



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The great controversy : the individual's struggle between good and evil in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in their Jewish and Christian contexts

Bruin, T. de

Citation

Bruin, T. de. (2013, June 4). *The great controversy : the individual's struggle between good and evil in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in their Jewish and Christian contexts*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20920>

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20920>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20920> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Bruin, Tom de

Title: The great controversy : the individual's struggle between good and evil in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in their Jewish and Christian contexts

Issue Date: 2013-06-04

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY

The Individual's Struggle Between Good and Evil
in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
and in Their Jewish and Christian Contexts

Tom de Bruin

PROMOTIECOMISSIE

PROMOTOR

Prof. dr. Jürgen Zangenberg

Chair New Testament Exegesis and Early Christian Literature, Leiden University

OVERIGE LEDEN

Prof. dr. Ab F. de Jong

Professor of Religions of Antiquity, Leiden University

Prof. dr Henk Jan de Jonge

Emeritus Professor of New Testament and Early Christian Literature, Leiden University

Dr. Johannes Magliano-Tromp

Programme Co-ordinator, International Studies, Leiden University

Prof. dr. Tobias Nicklas

Professor für Exegese und Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments, Regensburg University

Dr. Jean-Claude Verrecchia

Principal Lecturer in New Testament, Newbold College

The financial support of the following institutions is gratefully acknowledged:

Netherlands Union Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church;

Trans-European Division of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church;

Stichting Fonds Marinus de Jonge.

THE GREAT CONTROVERSY

The Individual's Struggle Between Good and Evil
in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*
and in Their Jewish and Christian Contexts

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden
op gezag van Rector Magnificus
prof. mr. C. J. J. M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op
dinsdag 4 juni 2013
klokke 13.45 uur

door

TOM DE BRUIN

geboren te Kaapstad, Zuid Afrika, 1979.

Leiden 2013

O For that warning voice, which he who saw
Th' *Apocalyps*, heard cry in Heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,
Wo to the inhabitants on Earth! that now,
While time was, our first Parents had bin warnd
The coming of thir secret foe, and scap'd
Haply so scap'd his mortal snare; for now
Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,
The Tempter ere th' Accuser of man-kind,
To wreck on innocent frail man his loss
Of that first Battel, and his flight to Hell:
[...] Now conscience wakes despair
That slumberd, wakes the bitter memorie
Of what he was, what is, and what must be
Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
Sometimes towards *Eden* which now in his view
Lay pleasant, his grievd look he fixes sad,
Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun,
Which now sat high in his Meridian Towre:
Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.

JOHN MILTON, *PARADISE LOST*, 4.1-31, (1674)

And there was warre in heaven,
Michael and his Angels fought against the dragon,
& the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not,
neither was their place found any more in heaven.
and the great dragon was cast out,
that old serpent, called the devill and Satan,
which deceiveth the whole world:
hee was cast out into the earth,
and his angels were cast out with him.
And I heard a lowd voyce saying in heaven,
Now is come salvation, and strength,
and the kingdome of our God,
and the power of his Christ:
for the accuser of our brethren is cast down,
which accused them before our God day and night.
And they overcame him by the blood of the Lambe,
and by the word of their Testimony,
and they loved not their lives unto the death.
Therefore reioyce, yee heavens, and yee that dwell in them;
Woe to the inhabitors of the earth, and of the sea:
for the devill is come downe unto you, having great wrath,
because he knoweth that he hath but a short time.

Contents

1	Introduction	1
A	Literature Survey	3
(i)	Pre-modern and Early Modern Views: Grosseteste to Charles	4
(ii)	The 1950s Onwards: A Three-way Split	10
(iii)	Methodologies of The <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> and Pseudepigrapha Research in Recent Years	19
B	Exhortation, Genre, and the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> . . .	29
(i)	The Form of a “Farewell Discourse”	29
(ii)	The Form of the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	37
C	The Present Study	43
2	Admonition and the Great Controversy in the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	47
A	Exhortation and Commands	50
(i)	The <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i> as a Collection of Commands <i>T. Reu. 1.1; T. Naph. 9.1; T. Sim. 7.3;</i>	50
(ii)	The Contents of the Commands	53
	<i>T. Dan 5.1–3; T. Iss. 5.1–2; T. Jos. 10.1–11.1;</i>	

B	The Biographical Passages and Their Role in the Admonishment . . .	62
(i)	Biography in the <i>Testament of Judah</i>	63
	<i>T. Jud. 14.5–6; T. Jud. 15.3;</i>	
(ii)	The Roles of the Biographical Passages in the other Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	68
	<i>T. Sim. 3.4–5; T. Naph. 1.6–10;</i>	
C	The Future-Oriented Passages and Their Role in the Admonition . . .	73
(i)	An Example Continued: Passages Regarding the Future in the <i>Testament of Judah</i>	73
	<i>T. Jud. 17.2–3; T. Jud. 18.1–2;</i>	
(ii)	The Role of Passages Regarding the Future in the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	75
	<i>T. Zeb. 9.5–7; T. Zeb. 9.8–9; T. Dan 6.3–7; T. Dan 6.9–10;</i>	
D	Virtues and Vices	82
(i)	Virtues	82
	<i>T. Iss. 7.6–7;</i>	
(ii)	Vices	84
	<i>T. Gad 1.9; T. Gad 3.1; T. Gad 4.1–2; T. Gad 4.7;</i>	
E	The Commandments and the Great Controversy	89
	<i>T. Levi 19.1; T. Ash 1.3–5; T. Reu. 4.5–11; T. Ben. 3.1–5; T. Dan 4.7–5.1;</i> <i>T. Dan 6.1–2;</i>	
F	Conclusion	99
3	Mankind in the Great Controversy according to the <i>Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs</i>	101
A	Introduction to the Two Aspects of the Individual's Choice	103
	<i>T. Ash. 1.3–9; T. Ash. 2.1; T. Ash. 2.5–6; T. Ash. 3.1–4.1; T. Ash. 4.2–4;</i>	
B	God and Mankind	112
	<i>T. Reu. 1.6–9;</i>	
C	Mankind and the Forces of Evil	115
(i)	Mankind and the Spirits of Deceit	115
	<i>T. Reu. 2.1–2; T. Reu. 2.3–3.1; T. Reu. 3.2–7; T. Reu. 3.8;</i>	

(ii) The Opponent and His Influence	123
<i>T. Dan 4.7; T. Ash. 1.8; T. Naph. 8.6; T. Reu. 4.11; T. Zeb. 9.8; T. Dan 5.11;</i>	
<i>T. Jud. 19.3-4; T. Ben. 7.1-2;</i>	
(iii) The Spirits of Deceit and Their Influence	128
<i>T. Levi 9.9-10; T. Jud. 13.3; T. Sim. 2.6-8; T. Sim. 2.13-14; T. Sim. 3.1-6;</i>	
<i>T. Sim. 4.7-5.1; T. Dan 1.4-9; T. Dan 2.1-5; T. Dan 3.1-5; T. Dan 4.7;</i>	
D Each Person's Choice and the Blinding of His Mind	153
(i) The Individual's Choice and Mind	153
<i>T. Reu. 3.9-15; T. Reu. 4.1-5; T. Reu. 4.6-11; T. Reu. 5.1-7; T. Reu. 6.1-5;</i>	
<i>T. Jud. 20.1-2; T. Ben. 3.1-2; T. Ben. 4.2; T. Ben. 6.5-6;</i>	
(ii) The Blinding of a Person's Mind	167
<i>T. Dan 2.2; T. Jud. 11.1; T. Gad 3.2-3;</i>	
(iii) The Ultimate Choice of the Individual	170
<i>T. Levi 18.8-14; T. Levi 18.12; T. Levi 3.2; T. Levi 4.1; T. Zeb. 10.3; T. Jud. 24.6;</i>	
<i>T. Jud. 25.4-5;</i>	
E Conclusion	179
 4 The Great Controversy Theme in the <i>Testaments of the Twelve</i>	
<i>Patriarchs As Compared To Other Documents</i>	181
A General Motifs of the Forces of Darkness	184
(i) The Opponent's Name and Identity	184
<i>Jub. 1.20; 1QH^a 12.12-13; 2 Cor. 6.15; Ques. Bart. 3.12;</i>	
(ii) The Opponent's Allegiance	188
<i>T. Isaac 9.7; Rev. 12.7-9;</i>	
(iii) The Opponent's Modus Operandi	190
<i>T. Job 17.1-4; Acts Pet. 7;</i>	
(iv) The Opponent as Ruler of the Unrighteous	193
<i>1QM 1.1-2; 1QM 1.5; Jub. 1.20; John 8.44; 1 John 3.8; Acts Andr. 21;</i>	
(v) The Source of the Opponent's Power	196
<i>Acts John 54;</i>	
(vi) The Opponent's Underlings and Their Origin	198
<i>1 En. 15.8-11; Jub. 10.7-9; Lat. LAE 15.2-16.1; Acts Thom. 33;</i>	

