2 Sam 8.16) or disperse the troops (2 Sam 20.1, 22).[838] Further, in the OT the trumpet is depicted as a priestly instrument used to signal the Day of Atonement (Lev 25.9) and announce the new moon (Psa 81.3). In the writings of the prophets it was expected to herald the Day of Judgement (Zeph 1.16) and to signal the long awaited return to Zion (Isa 28.13). However, it is the sons of the priests (Num 10.8; 31.6; Neh 12.35; Sir 60.15) who were assigned the task of sounding the trumpets, not the High Priest. Arguably, the sons of the priests were also priests (Exo 28.1, 4, 41; 29.44; 30.30). However, they appeared to have carried out the more humble tasks, such as the initial slaughtering of beasts for sacrifice (Lev 5.5), preparing the altar fire (5. 7), transporting grain into the temple storehouses (1 Chr 9.30), and sounding the trumpets (Num 10.9; Josh 6.5, 6, 8; 2 Chr 5.12).

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[835] See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.225. Also see Morris who concurs, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.119-120. For arguments against see Aune, *Revelation*, pp.2.508-509.
[836] The seventh trumpet is sounded later (Rev 10.7).
[837] *Cf.* Judg 7.16, 18, 19, 20, 22, where Gideon sounds the trumpet along with his troops.
[838] See D.A. Foxvog and A.D. Kilmer, 'Music,' in *ISBE*:3, pp.439-440.

Further, in Revelation 8.3-5 we find a solitary angel serving in a high priest capacity.[839] It is the actions of this angel, who offers incense and prayers before God, that trigger theophonic manifestations of thunder and lightning, and in turn spark the onset of the celestial assault. His actions appear to be those attuned with one holding a position of authority, much more so than the seven angelic trumpeters. Charles makes this distinction, going so far as to argue that this angel is either the archangel Michael or the unnamed 'Angel of Peace.'[840]

Perhaps, John's identification of the seven angels as those who have stood in the presence of God speaks metaphorically of their purity as angelic trumpeters, or junior angelic priests, yet consecrated and holy. If this is the case, the purity acknowledged in the first verse of the pericope (8.2) stands in marked contrast to the sinful humans described in the last verse of the section (9.21). Instead of worshipping God, these humans worship demons and idols' made from 'gold and silver and bronze[841] and stone and wood' (v.20). They murder and practise sorcery, and John identifies them as fornicators and thieves.

The imagery in this pericope is quite similar to what we encountered in the *EE* (*1 En* 99.7). However, John incorporates one of the Enochic writer's concepts, and transposes it to suit his purposes. It is not humans who are ignorant and have 'no knowledge' (*1 En* 99.7, 10). Rather, for John it is the worthless *εἴδωλα* (idols, false gods) who unlike God are blind, deaf, and incapable of movement. By identifying the angels as having stood in the presence of God, John acknowledges God's universal awareness of all matters in heaven and on earth, further emphasizing the futility of idol worship.

What we find particularly interesting is that only in this pericope where John closely retains the apocalyptic imagery and concepts presented in the *EE* does he employ *πνεῦμα* language when referring to demons (16.13, 14).[842] Only here do we find unclean and demonic 'spirits.' Elsewhere in Revelation John writes of demons (*δαίμονες*, 9.20; 18.2), Satan (*Σατανᾶ*, 2.9, 13, 24; 3.9; 12.9; 20.2,

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[839] See Mounce, *Revelation*, p.181.
[840] See his comments, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.225-226.
[841] John includes bronze, as does Daniel (5.4, 23), but excludes iron. *Cf. 1 En* 99.7 for 'gold and silver and of wood and clay…'
[842] *Cf. 1 En* 99.7 where idols are called evil *πνεύματα*.

7) or the devil (*διάβολος*, 2.10; 12.9, 12; 20.2, 10). This suggests John's preference for alternative terms or names that avoid *πνεῦμα* language. Perhaps this example best illustrates John's dilemma. Is the seer struggling to adapt his understanding of 'spirits' into a developing pneumatology? Or, is he in fact developing a new one? We will keep this question in mind as we continue our examination.

Another explanation of John's portrayal of the angels (8.2) is that the statement is rhetorically placed to identify God as the source of their instructions. In the *BS* (*1 En* 60.22) angels were believed to be informed of God's timing and measures for each meteorological element. In other words, by identifying the angels as having been in the presence of God John informs his audience that the angels do not act independently. Rather, God sanctions the alarm they sound and the ensuing plagues that follow.[843] Perhaps John envisions that each trumpet blast serves as a signal to the guarding angel of each meteorological 'spirit,' and as depicted in *1 Enoch*, the angel opens the gates and the 'spirit' goes forth to perform God's will. We must recall that in the *Songs*, the loyalty of the 'spirits-gods' was attested in that they remained ever-ready to carry out God's missions, and not their own.

Several scholars have noted the similarities between the plagues John envisions in this pericope and those inflicted upon Egypt in Israel's exodus narrative.[844] Likewise, in the OT the biblical writers assured their audience that God sanctioned the plagues against Egypt, going so far as to identify Yahweh as the one who hardened Pharaoh's heart (Exo 4.21; 7.3; 9.12; 10.1, 20, 27; 11.10; 14.4, 8). Thus, in this section (8.1-9.21) the actions of the angels do not appear to reflect those of celestial beings holding positions of autonomy or authority in the celestial hierarchy, particularly positions that would necessitate their inclusion in John's epistolary greeting. Rather, they depict celestial beings acting under the supreme authority of God.

2.1.2 Seven Angels, Seven Bowls (Rev 16.1-21) – In this pericope we encounter seven angels who receive divine instructions to pour out seven

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[843] See Barclay who argues that the sounding of trumpets signal the intervention of God in human history, *Revelation*, p.51; also Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.2, pp.518-519.

bowls of wrath upon the earth (16.1). According to the 'angel of the waters' they receive their instructions from God, the Holy One, and their actions represent his judgement (vv.5, 7). This is consistent with 8.2. It is possible that the 'angel of the waters' functions in a manner similar to the angels who restrain (*κρατέω*) the winds (7.1). As we have noted in our review of the *BS*, angels were believed to guard the residences of the elements (*1 En* 60.21; 66.2).

Further, the plagues and the natural phenomena depicted as God's wrath being released or 'poured out' by the angels are identical with several of the elemental powers identified as 'spirits' in the books of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. These include water (Rev 16.4; *cf. 1 En* 66.1), fire (Rev 16.8; *cf. Jub* 2.2), and darkness (Rev 16.10; *cf. 1 En* 60.19; *Jub* 2.2), as well as lightning and thunder (Rev 16.17; *cf. 1 En* 60.14-15; *Jub* 2.2).

2.2 ***Summary*** (Rev 3.1)

We have attempted to determine if the relationship between 'spirits' and angels depicted in the books of *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* is consistent with that presented in John's Apocalypse. Specifically, we have sought to determine the type of relationship John depicts, if any at all, between the seven angels and seven 'spirits' listed in 3.1. Thus far, we see none. In the two instances where we have examined angels completing perfunctory tasks (8.1-9.21; 16.1-21), the role of 'spirits' remains elusive!

What we can detect is consistent apocalyptic imagery, concepts, and even language. While angels appear to have some interaction with elemental forces (water, wind, fire, lightning and thunder), John never specifically attributes these phenomena to 'spirits.' Instead, these forces are indicators of God's wrath (16.2), judgement (16.5, 7), and avenging response to the prayers of the saints (8.4-5). If John believes that the seven 'spirits' represent God's power transfusing the meteorological elements, he does not make this clear. Rather, a more subtle approach is applied through co-ordinated actions and reactions. The actions of angels clearly signal and release the forces of natural phenomenon.

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[844] See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.233; esp. see Beale, *Revelation*, pp.465-468; Barclay, *Revelation*, pp.53-54; and Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.2, p.546.

Perhaps, it is not essential for John to explicitly correlate 'spirits' with meteorological phenomena because his audience is already familiar with this tradition. Further, it is highly probable that the eschatological 'day of the Lord' imagery is sufficient to remind John's audience of God's judgement and to equate the seven 'spirits' of God with the elemental powers of the firmaments. Belief in the destruction that would accompany their release is well documented in biblical prophecies.

Perhaps John's real challenge is to incorporate Jesus into an existing celestial hierarchical tradition. By depicting Jesus as the one who holds (*κρατέω*) the seven stars (angels) in his right hand, John establishes Jesus' lordship over the angelic branch of pneumatological beings. However, by identifying Jesus as having (*ἔχειν*) the seven 'spirits' of God, John places him in a unique relationship with God. His ability to restrain the seven angels suggests he, like God holds the power of the seven 'spirits.' Because the angels guard their dwellings (according to *1 Enoch*), then the 'spirits' and the elemental powers of the universe that they wield now belong to Christ, for his disposal at his discretion. This certainly heightens the authority and status of the exalted Christ. This image would clearly serve John's intended purpose – it depicts Jesus as an awesome heavenly ruler and king to be reckoned with – one that is much more powerful than any earthly king with which the people of Sardis could identify.

3. Heavenly Worship (Rev 4.1-5.14)

In (chapter 4) John records a vision depicting heavenly worship (4.1-11). He employs conventional visionary imagery in the opening verses, such as the open door, an invitation to enter and an offer of revelatory insight, followed by a heavenly journey (vv.1-3).[845] In the next portion of the pericope (4.4-7) John describes the scene he encounters in the heavenly throne room (v.2). The heavenly council is seated (v.4), and in its midst is the heavenly throne-chariot. In the seer's detailed description of the celestial throne he also mentions 'spirits.'

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[845] See Beale, *Revelation*, pp.316-319; Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.313.

3.1 *Seven torches, seven 'spirits'* (Rev 4.5)– The details John records in his Apocalypse, correlate with those described in other-worldly journeys described in the OT and pseudepigraphal literature (Isa 6.4; Ezek 1.4; Dan 7.10, 13; *1 En* 14.17-20; 71.5-6).