(vii) The Modus Operandi of the Spirits of Deceit	205
<i>Matt 12.22; Mark 1.23–26; Mark 5.2–4; Luke 8.27; 1 Tim. 4.1;</i>	
B 1QS: The <i>Rule of the Community</i>	212
<i>1QS 3.13–8; 1QS 3.18–4.1; 1QS 4.6–8; 1QS 4.9–14; 1QS 4.15–26;</i>	
C The <i>Shepherd of Hermas</i>	225
(i) The Two Aspects of Mankind's Existence	227
<i>Herm. 36.1–4; Herm. 36.6–9;</i>	
(ii) Mankind Versus the Forces of Evil	231
<i>Herm. 37.2; Herm. 43.17; Herm. 31.4–6; Herm. 92.1–3; Herm. 33.1–3;</i>	
<i>Herm. 34.7;</i>	
(iii) An Individual's Choice, Double-mindedness and the Heart	244
<i>Herm. 45.2;</i>	
D Origen	253
(i) The Two Aspects of an Individual's Choice	253
<i>Princ. 3.2.4; Com. Rom. 1.18;</i>	
(ii) Mankind and the Forces of Evil	256
<i>Hom. Jos. 15.1; Hom. Jos. 15.6;</i>	
E Clement of Alexandria	262
<i>Strom. 4.12.85; Strom. 2.20.111; Strom. 2.20.116–7;</i>	
F Final Conclusions	266
 5 Conclusion	 273
 Samenvatting	 279
 Index	 283
 Bibliography	 293

1 Introduction

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, one of the longest texts of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, are the fictitious farewell speeches of the twelve sons of Jacob. It is our understanding that the twelve testaments come from the same hand, and that in their finished form they derive from the late second century CE. These farewell speeches attempt to convince the audience to follow God's double commandment to love God and love one's neighbour, and the admonition is placed in a grand cosmological struggle between good and evil—a great controversy. In this struggle, each person is urged to constantly strive towards God and away from the opponent, so that he may ultimately receive salvation. These admonishing speeches are generally composed of three types of discourse: exhortatory, biographical, and future-oriented passages. All three of these forms contribute to the exhortation on the double commandment.

This research will examine these twelve monologues with the ultimate goal of recognising the role the text (as a literary product) was intended to play in the setting in which it was composed. After considering the history of research into the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and into the farewell discourse genre, we will conclude that admonition plays a fundamental role in this work. Admonition must therefore be our starting point. In the remainder of this research, we will analyse the reasoning behind the ethical admonition in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,

we will look at which conception of mankind is fundamental to this exhortation, and we will also examine other works that show a similar perception of mankind. Our ultimate goal thus has three tiers: an analysis of the admonition, a discussion of the anthropology, and an examination of other works evidencing a similar world-view. In this way we hope to form a more complete understanding of the role the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* played in their setting.

In this initial chapter we will set out to introduce the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and this research. Section A contains a brief history of scholarly research on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, from its first publication in the West in 1242 to the present day. In this review we will show how the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have been the object of extensive discussion regarding their provenance. This focus on the heritage meant that little energy has been devoted to analysing the actual contents of the work.

In Section B we will move on to discuss the form and genre of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, giving a brief analysis of scholarly research on the genre “farewell discourse.” In this discussion we will see that there is little agreement about what a farewell discourse entails, effectively rendering such genre labels useless. There is far more consensus concerning the form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The form of this document will be the starting point of our research, concluding that exhortation is the core of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Finally, in Section C we will provide a profile of the method, the purpose, and the significance of this research, and will conclude by outlining the direction the remainder of this research will take.

A LITERATURE SURVEY

Ipsis quoque temporibus, episcopus Lincolniensis Robertus, vir in Latino et Graeco peritissimus, *Testamenta duodecim Patriarcharum* de Graeco fideli interpretatione transtulit in Latinum, quae per multa tempora incognita et abscondita fuerunt per invidiam Iudaeorum, propter manifestas prophetias de Salvatore in eis contentas. [...] Nec tempore beati Jeronimi vel alicujus sancti interpretis ad notitiam Christianorum, machinante Iudaeorum antiquorum malitia, potuit quomodolibet devenire. Illum igitur gloriosum tractatum, ad robur fidei Christianae et ad majorem Iudaeorum confusionem, transtulit plene et evidenter episcopus memoratus de Graeco, verbo ad verbum, in Latinum, coadjuvante magistro Nicholao Graeco, clerico abbatis Sancti Albani.¹

At that same time, Robert, the Bishop of Lincoln, a man most expert in Latin and Greek, accurately translated *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* from Greek into Latin; they had been unknown for a long time and had been concealed by the envious Jews on account of the clear prophecies of the Saviour contained within them. [...] Because of the scheming of the Jews with their ancient malice, the text was unavailable to Christians at the time of St. Jerome and the other blessed interpreters. However, this glorious text—strengthening the Christian faith and greatly confounding the Jews—was translated plainly and clearly by the bishop, word by word from Greek into Latin, with the help of master Nicholas the Greek, a clerk of St Albans.²

Chronica Majora 4.232–3

This is what Matthew Paris wrote in the thirteenth century, remarking on Robert Grosseteste's 1242 publication, which is commonly seen as the introduction of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to the West.³ Already at this juncture we can see emerging themes in the role that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will play in history. Many early interpreters considered the work to be authentically Jewish, taking the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as proof that the Christian truths were known to the ancient Israelites. This perception also presented an anti-Semitic portrayal: these early interpreters claimed that the Jews hid this work for their own

-
1. Quotations from Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora* are taken from H.R. Luard, ed. *Chronica Majora*. London: Longman, 1877.
 2. This translation has been taken from Nisse, "Romance."
 3. See also the extensive discussion of the historical events surrounding this publication and the role that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* played in the 13th century, as found in Nisse, "Romance."

nefarious purposes. Indeed, the social, ideological and political climate in the thirteenth century fundamentally influenced the initial reception of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁴ From the thirteenth century onward, the presuppositions, goals, and ideology of the scholar would consistently influence how this ancient work was and is understood.

Considering the impact of scholarship on the interpretation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, it is important to consider the critical history of research into this work before attempting to disentangle it from that history. In this section we will examine the history of the research on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. We will divide the examination into three general eras: before 1950, 1950–1980, and after 1980. This research takes place in the consensus that seems to be growing in the post-1980s era, and the method of this research thus logically follows from (and will be included in) the discussion of scholarship from 1980 onwards.

(I) PRE-MODERN AND EARLY MODERN VIEWS: GROSSETESTE TO CHARLES

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were introduced to the West by Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln. A certain John of Basingstoke had mentioned to Robert Grosseteste that he had heard of many Greek manuscripts unknown to Latin readers.⁵ John of Basingstoke was then sent to Athens to retrieve a Greek codex of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1242.⁶ Grosseteste translated the work into Latin with the help of Nicholas Graecus, a priest attached to the abbey of St Albans.⁷

-
4. Nisse argues that ‘the medieval Christian reception and transmission of the *Testaments*, as well as other works of biblical apocrypha, are intimately related to shifting attitudes toward Jews not only as textual scholars but also as representatives of the world beyond Europe’s frontiers’; Nisse, “Romance,” p. 500.
 5. Cf. *Chronica Majora* 5.285, and also H.J. de Jonge, “Bibliothèque,” p. 98; M. de Jonge, “Grosseteste,” p. 118.
 6. See *Chronica Majora* 5.285.
 7. M. de Jonge, “Grosseteste,” p. 118. According to M. de Jonge, John of Basingstoke’s role becomes clear from the early Latin manuscripts. While he is not mentioned by name, ‘diligentissimos exploratores’ are. Also, the date 1242 is given; M. de Jonge, “Grosseteste,” p. 118.

In his *Opus Majus*,⁸ which was completed in 1267, Roger Bacon takes a clear stand on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁹ Bacon claims that 1 *Enoch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, III, IV, V *Ezra*, and many other books discuss Christian truths more clearly than the canonical works of Scripture.¹⁰ His view was that these books, irrespective of their canonicity, were read and used by the earliest Christians.¹¹ He thus concludes that we can assign authority to the prophecies concerning Christ within these texts.¹² Bacon's work¹³ did not prove to be influential on scholarship for various reasons, including the fact that it was only printed in the late eighteenth century,¹⁴ and therefore contributed very little to academic interest in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁵

The first scholar in the history of research on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* whose work proved to be seminal was Joannes Grabe, who in addition to being the first to publish the complete Greek text,¹⁶ also (already in 1698) intro-

-
8. Quotations from Bacon's *Opus Majus* are taken from Bridges, *Opus Majus*.
 9. H.J. de Jonge, who maintains that Bacon 'ist der erste europäische Gelerhte, von dem uns eine deutliche Stellungnahme zu den Testamenten bekannt ist'; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 4.
 10. Bacon claims that 'in hujusmodi enim libris tanguntur expresse articuli fidei, et longe expressius quam in Canone Scripturae,' (Bacon *Opus Majus* 2.14). So also H.J. de Jonge, who interprets Bacon as follows: 'in diesen würde deutlicher über die christliche Wahrheit gesprochen als in den kanonischen Schriften des Alten Testaments'; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 6.
 11. Bacon argues that 'hi libri licet non sint in canone scripturae, tamen sancti et sapientes Graeci et Latini usi sunt eis a principio ecclesiae' (These books, despite not being in the canonical scripture, were still used by holy and wise Greeks and Latins since the first church) (Bacon *Opus Majus* 2.14).
 12. M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*, p. 87.
 13. H.J. de Jonge summarises Bacon's conclusions with regard to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as follows: '1. Es ist nicht sicher, dass die Testamente die authentischen letzten Worte der Patriarchen enthalten. 2. Ungeachtet der Frage nach ihrer Authentizität ist die Zuverlässigkeit des Inhalts der Testamente durch die kirchliche Benutzung der Testamente verbürgt [...]. 3. Die Testamente haben nicht weniger Autorität als IV *Ezra*, *Sirach* und die *Weisheit Salomos*.' More important, however, is Bacon's assumption that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are 'nichtchristliche Zeugen für die Wahrheit des christlichen Glaubens'; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 9.
 14. H.J. de Jonge claims that there are 'verschiedene Gründe,' yet only names the late date of printing (1773); H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 10.
 15. H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 10.
 16. Cf. H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 33, Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 6. The version utilised in this research is the second edition from 1714; Grabe, *Spicilegium*.

duced the idea that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was composed by Jews in Hebrew, translated into Greek, and then interpolated by Christians.¹⁷ This has since been the majority view up to contemporary times. Grabe based his theory on the notion that certain passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* could not have been written by a Christian.¹⁸ Though his specific argumentation for defending the Jewish authorship and Christian interpolation is no longer useful,¹⁹ his introduction of the idea that the final form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is Christian (and not wholly Jewish as all scholars before him thought) remains influential.²⁰

Most scholars in the centuries following Grabe's publication considered the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to be a Christian work,²¹ and if it was not considered Gentile-Christian, then it was definitely Jewish-Christian.²² In the late 1880s scholars reached the consensus that the book was probably a Nazarene

-
17. Grabe introduces this hypothesis as follows: 'quid si igitur dicamus, Testamenta XII Patriarcharum à Judaeo olim scripta, à Christiano autem postea interpolata esse' (What if, then, let us say, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were written by ancient Jews, and were, however, later interpolated by a Christian.) Grabe, *Spicilegium*, p. 134. See also Slingerland, *Critical History*, pp. 6–7; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," pp. 33–4; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 31.
 18. Grabe names three passages which he feels could not have been written by a Christian: *T. Reu.* 6.12, *T. Sim.* 5.4–5, and *T. Levi* 18.6. Grabe's argumentation is as follows: in *T. Reu.* 6.12 the Saviour is said to die in invisible wars, but Christ defeated the opponent in an invisible war with his sacrifice. Secondly, what Christian would write that the Jews will fight with the Messiah, and their castles will be destroyed, as occurs in *T. Sim.* 5.4–5? Finally, which Christian would claim that the voice at Jesus's baptism was Abraham's, as *T. Levi* 18.6 does? See Grabe, *Spicilegium*, pp. 133–4. For a longer discussion of Grabe's argument see H.J. de Jonge's analysis; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," pp. 33–4.
 19. H.J. de Jonge maintains that today Grabe's argumentation has 'nur noch wenig Gültigkeit'; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 35.
 20. Cf. Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 3.
 21. Slingerland gives numerous names and works: Le Nourry (ca. 1700), Fabricius (1713/1722), Gallandi (1765), Corrodi (1781), Nitzsch (1810), Dorner (1845), Ritschl (1850), Kayser (1851), Vorstman (1857), Hilgenfeld (1858), Langen (1866), Ewald (1868), Sinkler (1869), Geiger (1869), Nitzsch (1870), Reuss (1874), Warfield (1880), Dillmann (1883), and Pick (1885). The discussion in these years mainly appears to revolve around whether the book is Gentile-Christian or Jewish-Christian, pro-Pauline or anti-Pauline, and before the destruction of the Temple or after. See also Schürer, *Geschichte III*, p. 255; Slingerland, *Critical History*, pp. 7–15.
 22. See also Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 7; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 35.

Jewish-Christian work.²³ Writing at the turn of the twentieth century, Emil Schürer reviewed previous scholarship and concluded that most contemporary scholars simply argued whether the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was a Jewish or a Hellenistic Christian, pointing out that both positions were untenable without first assuming some sort of interpolation.²⁴ He also reacted to certain fundamental changes to this consensus opinion, which we will discuss after introducing these changes.

In the late 19th century, Friedrich Schnapp published his dissertation, entitled *Die Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen untersucht*. Later, he contributed the chapter on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testament*,²⁵ thereby becoming an influential voice.²⁶ These publications broke the academic consensus that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were a Christian work. Schnapp's research approach was to apply literary criticism to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. He highlighted many passages that he considered to be Christian interpolations. Upon removing all these interpolations, however, Schnapp discovered that the remainder was not a cohesive unity. Therefore, he concluded, the work could not simply be a Jewish writing that had been interpolated by Christians. Schnapp then created a new hypothesis of a three-tiered redaction history. Originally, he argued, the text consisted of the sins and virtues of the patriarchs, and the exhortations based upon them. Later, in the second stage, the apocalyptic and messianic Jewish sections were added. Finally, Schnapp argued, Christians altered these messianic sections to more easily interpret them christologically.²⁷

Schnapp's complicated hypothesis did not go uncontested. In 1898, Schürer partially agreed with Schnapp, claiming that the second half of Schnapp's thesis

23. Cf. Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 15.

24. Schürer, *Geschichte III*, p. 255.

25. Schnapp, "Die Testamente."

26. See also Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 19; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 3.

27. Cf. Schürer, *Geschichte III*, pp. 255–6; Schnapp, "Die Testamente," pp. 459–60; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 3.

was clearly true. Like Schnapp, Schürer also believed the text was adapted by Christians. He did question the first half of Schnapp's argument, however, which deals with the pre-Christian history of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Schürer disagreed with Schnapp's reasoning as to why the passages regarding the future were later additions, arguing that Schnapp's research was not very convincing. Schürer therefore felt that the first two steps of Schnapp's three-tiered hypothesis were inherently incorrect. Schürer did feel that the presence of contradictory passages (both future-related and biographical) argued for multiple Jewish hands, advocating a different identification of the first steps of Schnapp's three-tiered redaction hypothesis.²⁸ Despite Schürer's counterpoints, Schnapp's work was so influential that a new consensus, contrary to most opinions of the previous three centuries, was created.²⁹ This consensus argued for a Jewish original, later edited by Christians.

Robert Charles's publications in the first two decades of the twentieth century³⁰ were also monumental in the history of research on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.³¹ Charles was critical towards the earlier scholars, and claimed that for nearly four centuries the book had been marked as a Christian forgery, with only Grabe claiming a Hebrew original.³² Charles built on Schnapp's Jewish authorship hypothesis, but like Schürer he rejected Schnapp's theories about the contents of the Jewish interpolations. Charles argued for a date of original authorship between 109 and 106 BCE,³³ by a Pharisee who supported the Maccabean dynasty.³⁴ At a later

28. Schürer, *Geschichte III*, pp. 258–9.

29. Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 19.

30. Charles, *Testaments: Translated*; Charles, *Testaments*; Charles, *Greek Versions*; Charles, "Testaments."

31. Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 27.

32. Charles, "Testaments," pp. 482–3. This would seem to be an over-simplistic view of previous scholarship. H.J. de Jonge discusses Charles's opinions in more detail. He points to several authors, including Sgambati and Simon, who maintained 'linguistische Argumente für ein hebräisches oder aramäisches Original'. But, as discussed above, the number of scholars in those centuries maintaining Christian authorship does vastly outweigh those supporting Jewish authorship; H.J. de Jonge, "Patriarchentestamente," p. 41.