> **4:5** καὶ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου ἐκπορεύονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί, καὶ ἑπτὰ λαμπάδες πυρὸς καιόμεναι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, ἃ εἰσιν τὰ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ,
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> **4:5** Coming from the throne are flashes of lightning, and rumblings and peals of thunder, and in front of the throne burn seven flaming torches, which are the seven spirits of God;

Streams of fire, lightening, thunder, quakes and rumblings are all indicators of meteorological events. The fact that these elements appear to be harnessed and are depicted as surrounding the throne or habitat of God (Ezek 1.13; Dan 4.9, 10; *1 En* 14.19, 22; 4Q405 frg.15, 2.2-3) further attests to his authority as creator and ruler of the universe – God controls all. Unlike human and earthly kings, the elements cannot consume or destroy him. Instead, they are servants who shield his very presence.

According to John the seven 'spirits' before God's throne burn as flaming torches (4.5). In Daniel (7.9-10) streams of fire are before the Ancient of Days and his throne is as 'flames of fire' with wheels of burning fire. Also, we find burning coals of fire moving as 'torches' along with the heavenly throne-chariot in Ezekiel (1.13). When we turn again to *1 Enoch* we find similar imagery. There the writer of the *BW* depicts flames of fire as being before God, totally surrounding his presence (*1 En* 14.12). In *BS* fire is described as encircling God's crystal -like habitation (*1 En* 71.5-6). This in turn agrees with what we also find in the *Songs* where the forms of 'spirits-gods' are described as flames of fire surrounding the residence of God (4Q403 1.46; *par.* 4Q404 5.5-6). While fragment 4Q403 is incomplete, fragments 4-6 of 4Q405 (1.15-16; *par.* 4Q404 frg.5 1.5-8) provide further insight to the text. There we learn that the 'spirits-gods' not only surround God's residence, but also its walls, the holy of holies, and quite possibly the entire structure (*cf.* 4Q403 1.44). This concept is comparable with the description given in the *EE*. Thus, the imagery we encounter in John's Revelation appears to incorporate that which is present in at least three apocalyptic traditions.

First, atmospheric and meteorological elements are associated with the presence of God (Ezek 1.13; Dan 7.9-10; *1 En* 14.2; 71.5-6) through the use of imagery. Second, 'spirits' are depicted as elemental powers, that is the atmospheric and meteorological elements of the universe (*1 En* 69.22-23; *Jub* 2.2; 4Q403 1.46), and are placed within the hierarchy of celestial beings. Third, 'spirits' are given form described in terms of meteorological elements (4Q403 1.44, 46), are identified as gods in the celestial hierarchy (Q403 1.46; 2.8, 9; 4Q405 frg.5 1.15; frg 19, 1.3; frgs. 20-22, 2.3, 11) and are associated with the presence of God (4Q403 1.44, 46). John's development combines all aspects of these traditions whereby in Revelation we find 'spirits' named in association with God (Rev 1.4; 3.1) and described in terms of atmospheric elements, namely fire (Rev 1.4; 3.1; 4.5). It could be that John achieved this pneumatological insight on his own, or that he was familiar with the traditions present in the *Songs* whereby 'spirits-gods' were identified as the 'spirits of the vaults' or firmaments (4Q405 frg.19, 1.20). If the latter is true, then this would give some insight into why John identifies them as beings before God's throne, and places them in such close association with God and Christ.

In Revelation (4.5) the seven 'spirits' are distinguished as the 'spirits of God' (*cf.* 3.1; 5.6). If the number seven represents a symbolic code unique to ancient numerology as we have noted above,[846] then we can focus our attention on John's literary placement of the 'spirits' in proximity to God (1.4; 31; 4.5; 5.6). Following the supposition we posited earlier in our review of 3.1, this may indicate that these 'spirits' are celestial beings who God alone governs. Charles argues that these seven 'spirits' which John calls lamps (λαμπάδες) actually stand in relation to the seven planets, although the seer may or may not have been aware of this association.[847] However, other scholars argue that excluding the sun, moon, and stars, the planets played a very small role in ancient Jewish astronomy.[848] While astronomy and astrology was frequently associated with idolatry in the OT (Deu 4.19; 17.13; 2 Kgs 23.5; Isa 47.13; Jer 8.2) there are limited texts which appear to commend their practice (Gen 1.14; Dan 6.27*cf.* Jer 10.2; Luke 21.25).

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[846] The number seven is recorded 30 times in Revelation.
[847] *Revelation*, p.117. The seven planets probably entail the moon, sun, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, and Mars. See Francesca Rochberg-Halton, 'Astrology in the Ancient Near East,' in *ABD*:1 (1992), pp. 504-507.

Other contemporary scholars also note the significance of John's use of *λαμπάδες*, primarily as it relates to Zechariah's vision of the lampstand (Zech 4.1-11).[849] However, it is more likely that the pertinence of the 'spirits' being called torches is illustrated by the fact that John only uses the plural form (*λαμπάδες*) once in the entire Apocalypse (4.5). This also holds true for the singular form of the noun which he also only uses once (8.10). Perhaps we can obtain further clarification of John's understanding from within his revelation.

3.2 *The third trumpet* (Rev 8.10-11)

We have already examined selected aspects of this pericope (8.1-9.21) in our review of 3.1 above. Here in 8.10 we need only concern ourselves with the meteorological event that follows the sounding of the third trumpet blast. First, we discover that a great star falls from heaven, ablaze like a torch (*λαμπάς*). This astronomical event destroys one third of the rivers and springs of water on the earth. In v.11, John calls the star 'wormwood.' The term is used elsewhere in biblical literature as a metaphor for bitterness and sorrow (Prov 5.4); it is also a sign of God's judgement and punishment (Jer 9.15; 23.15; Lam 3.15, 19;), and used to illustrate perverted justice (Amos 5.7; 6.12).[850] In Deuteronomy (29.18; Jer 9.15; 23.15) 'wormwood' is associated with idolatry.

Several contemporary scholars argue that 'wormwood' (Rev 8.10) is an astronomical event.[851] If this is the case, then John uses this event to illustrate his theological position concerning idolatry (9.20). Support for this perspective is based on John's detailed and explicit emphasis on the pagan idols (vv.20-21). Surely, only the most severe transgression against God, in this case idolatry, would warrant the level of wrath and *judgement* John illustrates (9.3-10, 15-19). Alternatively, little significance is placed on associative behaviour such as

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[848] See J.M. Everts, 'Astronomy,' in *ISBE*:1, p.347.
[849] See Beale who argues that John patterns this imagery after Zechariah's vision of the seven lamps in Zech 4.2-3, 10; see *Revelation*, pp.326-327.
[850] See G.L. Knapp, 'Wormwood,' in *ISBE*:4, p.117.
[851] See Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.2, pp.520-521; Everts, 'Astronomy,' p.348; and Mounce, *Revelation*, p.187, n.34. Ancient writings also associate falling stars and comets with astronomical events signalling disaster. See Manilius, *Astronomica*, 1.892-926 and Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 2.22.90; 2.25.96. Beale argues the star represents the fallen angel of Babylon and is an allusion to Isa 14.12-15and *Sib.Or.* 5.158-60, in *Revelation*, pp.478-479. Charles correlates the text with *1 En* 18.13 and argues the text alludes to the first plague of Egypt, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.234. Ancient writings also associate falling stars and comets with astronomical events signalling disaster.

murder, sorcery,[852] fornication (which may also refer to cultic prostitution, *cf.* Lev 20.5; 1 Kgs 15.12; 22.46; 2 Kgs 23.7; 1 Chr 5.25; Jer 5.7; Hos 4.13-14; Joel 3.3),[853] and theft.[854]

Also, here as previously discussed, the meteorological event is signalled by a trumpet blast. Thus, while the great star that falls symbolises a meteorological catastrophe, its representation as a blazing torch (*λαμπάς*) is also significant. We know that elsewhere in the Apocalypse fire appears along with hail as a means of destruction and punishment (8.7, 8; 9.18; 16.8, 21; 19.20; 20.9, 10, 14-14; 21.8). John's symbolism here could certainly be used to represent 'spirits' by depicting them as both meteorological elements as well as God's agents of the astronomical disaster. We suggest this because here again the trumpet's blast signals the release of the fiery star. However, we must be careful not to conclude as have some scholars that the falling star represents an angel. John's literary style is such that throughout the Apocalypse he makes use of stars in various ways. He portrays stars as angels (1.16, 20; 2.1; 3.1), celestial lights (6.13; 8.12; 12.4; *cf.* 2.28; 22.16), and as ornamental jewels in the crown worn by the cosmic queen (12.1).

3.3 *Summary* (Rev 4.5)

I put forth the following proposition: If 'wormwood' represents a cosmological disaster, and I believe it does, then it is possible that John's description of the star as a torch (*λαμπάς*) links it with the seven 'spirits' that he describes as torches (*λαμπάδες*) in 4.5. This then aligns the 'spirits' with meteorological phenomena – in this case through John's use of a single word. However, this alone is insufficient evidence upon which we can draw a conclusion positing the seven 'spirits' in 4.5 as symbolic representations of the elemental powers or meteorological elements of the universe.

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[852] Magic and divination can be identified in a variety of forms throughout OT literature (interpretation of dreams, clairvoyance, geomancy (figures or lines), hydromancy [water], magic staffs, casting lots [Urim and Thummim], blessings and curses, as well as apotropaic measures [averting evil]). See 'Magic and Divination,' in *HBD*, pp.641-643; also see J.K. Kummerlin-McClean, 'Magic (Old Testament),' in *ABD*:4 (1992), pp. 468-471.

[853] Fornication encompassed any type of illicit sexual activity (seduction, rape, sodomy, bestiality, some forms of incest, homosexuality, and prostitution). *Cf.* 1 Sam 2.22 where temple prostitution appears to be customary, excluding members of the priesthood. See James M. Efird, 'Fornication' in *HBD*, p.349; and K. Van Der Toorn, 'Cultic Prostitution,' in *ABD*:5 (1992), pp.510-513.

[854] No detailed descriptions similar to that provided for idolatry accompany these activities.

Further, I believe that the meteorological phenomena are closely associated with the 'spirits' in John's theophonic vision – lightning, thunder, fire (4.5) – all of which are depicted as 'spirits' in other apocalyptic literature. Consider the fact that John records the fiery torches as surrounding the presence, throne-chariot, and habitat of God. And, of course, fire is a meteorological element also associated with 'spirits'. Collectively, John's identification of the 'spirits' as the 'spirits of God,' along with the imagery he supplies, and his use of *λαμπάς* (torches) in only these two instances in the Apocalypse, suggests that in 4.5 the seven 'spirits' are celestial beings associated with the elemental powers of the universe harnessed and controlled by God as divine weaponry. If this is the case, then John envisions that the exalted Christ has (*ἔχω*) this same power (3.1).

4. The Scroll and the Lamb (Rev 5.1-14)

The section on heavenly worship continues in Revelation 5.1-14 when the focus of John's vision shifts to the scroll and the lamb. John sees the scroll in God's right hand sealed with seven seals (5.1). When an angel asks all of heaven and earth as to who can open the scroll (vv.2-3), John is informed by one of the elders that the 'lion of the tribe of Judah' will accomplish this task – for he alone has conquered (v.5). Scholars agree that the 'lion of Judah' and 'root of David' are names for Christ.[855]

In the following verse John sees a slaughtered lamb standing in the centre of the throne, the four cherubim, and the elders (v.6; *cf.* 7.17; 17.14). Scholars argue that the lamb, also symbolic of Jesus,[856] speaks of his earthly sacrifice (Acts 8.34; *cf.* Isa 53.7-8),[857] while the lamb's sudden appearance in the midst of the heavenly court before God's throne-chariot signifies his heavenly ascension.[858]

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[855] Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.140; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.144; Morris, *Revelation*, p.95; Barclay, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.213-214; Beale, *Revelation*, pp.350-351; and Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.349-350. Also see R. H. Preston and A.T. Hanson, *The Revelation of Saint John the Divine*, TBC (London: SCM, 1949), p.75;

[856] Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.141; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.145; Beale, *Revelation*, p.351; and Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.351.

[857] Also see Revelation 5.12; 7.14; 12.11; and 13.8.

[858] See H.P. Müller, 'Die himmlische Ratsversammlung: Motivgeschichtliches zu Apc 5.1-5,' in *ZNW*:54 (1963), pp.254-257, esp. p.256; and T. Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes* (Berlin: Akademie, 2nd ed., 1971), pp.29-31. Although Aune argues against, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.351.

4.1 *Seven horns, seven eyes, seven spirits* (Rev 5.6)

John describes the lamb as having (ἔχω) seven horns (κέρατα) and seven eyes (v.6). John's explanatory phrase – 'which are the seven spirits of God' – interprets this symbolism for his audience.[859]

> 5:6 *Καὶ εἶδον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θρόνου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ζώων καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀρνίον ἑστηκὸς ὡς ἐσφαγμένον ἔχων κέρατα ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑπτά οἵ εἰσιν τὰ [ἑπτὰ] πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεσταλμένοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.*
>
> 5:6 Then I saw between the throne and the four living creatures and among the elders a Lamb standing as if it had been slaughtered, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God sent out into all the earth.

Modern scholars tend to agree that the seven eyes symbolise divine omniscience or omnipresence[860] and are an allusion to Zechariah 4.10.[861] However, this interpretation only stands when the seven 'spirits' are taken as a metaphorical explanation for the seven eyes. This leaves the seven horns unexplained.[862]

Alternatively, some scholars argue that the seven horns are symbols of Christ's messianic kingship[863] and that John is drawing upon imagery from earlier apocalyptic traditions (*1 En* 90.9, 37; *T.Jos* 19.8*f.*) based on Isaiah 53.7[864] (*cf. 4 Ezra* 15.10; *Pseudo-Philo* 30.5) or Daniel 7.7-8.24.[865] However, as Aune argues, the Messiah is never symbolised as a lamb in Judaism. Further, he explains that while elements of the imagery – the seven horns and seven eyes – are drawn from apocalyptic tradition (*cf.* Dan 7.8, 20) their depiction together represents a composite image created by John.[866] If this is the case, then John's explanatory phrase should be interpreted with regard to both elements – the seven eyes *and* the seven horns.

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[859] Some scholars argue the phrase is an explanatory gloss. See F. Spitta, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Halle: Waisenhause, 1889), p.67; and D. Völter, *Die Offenbarung Johannis neu untersucht und erläutert* (Strassburg: Heitz & Mundel, 2nd ed., 1911), p.4.12; as well as J. Weiss and W. Heitmüller, 'Die Offenbarung des Johannes,' in *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 3rd ed., 1920), p.4.258. Charles argues against in *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.142-143; along with Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.554.

[860] Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.141; Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.354; Beale, *Revelation*, p.355.

[861] Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.141; Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.354; Beale, *Revelation*, p.355.

[862] As does Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.353-354.

[863] See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.141; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.145; and Beale, *Revelation*, p.351.

[864] Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.141; and Mounce, *Revelation*, p.145.

[865] See Beale, *Revelation*, p.351; and his monograph *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), pp.67-95.

[866] Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.353-354.

It is almost certain that John's use of 'eye' imagery symbolises divinity, omniscience or omnipresence present in biblical writings (2 Chr 16.9; Pro 5.21; 15.3; Zech 4.10; Sir 10.19; Heb 4.14; also *cf.* Psa 34.15; Amos 9.8; Sir 34.19; 1 Pet 3.12). Hence the difficulty in relating this aspect of the vision to Messianic kingship. While it is possible that the imagery of the seven eyes is an expression of John's interpretation of Zechariah 4.10, it is just as likely that Ezekiel 1.7 has influenced the seer.[867] Hints of this are present in 5.6, where John refers back to the four living creatures (*τῶν τεσσάρων ζῴων*) introduced earlier in 4.6.[868]

We first encounter the four creatures in the opening pericope of this section (4.1-5.14). In v.7 John's description of the creatures is comparable to that given in Ezekiel 1.10. Their facial appearances are of a lion (*λέων*), a calf (*μόσχος*), a man (*ἄνθρωπος*), and an eagle (*ἀετός*).[869] John sees flashes of lightning rays (*ἀστραπαί*) coming from the throne, and in front of the throne he sees seven flaming torches (4.5). Ezekiel also sees lightning (*ἀστραπαί*) coming from torches moving in the midst of the creatures (4.13; *cf.* Dan 7.10; *1 En* 14.19; 4Q405 frg.20, 2.10).[870] However the visions are not identical. These are subtle differences between what each seer perceives and records.[871] Like Aune, G.K. Beale argues that John's creatures represent a composite picture, one which the author has creatively adapted for the purposes of his own vision.[872] As 'spirits' are not mentioned in Ezekiel's first vision (1.1-28),[873] it was not included in our review of OT apocalyptic literature. However, as the seer's vision of the divine throne chariot might prove helpful to our discussion, it seems appropriate to include it in our analysis here.

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[867] Beale makes this comparison in *Revelation*, p.350.
[868] See Mounce, *Revelation*, p.136; Beale, *Revelation*, pp.328-331; and Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.297-298. Charles traces the various conceptions through apocalyptic literature, *Revelation*, Vol.1, pp.119-124.
[869] Although the sequence in which they are described differs in Daniel (a man, a lion, a calf, an eagle).
[870] *Cf* Dan 7.9 where the throne is 'fiery flames' and the wheels are 'burning fire' (also *1 En* 14.18).
[871] For example each of the creatures Ezekiel sees has four heads, while those seen by John only have one. The living creatures John describes have six wings, whereas those in Ezekiel have only four.
[872] Beale, *Revelation*, p.328.
[873] The singular form חיה occurs in 1.12, 20, 21and elsewhere in Ezekiel (22; 3.12, 14, 24; 8.3; 10.17; 11.1, 5, 19, 24; 13.3; 18.31; 21.7; 36.26, 27; 37.1, 14; 39.29; and 43.5.

4.1.1 A vision of the chariot (Ezek 1.1-28) – In the opening pericope to what the seer calls his 'visions of God' (v.1) Ezekiel devotes a considerable amount of space and detail to describing the four creatures and their activity (vv.4-25). In at least seven of the verses he writes of a wheel or cycle (גלגל) which appears to accompany the four creatures (4.15). There are several interesting characteristics we can identify. First, the wheel or wheels (the plural form is used in vv.19, 20, 21) are full of eyes (1.18; 10.12). Second, they have the appearance of beryl (v.16; *cf. 1 En* 14.18)). Beryl is an igneous oxide mineral that is completely colourless, even translucent in its purest crystalline form.[874] Next, Ezekiel writes that the four wheels all have the same form and appearance. He describes them as something like a wheel or cycle within a wheel (v.17; *cf.* 10.10). This has led modern commentators to attempt to interpret this passage in terms of ancient wheel construction.[875]

However, if this section of Ezekiel's vision is a storm theophany as commentators suggest then perhaps the seer's description of the spinning wheels is a literary device, a metaphor for meteorological phenomena such as a whirlwind (סערה, lit. windstorm) or tempest. Storm clouds, wind and fire are elements regularly employed by OT writers when illustrating theophanies (2 Sam 22.13; *cf.* Psa 18.13; Job 38.1; 40.6; Psa 77.19; Zech 9.14; Nah 1.3*b*; Hab 3.4, 11).[876] If this is the case then the seer may be drawing upon familiar imagery from earlier writings and even life experience. 'Rolling' sandstorms[877] comprised of crystalline, beryl-coloured sands indigenous to the ANE would have been a common occurrence. It is possible that a representation of this type of whirling cyclone influenced the seer's description, as it would have been readily recognisable by his audience.

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[874] See R.G. Bullard, 'Stones, Precious,' in *ISBE*:4, pp.623-630, esp. see p.625.
[875] See Othmar Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst: Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4*, SBS (Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1977), esp. see pp.184-185, 264-265; O. Procksch, "Die Berufungsvision Hesekiels," in *Karl Budde zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*. BZAW:34 (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1920), pp.146-147; and G.A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel*, ICC (New York: Scribners, 1936), p.17.
[876] William H. Brownlee, *Ezekiel 1-19*, WBC:28A (Waco: Word Books, 1986), pp.10-11. Also see T.N.D. Metttinger, who argues the divine throne-chariot is also an element of the storm theophany in *The Dethronement of Sabaoth: Studies in the Shem and Kabod Theologies*, ConBOT:18 (Lund: Gleerup, 1982), p.105.
[877] See Gary A. Lee, 'Whirlwind [s^{e}'ārâ],' in *ISBE*:4, p.1058; and TWOT Theological Wordbook (03975) and BDB Heb Lexicon (06580).