33. Charles, "Testaments," pp. 282, 289.

34. Charles, "Testaments," p. 281. Charles's 1917 publication of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* includes a twenty-three page introduction by Oesterley. This introduction contains an extensive

stage in the history of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, readers would have become increasingly dissatisfied with the Maccabean high priests, and would have added passages denouncing Levi and Judah.³⁵ In Charles's opinion, these passages were surprisingly similar to passages in the *Psalms of Solomon*, and were added at about the same time (70–40 BCE).³⁶ Finally, Charles argued that Christian additions were interpolated in almost every testament at various times.³⁷ It is especially interesting to note Charles's opinion that while the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were interpolated by Christians, the translation into Armenian was performed before these interpolations.³⁸ This assumption was instrumental in Charles's identification of the Christian interpolations, although it was widely critiqued later.³⁹ According to Charles, these Christian interpolations were minimal,⁴⁰ and Charles's method was based on the assumption that a text is Jewish until clearly proven to be Christian.⁴¹ As we will discuss below, in recent years we have seen the development of the exact opposite methodological assumption.⁴²

discussion on 'whether the standpoint in the book is either Pharisaic or Sadducaean'; Charles, *Testaments*, p. xviii. Oesterley argues that the work shows traits of both groups, and could be written by a 'peace-loving Sadducee to appeal [...] for a better understanding between the two parties,' or alternatively 'a good Jew, neither Sadducaean nor Pharisaic, who loved all that was best among his people'; Charles, *Testaments*, pp. xix–xx. Clearly, Charles's Pharisaic authorship hypothesis was not as strongly supported as his general hypothesis of Jewish authorship.

35. Charles names eleven certain first-century additions: *T. Levi* 10, 14–16, *T. Jud.* 17.2–18.1, 21.6–23, 24.4–6, *T. Zeb.* 9, *T. Dan* 5.6–7, 7.3, *T. Naph.* 4, *T. Gad* 8.2, and *T. Ash.* 7.4–7. Charles, "Testaments," p. 290.
36. Charles, "Testaments," p. 290.
37. Charles claims that Christian additions 'are found in nearly all Testaments and are made at different periods'; Charles, "Testaments," p. 291.
38. Charles claims that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* 'underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian'; Charles, "Testaments," p. 283.
39. Charles, "Testaments," p. 283, Slingerland, *Critical History*, pp. 26–7.
40. Charles counts all additions, both Jewish and Christian, to be about one-twelfth of the work, Charles, "Testaments," p. 290.
41. Charles maintains that 'for the rest the rule is followed that anything that is not clearly Christian can be considered Jewish'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 4.
42. See the discussion of the methodological discussion in recent years beginning on page 19 below.

In the years following Charles's publications there was little disagreement within the broad lines that he laid out. His literary-critical method was minimally critiqued, and authors instead disagreed with Charles on questions of authorship, date, and scope of the interpolations. His fundamental outlook that the work was of Jewish authorship went unchallenged.⁴³

Two events in the early 1950s dramatically changed these views on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* once more. The first, which was a modification of Charles's theory, was the theory of sectarian (or more precisely Qumranian) Jewish authorship. This theory followed from the earliest findings in Qumran.⁴⁴ The second event was a renewal of the pre-Schnapp theory of Christian authorship by M. de Jonge.⁴⁵ These two events reopened the discussion of the authorship of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, breaking the consensus up to the present day.⁴⁶

(II) THE 1950S ONWARDS: A THREE-WAY SPLIT

From the 1950s onwards there were three dominant views or approaches taken when dealing with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁴⁷ The first approach built upon the groundwork laid by Schnapp and Charles. The largest group of scholars in this period viewed the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as Jewish documents interpolated by Christians.⁴⁸ The second approach, briefly maintained by a handful of scholars, was a specific variant of the first, where the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were seen as an Essene writing, again with some Christian interpola-

43. Slingerland maintains that 'there were disagreements with Charles in questions of authorship, date, and interpolations'; Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 40.

44. Cf. Slingerland, *Critical History*, pp. 44–5; Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 34–5.

45. See also Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 47; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 35.

46. Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 31.

47. For a discussion of these three approaches consider J.J. Collins, "Testaments," pp. 342–4; Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 31–8.

48. Collins describes this approach as assuming that 'the Test. 12 Patr. are Jewish documents interpolated by a Christian'; J.J. Collins, "Testaments," p. 342. Kugler maintains that 'the dominant view is that Jews first wrote the *Testaments*, and only later were they redacted to serve the interests of the early Christian movement'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 31.

tions.⁴⁹ The third view was quite different, and essentially considered the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to be a Christian document that incorporates older Jewish sources.⁵⁰ We will now examine these three different streams in more detail.

The first school was a very diverse group, united only in its rejection of the Christian authorship hypothesis, with hugely varying views on the actual extent and content of the Christian and Jewish interpolations of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁵¹ In general, the proponents of this view built upon the arguments of Schnapp and Charles, who propagated the theories of Christian redaction and Christian interpolation respectively.⁵² Of the two it was Charles who was followed by most scholars.⁵³ Because their methodologies and theories vary so greatly, an extensive review and critique of the differing views of each of these authors⁵⁴ would not contribute to this study.⁵⁵ A sample discussion of some of the more influential

-
49. Collins maintains that this view is 'a more specific variant of the interpolation theory regard[ing] the Test. 12 Patr. as Essene writings with very few Christian interpolations'; J.J. Collins, "Testaments," p. 342. So also Kugler, who describes the 'insistence that the *Testaments*' supposedly Christian passages actually derive from the Jewish authors and keepers of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Essenes'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 34.
 50. Collins describes this point of view as maintaining that 'the Test. 12 Patr. are Christian documents which drew on Jewish sources'; J.J. Collins, "Testaments," p. 342.
 51. Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 11.
 52. Schnapp, "Die Testamente"; Charles, "Testaments."
 53. M. de Jonge explains that Charles 'won the approval of the great majority of scholars'; M. de Jonge, "Recent Years," p. 184.
 54. Consider, besides Charles, Burchard, "Armenischen Überlieferung"; Jervell, "Interpolator interpretiert"; Macky, "Importance"; Thomas, "Aktuelles"; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*; Hultgård, *Interprétation*; Slingerland, "Testament of Joseph"; Kee, "Ethical Dimensions"; Hultgård, "Ideal Levite"; Hultgård, *Composition*; Kee, "Translation and Introduction"; Slingerland, "Levitical Hallmark"; Slingerland, "Nature of Nomos"; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*; Thomas, "Paraenesis."
 55. An interested reader may want to consider the brief discussion in Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 31–4. Alternatively, a review and critique is available in M. de Jonge, "Christian Influence," M. de Jonge, "Once More: Christian Influence," and M. de Jonge, "Levi II–VII." Information can also be found in Slingerland, *Critical History*, pp. 44–90, bearing in mind that Slingerland's focus is more on the Qumran and Christian redaction theories. Also, consider M. de Jonge's critique of Slingerland in M. de Jonge, "Dixon Slingerland," in which he mainly states the datedness of Slingerland's work. Finally, one could review Hollander and De Jonge's discussion of these authors in Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 1–9 and Kurowski's aptly named section 'Interpolation, Redaktion oder einfach Spekulation?' in Kurowski, *Menschliche Gott*, pp. 7–19.

publications within this first school of thought will function as representative of the situation as a whole.

Jürgen Becker's *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*, published in 1970, followed many of Charles's text-critical hypotheses.⁵⁶ Becker felt that the Armenian version was a strong witness to a pre-Christian version of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁵⁷ Ultimately, Becker saw the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as the result of three stages. The first stage was the writing of the original version, which contained moral exhortation. This stage can be dated to the third century BCE.⁵⁸ The second stage, also Jewish, took place over many years in Hellenistic Judaism. In this stage many passages were inserted, including homiletical material, some future-oriented passages, lists of virtues, and apocalyptic passages.⁵⁹ The third stage was Christian, and added the typically Christian materials.⁶⁰

Anders Hultgård published two volumes in 1977 and 1981.⁶¹ He hypothesised that many literary-critical studies have incorrectly assumed that inconsistencies and seams are the result of multiple stages of redaction. He then rightly argued that these literary-critical markers could simply point to the usage of multiple sources by one author.⁶² Despite this, Hultgård still used these same markers to make literary-critical decisions. Following Charles (and Becker), he assumed that the Armenian version predates most Christian additions,⁶³ but Hultgård's hypothesis regarding the stages of redaction are quite different to those of Becker and Charles. According to him, the first stage was a Levi Apocryphon, of which we see evidence in the many

56. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*.

57. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 44–9.

58. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 375.

59. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 373.

60. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 374.

61. Hultgård, *Interprétation*; Hultgård, *Composition*. See also M. de Jonge's reviews; M. de Jonge, "Interprétation"; M. de Jonge, "Composition," and Slingerland's review of the first book; Slingerland, "Leschatologie."

62. Hultgård, *Composition*, pp. 136–7. See also Kugler's discussion, Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 33.

63. See Hultgård, *Composition*, pp. 34–51. Consider also M. de Jonge's extensive criticism of Hultgård's methods and assumptions; M. de Jonge, "Composition."

Aramaic Levi fragments.⁶⁴ This document, focussing mainly on Levi and the priesthood, is Zadokite and influenced the Qumran sect. It can be dated to the second century BCE, and went through a series of undeterminable recensions in the same levitical group.⁶⁵ At the turn of the era, a more universalist Jewish group edited the document. This group, of which little can be said, added the passages containing a saviour figure.⁶⁶ Finally, in the second century, Christians minimally edited the work. Hultgård's work was extensively criticised on account of its subjectivity.⁶⁷ This subjectivity seems to be caused mainly by Hultgård's presuppositions and general literary-critical method rather than on a specific fault in his research.⁶⁸ Ultimately, this raises the question of whether a literary-critical method actually leads to viable results.