Several aspects of the seer's vision support this supposition. The divine chariot has mobility on land and in the sky (1.15, 19, 20-21), a meteorological attribute. Also we could apply a metonymical interpretation of the chariot wheels that move in four directions (1.17; 10.11). Thus figuratively speaking the wheels represent compass points frequently associated with the earth (*cf.* Isa 11.12; Ezek 7.2; Rev 7.1; 20.8), wind (Ezek 37.9; Matt 24.31; *par.* Mark 13.27) and especially the four winds of heaven (Jer 49.36; Dan 7.2; 8.8; 11.4; Zech 2.6; 6.5; 2 Ezra 13.5; Rev 7.1). Further, imagery associating chariots with the wind is common (Isa 66.15; Jer 4.13; Dan 11.10). Could this be the meaning behind the seer writing that a 'living spirit' (πνεῦμα ζωῆς/רוח החיות) or 'wind' is in the wheels (Ezek 1.20-21; 10.17).

Commentators agree that the living creatures in Ezekiel's vision are cherubim who serve as bearers and guardians of the divine throne-chariot (*cf. 1 En* 71.7).[878] However, it is not clear from the text if the 'living spirit' in the wheels is analogous with the 'living creatures,' although some scholars interpret it as such.[879] However, if this were the case, it would be unnecessary to identify the 'spirit' as living. To Ezekiel's audience this would be an obvious assumption based on his frequent description of the creatures as 'living' (Ezek 1.5, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22; 3.13; 10.15, 17).

It is possible that the seer envisioned the 'living creatures' as bearers of the chariot, similar to a horse-drawn chariot yet with significant differences. First, the divine throne-chariot was capable of rising and landing, moving on the ground and through the sky. Second, while cherubim drew the chariot, the grandeur and impetus indicated by the seer's description is that of a celestial throne-chariot mobilized by 'spirit(s),' associated meteorological elements under Yahweh's control. In fact, as Aune points out, the Hebrew word wheels (אופנים) later appears in Jewish literature as a class of pneumatological beings (*1 En* 71.7; 4Q 4-5; *cf. 3 En* 1.8; 2.1; 6.2; 7.1;p 25.5-7; 33.3; 39.2; *b.Hag* 12*b*), specifically angels.

John evokes this imagery in the minds of his readers in 5.6 by positioning the slaughtered lamb in the temple scene among the elders and living creatures. However, John's creatures unlike Ezekiel's are stationary

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[878] See Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.1, p.120; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.138; and Beale, *Revelation*, p.329.

around the divine throne (4.6). Ezekiel sees the throne above the chariot, above the crystal-like dome (1.22, 26; *cf.* 4Q405 frg.20, 2.8-9), while John sees a 'sea of glass like crystal' in front of the throne (Rev 4.6). Here, in front of the throne, John sees the seven flaming torches (1.4; *cf.* Psa 50.3) which he calls the seven 'spirits' of God (4.5).

Based on John's description, physical positioning, and possessive language the seven 'spirits' appear to be pneumatological beings in their own right,[880] with little to blur their identity with that of the creatures. Further, John's living creatures are full of eyes (v.6), and wheels are not mentioned at all in the Apocalypse. Thus, while John's vision may be perceived to be a composite in his description of the creatures, the theological and christological implications are clear. John distinctly separates the 'spirits' and aligns them with both God (4.5) and Christ (5.6).

Here in 5.6 John's christology influences his language and imagery. The mere mention of the four living creatures brings to mind Ezekiel's storm-theophany and John's description of them only eight verses earlier. No doubt John intends for his readers to recall this symbolism as he re-introduces the seven 'spirits' of God. Positioned here with the slaughtered lamb, the seven horns and seven eyes are identified as being sent out into all the earth.

4.2 *Seven Horns* (Rev 5.6)

We have already considered the symbolism of the seven eyes above. We have yet to examine the symbolic meaning of the horns. The horn (the Grk. κέρας or the Heb. קֶרֶן) is an expression of power and might (Sir 47.5, 7, 11; 49.5; 148.14; Jer 48.25; Ezek 29.21; 4.13). It also symbolises strength, position and honour (Psa 75.4, 5; 89.17, 24; 92.10; 112.9; 139.17) bestowed by God. Further, the horn represents the presence and power of God (2 Sam 22.3; *par* Psa 18.2;). Less frequently the term is used to represent a musical instrument (Josh 6.5; 1 Chr 15.8; Psa 98.6; Ezek 7.14; Dan 3.5) or vessel filled with oil for anointing (1 Sam 16.1, 13). Interestingly, the noun can also be translated as 'ray' or 'shine' following its verbal root (Exo 34.29).

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[879] Allen argues the divine spirit controls both ground (wheels) and air (wings) mobility.
[880] *Cf.* the later writings of *2 Bar* 21.6 where this concept has advanced.

In the visions in Daniel 7-8 horns symbolise various rulers and are associated with kingship. In the Apocalypse, John's use of κέρας is quite similar to that found in Daniel. The great dragon (12.3, *cf.* Ezek 29.3; 32.2) and the beast rising from the sea (13.1) both have ten horns.[881] The beast who comes from the earth (13.11) has two horns, while the scarlet beast has ten (17.3, 7, 12, 16). The interpreting angel explains the symbolic meaning of the ten horns on the scarlet beast in (chapter 17) - they represent ten kings. John's only mentions horns twice outside the combat myth narratives occur in 5.6 and in 9.13. In 9.13 a voice proceeds from the four horns of the golden altar. There is little agreement among scholars on the identity of the speaker.[882] Is the voice that of the horns[883] or the altar?[884] Is the speaker God, Christ, or an angel?

For the purposes of our study it is sufficient to acknowledge that the horns in John's Apocalypse most frequently occur as symbols of kingly authority on earth, and there is no reason for us to interpret them otherwise here in 5.6. Thus, if the horns symbolise kingly power and authority, and if the eyes symbolise divine omnipotence and omnipresence then we are looking to identify 'spirits' of God which meet this criterion. By identifying the exalted Jesus as the one who has (ἔχω) the seven horns and eyes, which qualifies as the seven 'spirits of God,' then the seer articulates his christology and effectively incorporates Christ into the celestial hierarchy. Christ not only holds kingly power and authority throughout all the earth, but also shares in God's divinity.

4.3 *Summary* (Rev 5.6)

Thus far our study has identified the 'spirits-gods' in the *Songs* as high ranking pneumatological beings associated with the throne, the crystal sea,[885] and the firmament which might suggest that they were perceived to be lesser meteorological gods in the service of God. Again, we cannot be certain that

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[881] See Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.2, pp.683-684; Beale, *Revelation*, pp.632-633; and Mounce, *Revelation*, pp.252-253.

[882] Beale links the voice with either Christ (6.6) or the angel in 16.7, *Revelation*, pp.505-506. Morris argues the voice is that of God or the angel associated with the angel in 8.3, *Revelation*, pp.132-133. Barclay writes, 'This is a passage of which the imagery is mysterious, and no one has ever been able fully to explain the details of it.' See his comments on the passage, *Revelation*, pp.63-65.

[883] See Aune who argues for a literal translation, *Revelation*, Vol.2, p.526.

[884] Mounce argues for personification, noting the same use appears in 16.7, see *Revelation*, pp.199-200.

[885] Ezekiel's crystal dome (1.22, 26); or shining vault in *Songs* (4Q405 frg.20, 2.9)

John was familiar with the *DSS*, or the *Songs* in particular. However, the fact that he depicts the 'spirits' as horns suggests that he understood them to be pneumatological beings with celestial realms. Further, by referring to them as eyes sent out into all the world, it is clear that John has re-worked Ezekiel's imagery of the 'spirit' in the wheels full of eyes. Instead, these 'spirits' together represent only seven eyes, which may indicate limitations to their authority and abilities. According to John the 'living creatures' are full of eyes. Thus, he makes a clear distinction that only God, seated on the divine throne-chariot is omnipresent and omniscient.

However, by associating the slaughtered lamb with the seven 'spirits' of God, John acknowledges the authority God bestows upon the exalted Christ. It is clear that John was re-working an existing apocalyptic tradition and an inherited pneumatology to accommodate a developing hierarchical structure. The seer's adaptations use the seven 'spirits' as a bridge between God and Christ within the celestial hierarchy. Perhaps, more than anything else, the seven 'spirits' depict the seer's efforts to rework his theology and understanding of 'spirits' in order to incorporate and sustain an high christology that more fully articulated the revelation he received concerning Jesus Christ (1.1). It appears that John mentions the seven 'spirits' here as a way of clearly illustrating his understanding of the exalted Christ, his placement in the celestial hierarchy, his earthly kingship, and his divinity.

5. The Final Vision (Rev 21.9-22.7)

The last instance in which we find the term 'spirits' (*πνεύματα*) occurs here at the conclusion of John's vision of the new Jerusalem, immediately prior to his closing epilogue (22.6).[886] While several commentators consider vv.6-9 as part of John's closing and benediction,[887] the structure and content of the verses appear to serve as a transition from John's final vision leading into the epilogue.[888] In 21.9 an interpreting angel offers to show John the bride of Christ – the holy city of Jerusalem. In the following verses (21.10-26) John

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[886] Mounce describes these verses as a section consisting of 'a number of rather loosely related utterances which are difficult to assign to any speaker,' *Revelation*, p.389.
[887] Review Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.2, pp.180-181; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.389; Beale, *Revelation*, pp.1122-1123; and Morris, *Revelation*, pp.257-258.

details his vision of the great city, its measurements, and surrounding walls. In (chapter 22) he describes the river and tree of life (Rev 2.7; 22.2, 14, 19; *cf.* Gen 2.9; 3.22, 24; 2 Ezra 2.12; 8.52)[889] in the midst of the city (Rev 22.1-5).

In 22.6 the interpreting angel[890] authenticates the truthfulness of the revelation John has received. The affirmation applies to the entire Apocalypse, and is not limited to the recent vision of the holy city. The message and messenger are from God – 'the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets.' Scholars tend to agree that here 'spirits' represents the prophets' own spirit being filled by the words of the Spirit (2.7, 11, 17, 29; 3.6, 13, 22; 14.13; 22.17; *cf.* 1 Cor 14.32; 1QH 20.11-13),[891] while some question if John's use of the word *πνεύματα* should actually be interpreted as angelic 'spirits' who inspire prophets.[892] Although angels frequently act as mediators of God's word and will to prophets in biblical literature, we cannot assume by extension that this includes inspiration. At least we do not find this to be the case in John's Apocalypse (Rev 1.1; 10.5-11; 14.6-13; 17.7; 18.1-4). In situations where John is instructed to eat (10.9), measure (11.1) or write (19.9), the word or action is attributed to God (10.8; 11.3; 19.9-10).

We have seen the phrase 'Lord, God of the spirits' or parallel epithets in OT (Num 16.22; 27.16; *cf.* 2 Macc 3.24), pseudepigraphic (*1 En* 37-71) and NT (Heb 12.9) literature as appellations to God's sovereignty. However, we have not found this to be common in John's Apocalypse. Nor, does John provide a similar title for Jesus. Why? Throughout the Apocalypse John makes use of several epithets when writing of God, yet none of these incorporate 'spirits.' These designations include 'living God' (7.2), 'God of heaven' (11.13; 16.11),

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[888] See Aune's arguments on this point, *Revelation*, Vol.3, pp.1181-1182; and Barclay who separates vv.6-9 as a section he calls, 'Final Words,' *Revelation*, Vol.2, pp.285-287.

[889] Also see Proverbs for various axioms on the tree of life (3.18; 11.30; 13.12; 15.4; *cf.* 4 Macc 18.16).

[890] Beale argues the speaker is Jesus, and the declaration is a prelude to his statement in 22.7, *Revelation*, p.1123; as does Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.2, p.217. For others who take a similar position see E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, HNT (Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 3rd. ed., 1970) p.177; and E. Lohse, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), p.114. For those who argue the mediating angel is the speaker see Aune, *Revelation*, Vol.3, p.1182; Mounce, *Revelation*, p.390; Barclay, *Revelation*, Vol.2, p.286; and J.P. Lange, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 2nd ed., 1878), p.259.

[891] See Mounce, *Revelation*, p.390; Beale who argues for a specific prophetic class, *Revelation*, p.1125; Charles, *Revelation*, Vol.2, p.218; and Aune who argues that the spirit is the highest psychic faculty of individual prophets, *Revelation*, Vol.3, p.1182. Also see Barclay, *Revelation*, Vol.2, p.286; and Morris, *Revelation*, pp.257-258.

and simply 'Lord God' (1.8; 4.11; 18.8; 22.5). We also find 'Lord God, Almighty' (4.8; 11.17; 15.3) or some variation thereof (16.7, 14; 19.6, 15; 21.22). Most frequently John simply identifies God as 'God.' Why in this instance, near the close of his writing does John distinguish God in such a way, this time linking him specifically with prophets? We shall explore this question further.

5.1 *'Spirits' of the prophets* (Rev 22.6)

What sparked my interest very early on in this study was John's use of *πνεύματα* (1.4; 22.6),[893] and whether or not a distinction was being made in the form of an inclusio? In his opening salutation John mentions 'spirits' (1.4) as he does here (22.6) near the conclusion of his book. Based on our findings thus far in the Apocalypse, 'spirits' appear most frequently in John's descriptions of Jesus (3.1; 4.5; 5.6). The placement of *πνευμάτων* between Jesus and God, shapes John's christology and theology. The 'spirits' are before God's throne (1.4), yet, they are the 'spirits' of God. Even though John writes of Jesus as having the seven 'spirits,' based on all previous examples 'spirits' distinctively belong to God. The genitive *τοῦ θεοῦ* (3.1; 4.5; 5.6) confirms this interpretation. We have already argued thus far, that in these instances (3.1; 4.5; 5.6), John appears to be re-shaping his understanding of 'spirits' in order to incorporate Christ into the celestial hierarchy.

> 22:6 *Καὶ εἶπέν μοι, Οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί, καὶ ὁ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τ�ῶν πνευμάτων τῶν προφητῶν ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει.*
>
> 22:6 And he said to me, "These words are trustworthy and true, for the Lord, the God of the spirits of the prophets, has sent his angel to show his servants what must soon take place."

Here in 22.6 John is attempting to describe the role of prophets and how they relate to the God. This same 'God of the spirits' is also the God of the prophets. Prophets also belong to God. In fact, true prophets of God stand before God to receive his council and divine word (Isa 6:1-13; Jer 23.18, 22). In John's case, he is before 'the Lord, the God of the spirits.' This certainly validates his message and his calling – John is true prophet of God because he

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[892] See J. Moffatt, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, Expositor's Greek Testament, W.R. Nicoll, ed. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910).
[893] Elsewhere John uses *πνεύματα* (3.1; 4.5; 5.6; 16.13, 14).

has stood in God's presence and received God's council. The phrase 'these words are trustworthy and true' in 22.6, also occur in 21.5 where John is urged to write. Thus, John is the obedient prophet of God and his message is God-inspired, a commonality the prophet shares with Jesus. Just as Christ is God's messenger/angel (1.1) to God's servant John, likewise John is God's messenger/angel to God's servants, the church (22.6).

Further, the fluidity of *πνεύματα* is such that in this instance the term carries an inclusive meaning. God is not simply the God of the seven 'spirits,' but of *all* 'spirits' including the 'spirits' of his prophets. Just as the seven 'spirits' authenticate the lordship of Christ within the celestial hierarchy (3.1, 4.5; 5.6) the Lord, the God of 'spirits' authenticates John message and mission (22.6). Moreover, as the 'spirits' are before God's throne, so John – a true prophet of God – stands before God to see, hear and write the revelation communicated to him. In this manner John's writing and mission is not only authenticated, but all those who hear and heed the words revealed through him by the prophetic Spirit (2.7, 11, 17, 29; 3.6, 20, 22) are acknowledging their relationship with God and Christ (3.20). Further, numerous blessings ensue for those who respond to John's testimony of Christ (1.3), for this is the 'spirit of prophecy' (19.10) speaking through John.

In the Apocalypse, God's word is intricately linked with the testimony of Christ (1.2, 9; 12.11, 17; 19.10, 13; 20.4; *cf.* 6.9; 11.7). Thus, those who listen and conquer (3.5, 12; 21.7) will eat from the tree of life (2.7) and drink from the spring of life (21.6), receive a new name (v.17) and live in the city of God (3.12), and they will join Christ on the heavenly throne (3.21). In this way, both Christ (1.5) and the prophet John bear the testimony of (2.13; 3.14) Christ, and thus both are faithful witnesses. This analysis suggests that John's use of *πνεύματα* in 1.4 and 22.6 forms an inclusio, in that all 'spirits' – those in heaven and on earth – belong to God.

Chapter Summary

In the Apocalypse we have determined that John's writing reflects several apocalyptic traditions concerning 'spirits.' Consistent with OT, NT and pseudepigraphal literature, the word 'spirits' appears to be a generic term primarily used to represent celestial beings (angels, demons, and even lesser gods). There is a clear continuity between John's understanding of *πνεύματα* as demons (Rev 16.13, 14) and that presented by writers of the NT and second temple pseudepigraphal literature. John describes 'spirits' as unclean (*ἀκάθαρτα*, Rev 16.13; 18.2) demons (Luke 4.33; *cf.* Matt 10.1; Mark 1.26; 3.11; 5.13; 6.7; Luke 4.36; 6.18).

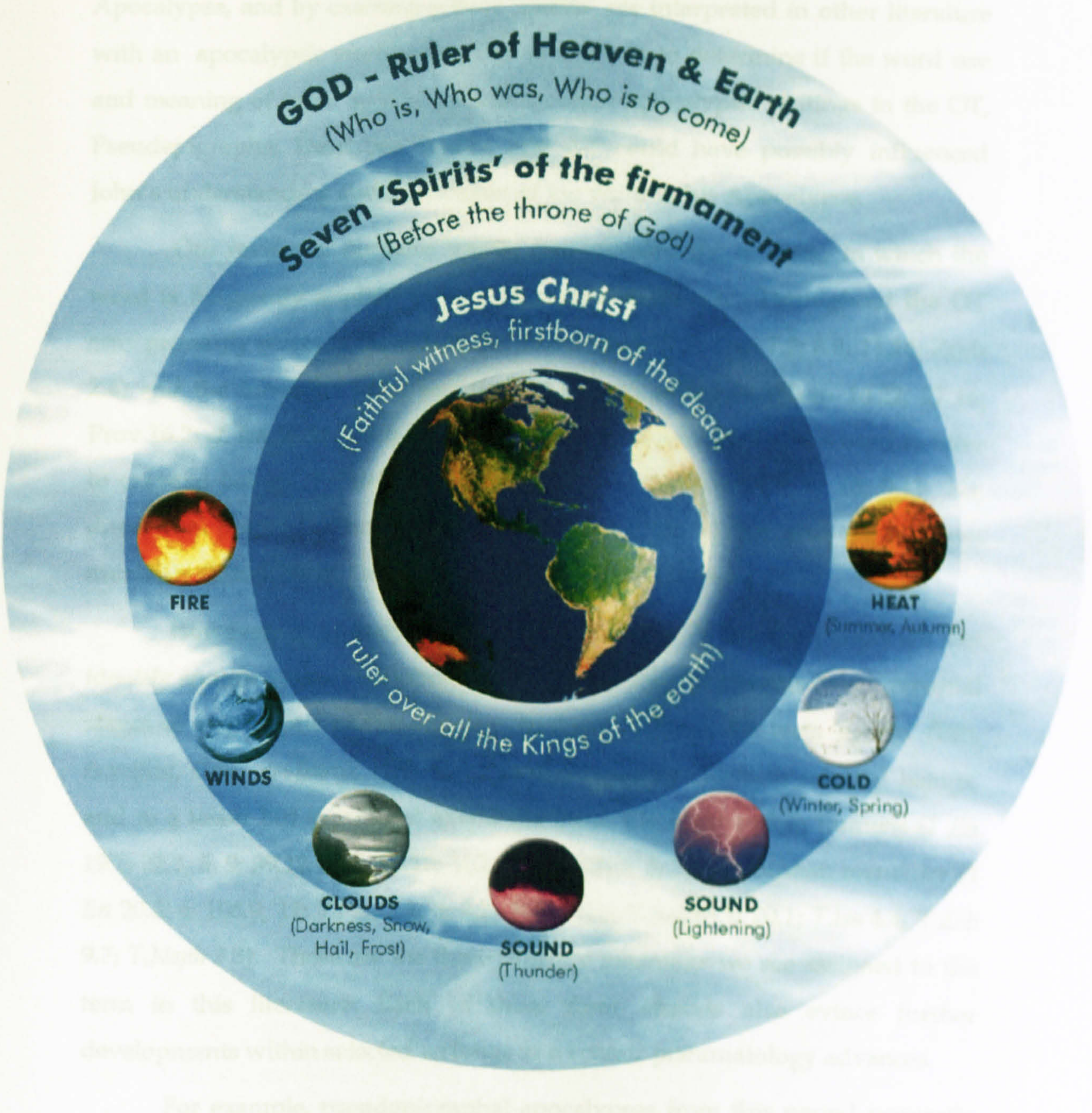
John also understands *πνεύματα* as the 'spirits' of God. In this instance, it is highly probable that he understood them to be lesser gods. They are before God's throne (1.4) and with Christ (3.1; 4.5; 5.6). From a literary perspective, they form the first part of an inclusio that encloses the greater portion of John's writing. What is less explicit in John's writing is exactly who these beings are and which apocalyptic tradition, if any, John is relying on to inform his understanding of 'sprits.' In 1.4, the 'spirits' are aligned with both God and Christ in John's greeting to the churches. Thus, they are high-ranking celestial beings of some import. This description supports the depiction of the 'spirits-gods' in the *Songs* (4Q403 frg.1, 1.46; frg.20, 8-11; 4Q405 frgs.4-6, 1.12).