Another author who argued for a Jewish original of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was Jarl Ulrichsen. In 1991 his work *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen*⁶⁹ was published, in which he argued that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are the result of five stages of literary composition.⁷⁰ These five stages are (1) a paraenetical *Grundschrift* written in Hebrew or Aramaic around 200 BCE in Palestine; (2) the addition of prophetic and eschatological-apocalyptic sections between 160 and 63 BCE; (3) miscellaneous Jewish interpolations in the first

64. Hultgård, *Interprétation*, pp. 43–5.

65. Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 265.

66. Hultgård, *Interprétation*, pp. 322–6.

67. M. de Jonge, reviewing Hultgård's work, writes: 'Hultgård heaps supposition on supposition. This volume [volume 2], too, is full of subjective interpretations and dubious conclusions; many hypotheses are attractive, but often they cannot be proved (and therefore not be disproved either) [...] there is very little he can offer in the way of solid proof'; M. de Jonge, "Composition," p. 70.

68. Slingerland concludes that 'Hultgård's work is similar to several studies (including his earlier dissertation) discussed in my monograph on the Testaments, in which the presupposition of Jewish authorship and redaction leads inevitably to the conclusion of Jewish authorship and redaction'; Slingerland, "Leschatologie," p. 471.

69. Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*.

70. Ulrichsen concludes 'auf Grund der vorangehenden Untersuchungen läßt sich ein fünfstufiges Modell des Wachstumsprozesses der vorliegenden TP aufstellen, wobei Stufen 2-5 natürlich nicht punktuell, sondern als eine mehr oder minder lange Periode, die sich nicht genau abgrenzen läßt, aufgefaßt werden müssen'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 343.

century BCE; (4) the translation of the text to Greek and addition of other varied passages in the first century CE; (5) the addition of Christian elements and the Christianising of the document from the end of the first century CE onwards.⁷¹ By outlining these steps, Ulrichsen joined all the others in the tradition of accepting a Jewish origin of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Although he accepted this Jewish origin, he still felt compelled to create yet another hypothesis of what the original form was and how the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* became the text we have today.⁷² This hypothesis, like the ones before it, failed to achieve wide acceptance either within or outside the proponents of Jewish authorship.⁷³

In feeling the need to create a new hypothesis, Ulrichsen was not alone. Each author writing during the period following the 1950s created his own hypothesis, none of which gathered substantial support.⁷⁴ Indeed, it would seem that this multitude of literary-critical studies of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* failed to actually solve any issues, instead simply creating more.⁷⁵ Furthermore, as will be discussed later in this chapter, it is questionable whether the basic methodological

71. Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, pp. 343–5.

72. Kugler begins his review of Ulrichsen's work by immediately outlining the largest issue within this school of thought: 'Ulrichsen accepts the basic notion that there must have been a Jewish form of the Testaments, but also like his predecessors he feels compelled to create yet another hypothesis regarding the shape of that work'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 33. At this junction it is important to note that Kugler originally identified himself with this school. As he wrote in 1996, 'we understand *Testament of Levi* to have existed independently prior to its incorporation into *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*'. In his later publication, however, he states 'I grew more and more convinced [...] that there is no getting back to a pre-Christian *Testaments* (if there ever were one)'; Kugler, *Patriarch to Priest*, p. 4, Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 7.

73. This is evident from the harsh reviews written by proponents and opponents of Jewish authorship alike, Hollander, "Die Grundschrift"; Kee, "Die Grundschrift"; Slingerland, "Die Grundschrift."

74. M. de Jonge maintains that these scholars' 'operations resulted, however, in widely different reconstructions'; M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," p. 377.

75. Hollander infers from Ulrichsen's publication that since 'all literary-critical studies on the Testaments have failed to solve any of the "riddles" of the Testaments. It seems therefore wiser—at least for the moment—to analyse the text of the Testaments as it lies before us and to find out the meaning it had for both the author (composer, redactor) and for the receptors'; Hollander, "Die Grundschrift," p. 212. This more nuanced and pragmatic view of the situation will be defended later in this study.

assumptions underlying such a literary-critical study are sustainable.⁷⁶ Amongst others, Ulrichsen assumed that an ancient author's text will be internally consistent, which is by no means uncontested.⁷⁷ Furthermore, he assumes that it is possible to differentiate between Jewish and Christian writings, an argument that was already contested when Ulrichsen wrote his work.⁷⁸ Finally, it seems that Ulrichsen's work was highly hypothetical and rather subjective, which goes a long way to explain the great diversity among the literary-critical studies of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

The second school of thought about the origins of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in which they are seen as Essene writings, is often thought to have been brought about by the discovery and publication of the Qumran scrolls. In actuality, the first steps towards this theory were made by Eduard Meyer in 1921, when he noted the similarities between the "Renewer of the Law" in the *Testament of Levi* and the "Teacher" in the *Damascus Document*.⁷⁹ Slingerland named two other 'preliminary' works that considered the relationship between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁸⁰ The one, Dupont-Sommer, assumed

76. Consider Kee's scathing remarks on Ulrichsen's method: 'his form-critical method recalls that of Bultmann who, having noted certain formal patterns in the literature under examination, either relegates to the hand of a clumsy later editor features which he as a modern critic finds intellectually or theologically embarrassing, or interprets them allegorically to fit with his own philosophical predilections. In all the six categories noted above, he treats everything as a late accretion if it is not compatible with an intellectual structure embodying what he regards as timeless moral wisdom'; Kee, "Die Grundschrift," p. 829.

77. Consider M. de Jonge's claim that 'it is by no means certain that modern standards of consistency are applicable here: what clearly strikes us as inconsistent did not hinder the interpolator/redactor, or later readers, who for ages read and transmitted the text as we now have it'; M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," p. 378.

78. Consider, for example, Kraft's comment that 'it should not be assumed that a document composed or compiled by a Christian will necessarily contain characteristically "Christian" contents'; Kraft, "Reassessing," p. 135.

79. Meyer, *Ursprung*, p. 172.

80. Slingerland names these two works as the first that deal 'in a systematic fashion with the constellation of relationships between the Testaments and the Qumran writings'; Slingerland, *Critical History*, p. 45.

Qumranian authorship of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,⁸¹ but the other, Otzen, found no useful similarities between these two bodies of text.⁸²

Philonenko also advocated Essene authorship in two articles, published in 1958 and 1959.⁸³ These articles were later republished together as *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân*.⁸⁴ Essentially, Philonenko tried to show that the Messianic interpolations in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do not refer to Jesus Christ, but to the “Teacher of Righteousness” found in the Essene writings. He concluded that the relationship between the two is blindingly obvious,⁸⁵ and that they must therefore have a common origin.

This theory was short-lived. Indeed, when reflecting back on this second school of thought in 2001, Kugler named no other authors supporting this view, and sees it as wholly untenable.⁸⁶ M. de Jonge criticised Philonenko’s view extensively,⁸⁷ Becker contributed eleven arguments against Philonenko’s thesis,⁸⁸ and in later years the theory was further disproved, especially considering the dominance of cultic regulations in the Dead Sea Scrolls which are wholly absent from the *Testa-*

81. Dupont-Sommer, *Nouveaux aperçus*.

82. Otzen concludes that ‘es lässt sich nicht behaupten, daß Test XII und die neuen Schriften aus derselben Sekte herrühren, denselben historischen Hintergrund haben und dieselben historischen Ereignisse widerspiegeln’; Otzen, “Sektenschriften,” p. 155.

83. Philonenko, “Interpolations chrétiennes,” Philonenko, “Interpolations chrétiennes (suite).”

84. Philonenko, *Interpolations chrétiennes*.

85. Philonenko claims that ‘la parenté entre les *Testaments* et les textes du désert de Juda est, en effet, d’une aveugle évidence’; Philonenko, *Interpolations chrétiennes*, p. 3.

86. Kugler calls ‘the notion that the *Testaments* were composed among the Essenes at Qumran and that the messianic passages refer to the Teacher of Righteousness [...] utterly implausible’; Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 34–5.

87. M. de Jonge is scathing in his critique of Philonenko. Firstly, his method is critiqued in four parts. M. de Jonge argues that similar ideas do not mean common origin, that Philonenko takes texts out of context, that there is Christian influence in passages outside of those discussed by Philonenko, and—as Philonenko himself admits—that the Christology of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is not identical to that of Qumran; M. de Jonge, “Typisches Testament,” p. 300.

88. Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 149–51.

ments of the Twelve Patriarchs.⁸⁹ Charlesworth, writing in 1997, concluded that there was a general scholarly consensus that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were not written by members of the Qumran sect.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, some striking similarities between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and some of the Dead Sea Scrolls do exist, such as the *Aramaic Levi Document* (which has much in common with the *Testament of Levi*) and the teachings of the two spirits in the *Rule of the Community*.⁹¹

The third school of thought on the origins of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, arguing for a Christian origin, was instigated by the publication of Marinus de Jonge's doctoral dissertation in 1953.⁹² M. de Jonge's thesis was mainly based on an extensive critique of Charles's text-critical method, especially with regard to his ample use of the Armenian version of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. After showing that the Christian material could not be removed without damage to the text, M. de Jonge posited the hypothesis that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are a wholly Christian composition, and that they should not be considered part of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha at all.⁹³ When discussing this publication many years later, however, he related that he may have drawn his conclusions too quickly,

-
89. Kugler maintains that 'broader publication of the scrolls has demonstrated their authors and keepers to have been particularly fascinated with the details of the law, an interest that lacks prominence in the Testaments'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 35.
 90. He concludes that 'there seems to be a general consensus among contemporary scholars that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was not written by Qumran sectarians'; Charlesworth, "Seminar Report," p. 304. M. de Jonge confirms this, stating 'the Dupont-Sommer-Philonenko solution was accepted only by very few scholars'; M. de Jonge, "Central Problems," p. 381.
 91. The *Aramaic Levi Document* contains several passages that parallel passages in the *Testament of Levi*. Much debate on this document has taken place, but there is still no consensus on the relationship between the *Aramaic Levi* and the *Testament of Levi*. Consider the extensive discussion of the different opinions in Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 47–52. Consider also our comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with the *Rule of the Community* on page 212 below.
 92. M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*. The second edition of this work was printed in 1975, M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*, 2nd ed.
 93. M. de Jonge argues that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* 'may no longer be reckoned to the pseudepigraphic literature of the Old Testament'; M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*, p. 117.

without the necessary nuances.⁹⁴ M. de Jonge later acknowledged the possibility of a Jewish version of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in some form or other, but firmly maintained the idea that the current writing is so fundamentally edited that a Jewish form cannot be reconstructed from the current text.⁹⁵

As with the other two streams, however, we cannot use M. de Jonge's preliminary findings for the further study of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (as he himself maintains). Indeed, his dissertation also contributed to the confusion regarding the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Writing in 2001, Kugler reflected on the dangers of what he called, "the battle of parentage": for years the discussion has revolved around the Jewishness or Christianity of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and rarely focussed on the actual contents of the work *an sich*.⁹⁶ As mentioned above, in the fifty years since the publication of M. de Jonge's dissertation, De Jonge has nuanced his views on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. What is particularly interesting, however, is not these nuanced views but rather his attempt to find a way forward in the study of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. He and other authors have presented a paradigm within which research can finally be conducted without being widely contested by default. This paradigm, which will be discussed in detail in the next section, argues that a text should be read in the context in which it can be proven to have functioned. In the following section a case for this way forward will be made as a basis for the further research outlined in this study.

94. M. de Jonge explains: 'mijn zaak zat rond, zo stelde ik vast, achteraf misschien iets te vlug en te weinig genuanceerd'; M. de Jonge, *Nieuwe Testament*, p. 11.

95. M. de Jonge maintains that 'later [...] heb ik de mogelijkheid toegegeven, dat er ooit in enigerlei vorm joodse "Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen" hebben bestaan. [...] Het geschrift in zijn huidige vorm is zo grondig geredigeerd, dat die joodse vorm niet kon worden gereconstrueerd met behulp van knip- en plakwerk op basis van de huidige tekst'; M. de Jonge, *Nieuwe Testament*, pp. 11–2.

96. Kugler points out that 'few insights into Judaism and Christianity have been achieved from the *Testaments* because the battle over their parentage has so preoccupied those who investigate them'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 11.

(III) METHODOLOGIES OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA RESEARCH IN RECENT YEARS

The first hints of the need for a consensus were voiced in 1979,⁹⁷ when M. de Jonge speculated why scholars disagree so much about the origin of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, contemplating what good his research had been and where to take research on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in the future.⁹⁸ Discussing a number of issues in contemporary research on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, he pointed out that progress could be made if scholars would analyse the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a Christian document, focussing on the exhortation.⁹⁹ The key to moving forward is thus to focus on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as we have them now, as an early Christian document. Indeed, in 1984 (published in 1987) M. de Jonge rejected almost all previous scholarship, which focussed primarily on literary and form criticism. Instead he suggested that the way forward was to be found in an examination of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a whole, meaning both each testament individually and all collectively.¹⁰⁰ In studies from around that time M. de Jonge attempted to do exactly that, publishing a great many works on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. These included a co-authored commentary on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with Hollander,

97. M. de Jonge, "Main Issues."

98. M. de Jonge writes, 'what have I achieved in all those years, what should still be done, why is there still so much difference of opinion among scholars working in the field of the Testaments?'; M. de Jonge, "Main Issues," p. 508. He wrote this during the acme of the conflict regarding the authorship of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The conflict escalated to such a degree that in 1976 the SNTS held a seminar to discuss the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where M. de Jonge and Kee were set against each other to create dialogue between the two schools. Charlesworth gives a summary of the seminar in Charlesworth, "Seminar Report." The paper presented by Kee was separately published later as Kee, "Ethical Dimensions."

99. M. de Jonge argues that research will progress 'if we concentrate on (a) a thoroughgoing analysis of the present Testaments as an early Christian document [...] (b) a comprehensive study on the parenesis'; M. de Jonge, "Main Issues," p. 524. Harm Hollander, a student—and later colleague—of M. de Jonge, performed a great deal of research on the paraenesis in his doctoral dissertation in 1981, Hollander, *Ethical Model*.

100. M. de Jonge maintains 'that the first task at this point of our investigation is to analyse the composition of the Testaments before us and to concentrate not on the constituent parts but on the testaments as a whole, individually and collectively'; M. de Jonge, "Central Problems," p. 390.

the only commentary on that text to date.¹⁰¹ Despite all this, M. de Jonge still felt obliged to take part in the scholarly debate on parentage and provenance.¹⁰²

M. de Jonge's suggestions were ultimately part of a greater methodological debate, comprising many scholars, with regard to the place and function of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. This debate was instigated by Robert Kraft, whose own contributions and arguments will be considered shortly.¹⁰³ The debate has two major themes, which are interconnected. The first is a collection of broader questions about the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. What is the definition of this collection? Which writings should be counted as Old Testament Pseudepigrapha? Who wrote them? Who read them? The second theme focusses on which method is the most sound for studying these writings.

M. de Jonge published two works pertaining to the first theme in 2003.¹⁰⁴ The latter was an article delivered in 2001 at the *Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense* in Louvain,¹⁰⁵ where M. de Jonge discussed the use of the expression "pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,"¹⁰⁶ raising issues regarding this label. He pointed out that there is no consensus on the contents of the pseudepigrapha,¹⁰⁷ that the word pseudepigraphon is a misnomer,¹⁰⁸ and that there is a lack of consensus regarding provenance and transmission history of the pseudepigrapha.¹⁰⁹ M. de

101. Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*.

102. For example, see M. de Jonge, "Pre-Mosaic Servants"; M. de Jonge, "Die Paränese"; M. de Jonge, "Rachel's Virtuous Behavior"; M. de Jonge, "Two Interesting Interpretations."

103. A useful collection of Kraft's writing can be found in Kraft, *Scripturesque*.

104. M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*; M. de Jonge, "Authority."

105. M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*, p. 4.

106. Note that M. de Jonge discusses the entire corpus of pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, and not solely the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

107. M. de Jonge discusses the selection of pseudepigrapha in various editions, including Kautzsch (1900), Charles (1913), Schürer (1909), Riessler (1966), Dupont-Sommer and Philonenko (1987), Sacchi (1981 and 1989), and Díez Macho and others (1983–87). He shows that these works all disagree on the exact contents of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*, pp. 9–10.

108. In the sense that it means "a writing ascribed to someone other than the author."

109. Other authors have also noted these incongruences. See Stone, for example, who appears to have doubts similar to those of M. de Jonge, Stone, "Categorization and Classification," p. 168.

Jonge explained that Kautzsch and Charles intended the term “pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament” to refer to Jewish writings between 200 BCE and 100 CE, the so-called intertestamental period,¹¹⁰ and noted that while most of these writings have a Jewish origin, many have clearly Christian interpolations, or were redacted by Christians.¹¹¹ M. de Jonge gives high praise to Sparks,¹¹² who when revising Charles’s edition termed the work *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, and used features of the contents (in his case, the presence of an Old Testament figure) rather than supposed authorship as a criterion for inclusion.¹¹³ The crux of the matter is that having a category named “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha” causes misunderstanding, as a category always incites certain presuppositions about the unity of its contents. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (and the other pseudepigrapha as well) need to be liberated from the fetters of the term “Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.”