We have determined that the seven 'spirits' do not function in the same way as angels. In 3.1 and 4.5 there are hints that John might have understood the seven *πνεύματα* to be cosmological forces similar to the 'spirits' we see in *1 Enoch* (60.11-21; 69.22) and *Jubilees* (2.2). In this capacity they function as God's divine weaponry. Further, in 5.6 John's use of the metaphors 'horns' and 'eyes' indicate that he understood these 'spirits' to be beings with celestial realms of authority. His reworking of Ezekiel's vision of the divine throne-chariot (4.5-8; 5.6) supports this observation. While John never identifies the seven *πνεύματα* as such, it is quite likely that he envisions them as celestial beings that function as or govern meteorological elements of the universe or possibly planetary bodies, such as the moon, sun or stars (Rev 6.12; 8.12) and thereby represent this aspect of God's cosmic power and presence.

Aspects of John's pneumatology and christology converge in 3.1 and 5.4. In these passages, John employs the term 'spirits' in such as way as to substantiate the association these beings have with God and to firmly incorporate Christ into the celestial hierarchy. By depicting Jesus as having (ἔχω) the seven 'spirits' of God John confirms his heavenly status, recapitulates the celestial power and authority granted him by God, proclaims his earthly kingship, and acknowledges his divinity. This is a purely Christian tradition that John advocates in his Apocalypse, and is one we have not encountered heretofore in our examination. Inclusion of the 'spirits' and Christ in his epistolary greeting speaks to the seer's prophetic foresight, for they reveal the developing trajectory of an early three-fold heavenly hierarchy.

The seer's final application of the term *πνεύματα* (22.6), forms the second part of the inclusio. Here in John's divine appellation for God – the Lord, the God of the spirits – *πνεύματα* has a dual meaning. John does not use the term simply to form a part of the divine title for God, but in this instance the seer uses *πνεύματα* to represent that aspect of God's prophets that interact with him, their 'spirits.' The innate fluidity within the meaning of the lexical term *πνεῦμα* allows the seer to apply the word in this manner. The 'God of spirits' and the 'spirit' of John have intersected in such a way that validates both John's message and mission.

Diagram 5.1
The Spirit in the Apocalypse



(Revelation 1.4)

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusion

Our goal throughout this study has been to determine what John means by the seven 'spirits,' based on his use of the lexical term *πνεύματα* in the Apocalypse, and by examining how 'spirits' are interpreted in other literature with an apocalyptic worldview. Our intent was to determine if the word use and meaning of term 'spirits' present in other apocalyptic writings in the OT, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, and NT could have possibly influenced John's understanding and application of the word in his Apocalypse.

Our review of the term 'spirits' has revealed the diversity in which the word is frequently applied in various textual materials. Throughout the OT רוחות primarily refers to the winds (Jer 49.36; Ezek 37.9; Dan 7.2; 8.8; 11.14; Zech 2.6) and the inner life force essential to human existence (Num 16.22; 27.16; Prov 16.2; *cf.* Isa 57.16; Zech 12.1). In several instances the term is used to refer to celestial beings (Ps 104.4; Zech 6.5; *cf.* Ezek 43.5; Dan 4.8, 9, 18; 5.11, 14), directional points (1 Chr 9.24; *cf.* Ezek 42.16, 17, 18, 19, 20), and even human mentality (Dan 7.15; *cf.* Dan 2.1, 3; 5.20; Isa 57.15; 61.3; 65.14; 66.2).

However, in apocalyptic literature from the 2nd temple period we can identify specific strands denoting what I believe may be various developmental stages of apocalyptic pneumatology. In these writings the term 'spirits' (Eth. *manāfest*, Grk., *πνεύματα*, Heb. רוחות) most frequently refers to celestial beings, and to a lesser but significant extent the inner life force within humans (*1 En* 19.1; 22.3, 5, 9; 39.12; 41.8; 98.10; 103.3, 4, 8; 108.3, 6, 7) and human mentality (*1 En* 20.3, 6; 108.9, 11; *T.Reu* 2.1, 3; 3.2; *T.Sim* 6.6; *T.Jud* 16.1; 20.1; *T.Iss* 4.4; *T.Zeb* 9.7; *T.Naph* 3.3). These are the three primary meanings we see assigned to the term in this literature. Each of these three strands also evince further developments within selected writings as a cosmic pneumatology advances.

For example, pseudepigraphal apocalypses from this period primarily identify 'spirits' as evil celestial beings (*1 En* 16.1; 99.7; *T.Levi* 4.1; 8.12; *T.Dan* 1.8; 4.5, 6; 6.1; *Jub* 11.4, 5; 12.20). However, in these writings the word also takes on a more generic meaning at times referring to all celestial beings including holy ones, angels, watchers (*1 En* 15.9; *T.Levi* 3.2; *Jub* 10.5, 13) and gods (Dan 4.8, 9, 18, 5.11; 6.3). An elementary hierarchical structure begins to appear as the leader of evil 'spirits' is introduced (Beliar, *T.Levi* 3.3; *T.Ash* 6.2; *T.Ben* 5.2;

Mastema, *Jub* 11.4, 5; 12.20). We also find within this strand a parallel tradition that depicts 'spirits' as cosmic meteorological forces (*1 En* 60.12; 69.22; *Jub* 2.2) and celestial beings with realms (*Jub* 15.31, 32). We find a similar development in the manner in which the writers refer to 'spirits' as a way of indicating the inner life force. In the canonical writings of the OT, some form of 'spirit' or life force exists in all animate creatures, yet God's Spirit only dwells in humans (Gen 6.3). The life force that comes from God (*1 En* 38.2; for 'returns to God,' *1 En* 39.4-10; 103.4; *cf.* Eccl 9.5) can only be destroyed by God (*1 En* 103.3, 10). Further, pseudepigraphic writings depict 'spirits' as the life force which continues to exist after the physical demise of the human body (*1 En* 15.8, 9; 22.10; 39.12; *Jub* 23.28, 31; *4 Ezra* 7.80; *cf.*, 1 Sam 28.8, 13 where the terms אוב and אלוהים are used instead of רוחות).

These three strands – celestial beings, human mentality, and inner life force – are also prominent in the writings among the *DSS*. Here we find that the generic application of רוחות is also applied to the good counterparts (1QH 5.3, 14, 28; 16.12, 19.13; 1QM 10.12; 12.9; 4Q403 1.37, 38; 4Q405 4-6, 1.6; 4Q502 27, 1.1; 8Q5 2, 1.6; 11Q17 19-20, 8.3) of evil spirits. These 'spirits' remain faithful to God alone (4Q405 4-6, 1.14). Here too we find a parallel strand whereby 'spirits' associated with the firmament, and quite possibly meteorological forces, are not only associated with God, but are also frequently referred to as gods (4Q403 1.43, 44, 46; frg.1, 2.7, 8, 9; 4Q405 14-15, 1.4; frg.19, 1.3; frg.20, 2.3, 10, 11; frg.23, 1.6, 9; 11Q17 6.3, 4, 5; 7.5, 13; 8.3; 11Q17 12-15, 2.4; frgs.16-18, 7.5; frgs.19-20, 2.3). Their prominent placement represents a reversal in the hierarchical structure depicted in the pseudepigraphal apocalyptic writings.

In the NT, again the same three strands are most prevalent, but to a lesser degree. Here 'spirits' are predominantly evil (1 Tim 4.1; Luke 8.2; 11.26; Acts 19.12, 13), unclean (Matt 10.1; 12.45; Mark 1.27; 3.11; 5.13; 6.7; Luke 4.36; 6.18; Acts 5.16; 8.7), or demons (1 Cor 12.10; Matt 8.16; Luke 7.21; 10.20). Further, these 'spirits' are typically associated with physical illness (Matt 10.1; Mark 5.13; Luke 6.18; 7.21; 8.2; Acts 5.16; 8.7; 19.12, 13).

Throughout this study our goal has been to determine if any or all of the meanings associated with the lexical term 'spirits' present in the textual materials examined, influenced John's understanding and use of the word 'spirits.' The primary question directing this inquiry has been: What is John's

understanding of 'spirits' based on his use of *πνεύματα* (1.4, 22.6) and the phrase *πνεύματα τοῦ θεοῦ* (3.1, 4.5, 5.6) in Revelation?

Our investigation has revealed that John was indeed familiar with other apocalyptic writings and quite possibly the language associated with this material. Throughout his writing he makes use of similar imagery, word use, symbolism, and literary devices present in other apocalyptic literature. It also appears quite probable that John was familiar with pneumatological traditions similar to those that we find in the writings from the Qumran community, particularly the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

John's pneumatology suggests that he inherited a complex celestial hierarchical structure from his predecessors. While yet in its developmental stages, John reworks much of this by isolating 'spirits' from other celestial beings to avoid confusion, particularly angels and the 'living creatures' associated with the divine throne-chariot. Alternatively, he appears to have no difficulty in referring to demons as 'spirits' particularly when applied within the context of idolatrous worship (*cf.* Isa 19.3; Zech 13.1), thereby continuing a long held Jewish tradition also present in the NT (1 Cor 12.10). From this we can conclude that John is aware of various types of celestial beings and makes a distinction between them to complement his visionary experience.

Further, we can conclude that in John's Apocalypse angels and 'spirits' are not used interchangeably, and do not appear to be synonymous in his writing, as mostly is the case in Jewish tradition. In order to assume synonymity between the two terms we would have to conclude that all 'spirits' are angels. However, our research has determined just the opposite – all angels are 'spirits,' but not all 'spirits' are angels. John seems to be aware of this distinction being made in earlier literature and embraces this concept in his own writing. It also seems likely that John was influenced by a tradition among apocalyptic communities that associated 'spirit-gods' with meteorological elements. This concept is present in pseudepigraphal literature, and while John is not explicit, allusions in his writing suggest a familiarity with these traditions.

We should also note that John's limited use of the term 'spirits' is restricted to symbolic expressions of power and authority granted to Christ by

God. This is reflected in John's attempt to incorporate Christ into an existing celestial hierarchy while simultaneously distinguishing him from other celestial beings. John manages to present and maintain a tension throughout his Apocalypse as to exactly what Jesus is and is not. In the first few chapters of Revelation this is accomplished through the 'spirits of God.'

In chapters 1-5 the 'spirits' always appear in a formulaic expression of unity between God and Christ. In each instance where John writes of the seven 'spirits' they are always linked with both God and Jesus. Thus, we conclude that John perceived these pneumatological beings in a different light from other celestial beings, a perception confirmed by their association with God and Christ. In three of the four instances where they appear John identifies them as the 'spirits of God' (3.1; 4.5; 5.6) and yet, he writes that Christ has the seven 'spirits' (3.1; 5.6). Further, John associates these 'spirits' with the elemental powers of the universe – wind, fire, lightning and thunder (4.5). As horns they represent princely authority over celestial realms (5.6). As meteorological elements they are God's divine arsenal displaying his power and might throughout the cosmos (8.10; 16.4, 8, 17), and capable of inflicting his wrath and judgement on the world.

Finally, as a qualifying term in the divine epitaph 'the Lord, God of the spirits,' *πνεύματα* appear as an expression of unity between God and his prophets. Just as Christ is God's messenger to John (1.1), John is God's messenger to the church (22.6), for John and the church are servants of God. In both instances, prophets and Christ are empowered to speak by the Spirit of God, and John unites both with God through the term 'spirits.'

How does John understand the Spirit? For John the Spirit is the prophetic Spirit – God's word and revelation of Christ as proclaimed through his prophets. However, it is also possible to detect an initial triune trajectory in John's writing. Fluidity exists between Christ and Spirit, for when Christ speaks his words are what the Spirit says. Spirit unites Christ with prophets, for when John is in the Spirit, he hears Christ speaking. Finally, the Spirit unites Christ with the hearing Church. Thus, John's Apocalypse portrays 'Spirit' and 'spirits' as the unifying force between God, Christ, prophets, and the church.

I presume that John lacks the language and imagery necessary to convey adequately the developing triune concept, which he envisions, is being formed within the godhead. Thus, his Apocalypse presents only the rudimentary stages of such a development, whereby the evolution of such quite easily results in the coalescence of 'spirits' and 'Spirit' that we see in later trinitarian theology.

Finally, throughout the course of my review certain areas of interest have presented themselves that could not be covered in our research, but indicate feasible opportunities for future research. For instance, the relationship between the 'holy ones' identified as messengers in the *T.Levi* and the 'holy gods' who act as messengers in Daniel needs to be further defined, particularly as the LXX tradition translates the Danielic references as 'holy ones' (4.17; 7.22; *cf.* 1QapGen 4.20). Also, additional study needs to be conducted on the significance of lesser gods and how they are depicted in the *DSS*. Specifically, there is a need to examine and explain the diverse contexts in which the terms אלהים (gods, God) and אלים (gods) occur in the *DSS* writings, particularly as the term 'gods' is nearly absent in the NT literature. Finally, the anthropological question concerning 'spirits' and angels requires further examination. Are angels simply 'spirits' or do they also have a 'spirit'? Each of these present opportunities for further exploration if modern scholars are more fully to comprehend apocalyptic pneumatology.

By examining *πνεύματα*, this study sought to complete previous word studies that have only considered the lexical term *πνεῦμα* (Heb. רוח) in its singular form. We began this study with the hypothesis that the full range of meanings associated with the term remained incomplete, particularly as a vast number of textual materials had not been previously examined. As our analysis has uncovered two primary meanings of the lexical term *πνεύματα* (Heb. רוחות) – 'gods' and 'animating powers' – present in 2nd temple literature with an apocalyptic worldview, it now appears that further studies which examine related meanings and domains could be conducted.

TAXONOMY
'S/spirit(s)' in Old Testament, Second Temple, and New Testament Literature

Chapter Two: Apocalyptic Writings of the Old Testament			Numbers, Deuteronomy, Isaiah
Textual Reference	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
Num 16.22	27-30	רוחות	Inner life force (*human, animal*)
Num 27.16	27-30	רוחות	Inner life force (*human, animal*)
Deut 18.11	28	ידעני	Familiar spirits
1 Chr 9.24	32	רוחות	Directional points
Psa 104.4	32	רוחות	Celestial beings
Prov 16.2	33	רוחות	Inner life force (*human*)
Isa 8.19	28	ידעני	Familiar spirits
Isa 19.3	34-36	רוח	Pagan god
Isa 26.9	34, 37	רוח	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
Isa 34.16	37	רוח	Spirit of God
Isa 40.7	39	רוח	"
Isa 40.13	39	רוח	"
Isa 57.15	38	רוח	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
Isa 57.16	39	רוח	Inner life force (*human*)
Isa 59.19	39	רוח	Spirit of God
Isa 59.21	39	רוח	"
Isa 61.1	39	רוח	"
Isa 61.3	38	רוח	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
Isa 63.10	39-40	רוח	Spirit of God
Isa 63.11	39-40	רוח	Spirit of God
Isa 63.14	39	רוח	Spirit of God
Isa 65.14	38	רוח	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
Isa 66.2	38	רוח	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
Jer 49.36	32	רוחות	Winds
Ezek 37.9	34-35	רוחות	"
Ezek 42.16	42	רוח	Directional points
Ezek 42.17	42	רוח	"
Ezek 42.18	42	רוח	"
Ezek 42.19	42	רוח	"
Ezek 42.20	42	רוח	"
Ezek 43.5	43-44	רוח	Celestial being
Dan 2.1	51	רוח	Human mentality (*emotions*)
Dan 2.3	51	רוח	"
Dan 4.8	51-54	רוח	Celestial beings (*gods*)
Dan 4.9	51-54	רוח	"
Dan 4.18	51-54	רוח	"
Dan 5.11	51-54	רוח	"
Dan 5.12	51	רוח	Human mentality (*intellect*)
Dan 5.14	51-54	רוח	Celestial beings (*gods*)
Dan 5.20	51	רוח	Human mentality (*intellect*)
Dan 6.3	51	רוח	"
Dan 6.3	51-54	רוח	Celestial beings (*gods*)
Dan 7.2	55-56	רוחות	Winds
Dan 7.15	51	רוחות	Human mentality (*emotions*)
Dan 8.8	56	רוחות	Winds
Dan 11.14	56	רוחות	"
Zech 2.6	32	רוחות	Winds
Zech 6.5	32	רוחות	Celestial beings
Zech 12.1	45-46	רוח	Inner life force (*human*)
Zech 12.10	46-47	רוח	Spirit of God
Zech 13.1	46-50	רוח	Pagan god

Chapter Three: Jewish Apocalyptic Writings, Second Temple Period			1 Enoch, 12 Patriarchs, Jubilees, and the Dead Sea Scrolls
Textual Reference (1 Enoch)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
13.6	63-70	πνεύματα	Human mentality (*emotion*)
15.8	63-70	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings – evil spirits
15.9	63-70	*πνεύματα*	"
15.10	63-70	*πνεύματα*	"
15.11	63-70	*πνεύματα*	"
15.12	63-70	*πνεύματα*	"
16.1	63-70	*πνεύματα*	"
19.1	63,70-77	*πνεύματα*	Inner life force (*human*)
20.3	63,70-77	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
20.6	63,70-77	*πνεύματα*	"
22.3	63,70-77	*πνεύματα*	Inner life force (*human*)
22.5	63,70-77		"
22.9	63,70-77	*πνεύματα*	"
39.12	86-90	*manifest*	"
41.8	86-90	*manifest*	"
60.12	86,90-94	*manifest*	Meteorological powers
69.22	86,90-94	*manifest*	"
98.3	78-82	*πνεύματα*	Inner life force (*human*)
98.10	78-82	*πνεύματα*	"
99.7	78-82	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings, evil
103.3	78,83	*πνεύματα*	Inner life force (*human*)
103.4	78,83	*πνεύματα*	"
103.8	78,83	*πνεύματα*	"
108.3	84-85	*πνεύματα*	"
108.6	84-85	*πνεύματα*	"
108.7	84-85	*πνεύματα*	"
108.9	84-85	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
108.11	84-85	*πνεύματα*	"

Textual Reference (12 Patriarchs)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
T.Reu 2.1	98-99	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, false*)
T.Reu 2.3	98-99	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
T.Reu 3.2	98-99	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, false*)
T.Sim 6.6	99-100	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, false*)
T.Levi 3.2	100-108	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings – spirits
T.Levi 3.3	100-108	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings – evil (*Beliar*)
T.Levi 4.1	100-108	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings – evil
T.Levi 8.12	100-108	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Jud 16.1	108-109	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, false*)
T.Jud 20.1	108-109	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Iss 4.4	109	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Zeb 9.7	109-110	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Dan 1.8	110-111	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings – evil
T.Dan 4.5	110-111	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Dan 4.6	110-111	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Dan 6.1	110-111	*πνεύματα*	"
T.Naph 3.3	111-112	*πνεύματα*	Human mentality (*religious, false*)
T.Ash 6.2	112-113	*πνεύματα*	Celestial beings – evil (*Beliar*)
T.Ben 5.2	113	*πνεύματα*	"