The second theme in the methodological debate concerns general methodological questions. Clearly the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and other so-called Old Testament Pseudepigrapha were transmitted,¹¹⁴ read, written, interpolated and redacted by Christians. These writings all clearly functioned in a Christian context at

-
- 110. In one of his 2003 articles, M. de Jonge includes an eight-page appendix entitled ‘What Do We Mean by “Pseudepigrapha/Apocrypha of the Old Testament”?’ In this, he discusses what exactly is understood by the different interpretations of this term. He surveys the publications in French, German, English, Italian and Spanish, and compares them; M. de Jonge, “Authority,” pp. 479–86.
 - 111. M. de Jonge argues that ‘most of the writings will indeed be of Jewish origin, but often we find Christian elements, the result of Christian interpolation or redaction’; M. de Jonge, “Authority,” p. 460. Charlesworth extends these claims, noting that it is sometimes quite clear that the documents considered pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament are in fact Christian writings, either incorporating Jewish material or elements of the Old Testament, Charlesworth, “Pseudepigrapha, OT,” pp. 537–8.
 - 112. Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament*. Interestingly, it is M. de Jonge who supplies the section on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Sparks’s work.
 - 113. Sparks maintains that ‘our single criterion for inclusion has been whether or not any particular item is attributed to (or is primarily concerned with the history or activities of) an Old Testament character (or characters)’; Sparks, *Apocryphal Old Testament*, p. xv.
 - 114. M. de Jonge maintains that ‘these “pseudepigrapha” were transmitted by Christians’; M. de Jonge, “Authority,” pp. 459–61. Davila, for example, agrees, arguing that ‘nearly all of them survive only in manuscripts copied and transmitted entirely by Christians’; Davila, *Provenance*, p. 2.

some point.¹¹⁵ This statement is key to a correct method with regard to these writings. Moving from the base conception that these works were transmitted, read, written, or interpolated by Christians, a method has been discussed, critiqued and maintained by many scholars. In general there are two fundamental assertions in this method. Firstly, if the context is Christian, this leads to the conclusion that these texts should principally be studied as Christian works. Secondly, it is methodologically unsound to assume that by removing all evidently Christian elements from a text, a Jewish original will remain. We will now explore this twofold methodological discussion in more detail.

Robert Kraft is the key figure in this methodological discussion. He argues that the Christian context is central to understanding the pseudepigrapha and other ancient works.¹¹⁶ Advocating this point, he maintains:

From my perspective, “the *Christianity* of the Pseudepigrapha” is not the hidden ingredient that needs to be hunted out and exposed in contrast to a supposed native *Jewish* pre-Christian setting. On the contrary, when the evidence is clear that only Christians preserved the material, the Christianity of it is the given, it is the setting, it is the starting point for delving more deeply into this literature to determine what, if anything, may be safely identified as originally Jewish.¹¹⁷

In other words, Kraft asserts that Christianity can be assumed when dealing with texts that were transmitted by Christians, whereas Jewishness must be proven.¹¹⁸

-
- 115. For example, transmission of a document ‘clearly presupposes the enduring relevance of what is transmitted’; M. de Jonge, “So-called Pseudepigrapha,” p. 59. If we consider works that were written, interpolated or redacted by Christians, it is even clearer that these works were relevant in a Christian context.
 - 116. Kraft maintains that for the pseudepigrapha the ‘main avenue of discovery starts in Christian contexts’; Kraft, “Setting the Stage,” p. 372. This is the crux of the issue, and though ‘this fact is widely recognized, it is not always taken seriously’; Kraft, “Setting the Stage,” p. 372.
 - 117. Kraft, “Pseudepigrapha in Christianity,” p. 75.
 - 118. Kraft notes that ‘the burden of proof lies with claims of Jewishness’; Kraft, “Setting the Stage,” p. 373. Michael Stone is of a similar mind, claiming that Pseudepigrapha can be utilised to discover more of a pre-Christian era, but they should first be examined in the Christian context in which they functioned. He argues that ‘before the Pseudepigrapha [...] are used as evidence for that more ancient period, they must be examined in the Christian context in which they were transmitted’; Stone, “Categorization

Kraft elucidates that although this is not the only responsible avenue of research, it should be the first and foremost:

This does not mean that it is impossible to use such materials to “get back” to the earlier period that may be the focus of our interest [...] What it does mean is that similar care is necessary in determining how to use these materials responsibly. They are, first of all, “Christian” materials, and recognition of that fact is a necessary step in using them responsibly in the quest to throw light on early Judaism. I call this the “default” position—sources transmitted by way of Christian communities are “Christian,” whatever else they may also prove to be.¹¹⁹

Thus Kraft admits that a number of these works might be used to study Judaism, but they must first be considered in Christian contexts.¹²⁰ This fundamental conception of the basic nature of the documents is vital to a sound method. Therefore all research, including this current study, must be sure to take the Christian context in which a document was transmitted, read, written, and interpolated into account.

As with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, there is a common, widespread assumption that pseudepigrapha without clearly Christian elements (or with easily-removable Christian elements) were originally Jewish.¹²¹ This assumption only distorts results.¹²² In addition to arguing that we must take the Christian transmission history into account, Kraft points out that we cannot assume that a Chris-

and Classification,” p. 173. So also Davila, who maintains that ‘rather than assuming a given work is a Jewish composition until demonstrated otherwise it behooves us to consider it a Christian composition’; Davila, *Provenance*, p. 5.

119. Kraft, “Setting the Stage,” p. 372.

120. Stone agrees, claiming that works without clear proof of Jewishness cannot be used as witnesses to Judaism. He argues that ‘documents for which there is no independent early corroboration or other compelling evidence can no longer just be used [...] as sources for Judaism of the Second Temple period’; Stone, “Categorization and Classification,” p. 172.

121. Davila maintains that ‘pseudepigrapha that lack explicitly Christian content or elements, or whose explicitly Christian elements can be easily excised on redaction-critical grounds, were originally Jewish compositions’; Davila, *Provenance*, p. 3. Indeed, M. de Jonge argues that although the pseudepigrapha are transmitted in a Christian arena, the ‘characteristically Christian interests and ideas were not always in evidence’; M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*, p. 33.

122. Davila maintains that this understanding ‘has seriously distorted much of what has been published on them’; Davila, *Provenance*, p. 3.

tian writing will include “Christian” contents.¹²³ In other words, Jews could not have written Christian texts, but Christians might very well write texts that appear Jewish.¹²⁴ The complexity of early Christianity does not make this issue any simpler. The “burden of proof” might indeed lie with the claims of Jewishness, and this is a heavy burden. All in all, differentiating between Jewish and early Christian writings is extremely difficult, and proving that a writing is not Christian (but Jewish) is virtually impossible.¹²⁵

As becomes very clear from this argument, the entire discussion of parentage is ultimately moot. Charles’s method of assuming that everything is Jewish unless it is “proven” to be Christian is as unsound as assuming everything is Christian unless “proven” to be Jewish. Neither method leads to positive results, as there is no reliable

-
123. Kraft maintains that ‘it should not be assumed that a document composed or compiled by a Christian will necessarily contain characteristically “Christian” contents’; Kraft, “Reassessing,” p. 135. Stone, considering a similar issue, concludes that while it is relatively simple to imagine what could not be written by a Jew, it is almost impossible to ascertain what could not be written by a Christian. Stone maintains that it is possible to ‘determine what a Jew could not have written (leaving aside for the moment the whole murky area of “Jewish Christianity”)’; Stone, “Categorization and Classification,” p. 171. He argues that the truly difficult issue is ‘to determine what could not have been written by a Christian’; Stone, “Categorization and Classification,” p. 171.
124. Davila shows that Christians not only transmitted pseudepigrapha, they also composed them. He mentions the *Testament of Solomon* as a prime example, but Davila names several works that would be considered a Jewish pseudepigraphon were they not attributed to a Church Father or other Christian author; Davila, *Provenance*, pp. 115–9. Furthermore, Christians often retold Hebrew Bible stories at length without any apparently Christian elements. See Davila’s discussion of ‘Christian works with only a few, easily excisable Christian signature features’ and his discussion of ‘Christian works with episodes that lack any Christian signature features’ in Davila, *Provenance*, pp. 84–111.
125. See also M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*, p. 37. Davila has noted this issue, and in 2005 he wrote a book where he attempts to construct a responsible methodology for differentiating between Jewish and Christian pseudepigrapha. He concludes that ‘the methods developed and applied have raised significant doubts about the Jewish origins of a number of texts that are widely accepted to be Jewish, including the relevant sections of the *Sibylline Oracles* and the *Story of Zosimus*, as well as the full texts of *Pseudo-Phocylides*, *Joseph and Aseneth*, the *Testament of Job*, the *Testament of Abraham*, and the *Wisdom of Solomon*. [...] I concur with the doubts expressed in recent publications about the alleged Jewish origins of the *Lives of the Prophets*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and the *Life of Adam and Eve*’; Davila, *Provenance*, p. 232. See also Bauckham’s critique of Davila’s methodology, which raises some doubts about Davila’s identification of certain Jewish works; Bauckham, “Continuing Quest.”

way to prove that something is either Jewish or Christian. This lack of satisfactory answers leads us to the conclusion that the entire question is flawed. The so-called pseudepigrapha cannot and should not be studied to establish whether they are Christian or Jewish—this is a question that cannot be answered.