Textual Reference (Jubilees)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
2.2	114,117-126	*manifest*	Celestial beings (*Meteorological elements*)
10.5	114,126-128	*manifest*	Celestial beings – fallen angels (*Watchers*)
10.13	114,126-128	*manifest*	" (*Watchers*)
11.4	114,128	*manifest*	Celestial beings – evil (*Mastema*)
11.5	114,128	*manifest*	" (*Mastema*)
12.20	114,128-130	*manifest*	" (*Mastema*)
15.31	114,130	*manifest*	Celestial beings – with realms
15.32	114,130	*manifest*	"
23.28	114,131-132	*manifest*	Spirits of deceased humans
23.31	114,131-132	*manifest*	"

Textual Reference (4 Ezra)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
7.80	134-137		Spirits of deceased humans

Textual Reference (Philo)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
Post. XIX, 67	138-139	πνεύματα	Ref. Num 27.16
Agr. X, 44	138-139	πνεύματα	"
Virt. X, 58	138-139	πνεύματα	"

Textual Reference (Flavius Josephus)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
Antiq. II, 343	139-140	πνεύματα	Winds
Antiq. IV, 55	139-140	πνεύματα	"
Antiq. IX, 210	139-140	πνεύματα	"
B.J. VII, 185	139-140	πνεύματα	Human – evil

Textual Reference (Dead Sea Scrolls)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
4Q385 2, 1.7	144-145	רוחות	Ref. Ezek 37.1-28, Life-giving force
4Q386 1, 1.8	144-145	רוחות	"
4Q386 1, 2.9	144-145	רוחות	"
CD-A 12.2	145-146	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil
1QH 4.17	146-149	רוחות	Human mentality – (*religious, moral*)
1QH 4.23	146-149	רוחות	"
1QH 5.3	146-152	רוחות	Celestial beings
1QH 5.14	146-152	רוחות	Celestial beings
1QH 5.28	146-152	רוחות	Celestial beings
1QH 6.11	146-147	רוחות	Human
1QH 9.10	146-153	רוחות	Celestial beings – meteorological
1QH 11.18	146-153	רוחות	Human mentality – (*religious, false*)
1QH 11.22	146-149	רוחות	Human mentality – (*religious, moral*)
1QH 16.12	146-149	רוחות	Celestial beings – (*of humans*)
1QH 19.13	146-149	רוחות	Celestial beings
1QH 24.6	146-147	רוחות	Fragment incomplete
1QH 25.4	146-150	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil (*of humans*)
1QH 25.6	146-150	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil (*of angels*)

Textual Reference (Dead Sea Scrolls)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
1QM 9.13	154-155	רוחות	Sides or 'face'
1QM 10.12	154-156	רוחות	Celestial beings
1QM 12.9	154-158	רוחות	"
1QM 13.2	154-155	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil (*Belial*)
1QM 13.4	154-155	רוחות	"
1QM 13.10	154,158-160	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
1QM 13.11	154,158-160	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, false*)
1QM 14.10	154-155	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil (*Belial*)

1QM 15.14	154-155	רוחות	•
1QS 2.20	161-162	רוחות	Human
1QS 3.14	161-164	רוחות	Human
1QS 3.18	161-164	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, moral & [illegible]*)
1QS 3.24	161-164	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, [illegible]*)
1QS 3.25	161-164	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, moral*)
1QS 4.23	161-164	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, moral & [illegible]*)
1Q36 2, 1.5	189-190	רוחות	Human mentality (*religious, [illegible]*)
3Q15 7, 1.5	189	רוחות	Winds
4Q176a 21, 1.3	189	רוחות	*Ref. Job* 23.31
4Q177 1-4, 1.8	189	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil (*Heb.n*)
4Q177 12-13, 1.9	189	רוחות	• (*Heb.n*)
4Q381 14, 1.3	189	רוחות	Winds
4Q403 1.35	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*elim.n*)
4Q403 1.37	165-167	רוחות	• (*understanding*)
4Q403 1.38	165-167	רוחות	• (*righteousness*)
4Q403 1.43	167-172	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q403 1.44	1675-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*elim.n*)
4Q403 1.44	167-172	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q403 1.46	167-172	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q403 1, 2.3	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*knowledge of*)
4Q403 1, 2.7	167-174	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q403 1, 2.8	167-174	רוחות	•
4Q403 1, 2.9	167-174	רוחות	•
4Q403 1, 2.10	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*wonderful*)
4Q404 4-6, 1.1	165-167	רוחות	• (*elim.n*)
4Q405 4-6, 1.3	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*elim.n*)
4Q404 4-6, 1.5	167-174	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q405 4-6, 1.6	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*righteousness*)
4Q405 4-6, 1.6	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*of [illegible]*)
4Q405 4-6, 1.10	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*knowledge, truth*)
4Q405 4-6, 1.14	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*of God*)
4Q405 14-15, 1.4	165, 175-176	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q405 14-15, 1.5	165, 175-176	רוחות	•
4Q405 14-15, 1.6	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*glorious*)
4Q405 17, 1.3	165-167, 176	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*knowledge*)
4Q405 17, 1.5	165-167, 176	רוחות	Fragment – simple word, celestial beings
4Q405 18, 1.1	165-167	רוחות	Fragment – simple word
4Q405 19, 1.2	165-167	רוחות	•
4Q405 19, 1.3	167, 177-182	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q405 19, 1.4	165-167	רוחות	Celestial beings (*of knowledge, truth*)
4Q405 19, 1.5	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*holiness*)
4Q405 20, 2.3	167, 177-182	רוחות	Celestial beings, gods
4Q405 20, 2.10	167, 177-182	רוחות	•
4Q405 20, 2.11	167, 177-182	רוחות	•
4Q405 23, 1.6	167, 177-182	רוחות	•
4Q405 23, 1.9	167, 177-182	רוחות	•
4Q405 23, 2.6	167, 177-183	רוחות	Fragment – simple phrase
4Q405 23, 2.7	165-167, 182	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*mingled colours*)
4Q405 23, 2.9	165-167, 182	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*pure colours*)
4Q405 24, 1.2	165-167	רוחות	Descriptive phrase (*majesty, splendour*)
4Q405 31, 1.2	165-167	רוחות	•
4Q405 35, 1.1	165-167	רוחות	Fragment – simple word
4Q405 57, 1.1	165-167	רוחות	•
4Q406 5, 1.2	165-167	רוחות	•
4Q502 27, 1.1	189,190	רוחות	Celestial beings
4Q510 1, 1.5	186	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil
4Q510 2, 1.3	186	רוחות	Fragment – simple phrase
4Q511 1, 1.3	186-187	רוחות	Inner life force (*human, animal*)
4Q511 1, 1.6	186	רוחות	Celestial beings – evil
4Q511 15, 1.5	186-188	רוחות	•

4Q511 24, 1.2	186	רוחין	Fragment – single phrase or word
4Q511 35, 1.7	186	רוחין	Celestial beings – evil
4Q511 43, 1.6	186-188	רוחין	"
4Q511 48-49+51, 1.2	186	רוחין	"
4Q511 48-49+51, 1.8	186	רוחין	Fragment – single phrase
4Q511 60, 1.2	186	רוחין	Fragment – single phrase or word
4Q511 182, 1.1	186	רוחין	Celestial beings – evil
8Q5 2, 1.6	190	רוחין	Celestial beings
11Q10 33, 1.8	189	רוחין	Winds
11Q13 1-2i+3i+4,2.12	189	רוחין	Celestial beings – evil (*Melch.*)
11Q13 1-2i+3i+4,2.13	189	רוחין	" (*Melch.*)
11Q17 6.3	185	רוחין	Celestial beings, gods
11Q17 6.4	185	רוחין	"
11Q17 6.5	185	רוחין	"
11Q17 7.5	180	רוחין	"
11Q17 7.13	181	רוחין	"
11Q17 8.3	178	רוחין	"
11Q17 12-15, 2.4	167, 183	רוחין	Celestial beings, gods
11Q17 16-18, 7.5	167, 183	רוחין	"
11Q17 19-20, 2.3	167, 183-184	רוחין	"
11Q17 19-20, 8.3	165-167	רוחין	Descriptive phrase (*sons of*)
11Q17 29, 1.2	167, 183	רוחין	Fragment – words or phrase

Chapter Four: Writings of the New Testament			First Corinthians, First Timothy, Hebrews, Matthew, Mark, Luke And the Book of Acts
Textual Reference	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
1 Cor 12.10	205, 206-211	πνεύματα	Pagan gods, demons
1 Cor 14.2	205, 211-213	πνεύματα	Celestial beings
1 Cor 14.32	205, 213-216	πνεύματα	Humans
1 Tim 4.1	218-220	πνεύματα	Celestial beings – evil
Heb 1.14	221, 222	πνεύματα	Celestial beings (*ministering*)
Heb 12.9	221, 222-223	πνεύματα	Epithet for God (*Father of spirits*)
Heb 12.23	221, 223	πνεύματα	Humans (*Resurrected, redeemed*)
Matt 8.16	224-225	πνεύματα	Demons
Matt 10.1	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, unclean
Matt 12.45	224-225	πνεύματα	"
Mark 1.27	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, unclean
Mark 3.11	224-225	πνεύματα	"
Mark 5.13	224-225	πνεύματα	"
Mark 6.7	224-225	πνεύματα	"
Luke 4.36	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, unclean
Luke 6.18	224-225	πνεύματα	"
Luke 7.21	224-225	πνεύματα	Demons
Luke 8.2	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, evil
Luke 10.20	224-225	πνεύματα	Demons
Luke 11.26	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, evil
Acts 5.16	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, unclean
Acts 8.7	224-225	πνεύματα	"
Acts 19.12	224-225	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, evil
Acts 19.13	224-225	πνεύματα	"

Chapter Five: Apocalyptic Literature of the New Testament			Book of Revelation
Textual Reference (Revelation)	*Page*	*Term*	*Interpretation*
1.4	229-234	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, (*Meteorological elements*)
3.1	235-242	πνεύματα	"
4.5	243-247	πνεύματα	"
5.6	248-254	πνεύματα	"
16.13	229, 240	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, unclean
16.14	229, 240	πνεύματα	Celestial beings, unclean
22.6	255-258	πνεύματα	Epithet for God (*God of the spirits*)

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