We find this same problem in studies of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. While the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as we have them now could be a witness to Judaism, this argument is highly contested. On the other hand, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in their present state are clearly a witness to (early) Christianity. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* should therefore be researched as part of the literature of early Christianity.¹²⁶ This research will examine the text as it has been transmitted by Christians, exegeting from a Christian point of view, as Christians would have understood it.

This research does not stand alone in this approach. Many scholars publishing in recent years have also accepted the Christianity of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Robert Kugler's analysis of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* revolves around the discussion of the influence this Christian work could have on Hellenistic Jews.¹²⁷ Vered Hillel's thesis on the structure of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also examines the present Christian form.¹²⁸ Joel Marcus, comparing the *Didascalia Apostolorum* with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, also considers the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to be a Christian work.¹²⁹

126. Cf. M. de Jonge, *Part of Christian Literature*, p. 18.

127. In his introduction, Kugler explains that 'the Guide focuses chiefly on a neglected aspect of the *Testaments*, the possibility that Jews also encountered them in antiquity [...] They would have met in the *Testaments* an appeal to embrace the Christian option'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 12.

128. In her introduction, Hillel discusses her methodology, claiming that 'this dissertation examines *TPatr* in its present Christian form and employs many methodologies [...] the text is regarded as a literary product and [a] coherent unity and examined without the assumption of different sources, layers or redactors' hands. Clearly the author/redactor/composer [...] used various Jewish source materials. Even so, the text as it lies before us once held meaning as a coherent whole for both writer and reader'; Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition," p. 16.

129. Marcus presents his research by claiming 'in this essay, however, I hope to show that the earlier consensus was right: the *Testaments* are a product of late second- or early third-century *Jewish Christianity*. By this I mean not only that the Christians to whom the *Testaments* were addressed were

Philipp Kurowski, examining the idea of God in human form in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, argues that they function as a source of Christian theology.¹³⁰ Graham Twelftree, examining demons and exorcism in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, supports the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a Christian work, feeling that his research further supports this cause.¹³¹ William Loader, in his multi-volume review of sexuality in antiquity, assumes that they are probably a Christian work, but ultimately distances himself from making a choice.¹³²

Two of these scholars, Marcus and Kurowski, appear to further build upon the Christian authorship methodology. They attempt to identify a subgroup of early Christianity, by claiming that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are

probably of ethnic Jewish extraction, but also that they strove to observe what the author calls “the entire law of the Lord” [...] i.e. the Mosaic Torah in its fullness, including circumcision, food laws, and other purity regulations; Marcus, “Common Jewish Christian Milieu,” p. 600. At this juncture it must be said that this research strongly disagrees with Marcus’s judgement of what the law of the Lord and the commandments consist of in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. As will be shown in Chapter 2, beginning on page 53, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the commandments and the law are always a call to love God and love one’s neighbour. The commandments and the law are never a reference to the Torah, to purity laws, or to cultic laws. Therefore, while we support Marcus’s base assumption (the Christianity of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*), his further conclusions are not supported by this research in any way.

130. In fact, Kurowski sees the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a Jewish-Christian work. He claims that ‘die TestXII sind jüdisch und christlich, und zwar nicht nur nebeneinander, dass es “jüdische” und “christliche” Passagen gibt, die in einem mehr oder minder umfangreichen Interpolations- oder Redaktionsprozess zusammengefügt wurden’; Kurowski, *Menschliche Gott*, p. 179. In other words, Kurowski believes that you cannot split the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* into a Christian part and a Jewish part, but rather that both Jewishness and Christianity are interwoven throughout the work.
131. Twelftree introduces his research as follows: ‘rather than the *Testaments* being seen as an interpolated Jewish work, it is to be taken as a Christian work. Indeed, our reading of particular passages adds weight to this conclusion’; Twelftree, “Exorcism,” p. 171.
132. Loader notes that ‘in its present form this writing is clearly a Christian work, possibly from the late second century CE. It is also clearly a reworking of older material’; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 369. He concludes that ‘even in those sections of the work which contain no explicit Christian references, including nearly all the passages we shall consider below, we cannot with any certainty assume that they must be non-Christian, let alone pre-Christian in origin, nor that they must be Christian’; Loader, *Sexuality*, pp. 369–70.

Jewish-Christian.¹³³ This assertion seems to make the situation even more complicated, however, as these authors then feel compelled to create specific definitions of Jewish-Christianity.¹³⁴ This once again points to the fact that lines between Judaism and Christianity are blurred, and that we are working with anachronistic definitions. Moreover, as Schürer pointed out more than a century ago, all overtly Christian passages are universalist Gentile-Christian without fail.¹³⁵ Despite these scholars allowing for Jewish-Christian authorship, all seem to agree on a fundamental methodological principle: the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* should be read primarily as the decidedly Christian text we have now (i.e. without constructing various literary-critical hypotheses).

There are also still scholars such as Alexander Toepel,¹³⁶ Johannes Thomas,¹³⁷ and James Kugel¹³⁸ who consider the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to be a

133. Cf. Marcus, “Common Jewish Christian Milieu”; Kurowski, *Menschliche Gott*.

134. Stone refers to this area as ‘murky’; Stone, “Categorization and Classification,” p. 171. It would be very difficult to point out which works were written by a Gentile-Christian using the Hebrew Bible as scripture, and which were written by a Jewish-Christian.

135. Schürer discusses and supports the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a Jewish text based on the reasoning that ‘alle Aussage, welche spezifisch christliches Gepräge tragen, sind ohne Ausnahme heidenchristlich-universalistisch. Das Heil ist bestimmt εις πάντα τὰ ἔθνη [...] Nichts weist hier auf einen “judenchristlichen” Standpunkt hin’; Schürer, *Geschichte III*, pp. 255–6.

136. Toepel, not writing on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* itself, but on astrological ideas in Jewish writings, discusses *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.7, maintaining that ‘the passage dealt with here does not contain anything specifically Christian, though, and, the issue of a Christian authorship of the entire *Testaments* still pending, it seems justified meanwhile to regard it as part of early Jewish literature’; Toepel, “Planetary Demons,” pp. 234–5. This statement presumes that it is possible to see what is “specifically Christian,” an assumption that was critiqued above.

137. Thomas, who first published on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1969, revisits exhortation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 2004. Here he claims that ‘it has the special feature of being, at least basically, a Jewish book’; Thomas, “Paraenesis,” p. 157, see also Thomas, “Aktuelles.”

138. Kugel is the most prolific and perhaps the strongest proponent of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as Jewish. His hypothesis, which he has not yet defended in detail, is that ‘the *Testaments* started off as a Hebrew composition sometime in the late second or early first century BCE. It contained the spiritual last will and testament of each of Jacob’s twelve sons. [...] At some later point, a copyist or editor [...] inserted here and there [...] references to the tribe of Judah. In this form the *Testaments* circulated in Hebrew in the first century BCE and beyond. Sometime later, perhaps as early as the turn of the era, this already composite text was translated into Greek. But the Greek translation was

Jewish text. Their arguments are varied, and are subject to the same critique given to those building on Charles and Schnapp. Hypotheses are highly subjective in general and there seems to be no consensus on which interpolation theory is correct. Ultimately all evidence supports the assumption that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as we have it today functioned in a Christian context.

All in all, it is safe to conclude that attempting to prove a text is Christian or Jewish is ultimately ineffectual and unproductive, as all conclusions are moot. Scholarship and research should remain positivist. In this case, all these historical and methodological discussions have shown us that to provide useful results, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* need to be examined in the Christian context in which they functioned. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are thus liberated from the fetters of literary criticism, and can be understood on their own terms. In this research, leaving these literary-critical methods behind, we will focus solely on the contents of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, thus placing ourselves outside of this Jewish–Christian debate.

anything but literal [...] sometimes even inserting wholly new passages, many of them repeating the basic doctrines of Stoic philosophy [...] At a still later date, this Greek text acquired a number of specifically Christian interpolations'; Kugel, "Mistakes," pp. 45–6. Kugel thus sees four layers in the work, the last of which is Christian. Kugel admits that his reconstruction is based on earlier research, without naming specific authors, Kugel, "Mistakes," p. 46. In the article in which Kugel outlines this hypothesis, he describes the Christian position in very little detail, and does not wish to 'compare the merits of these competing views'; Kugel, "Mistakes," p. 46.

B EXHORTATION, GENRE, AND THE *TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS*

From the preceding survey of scholarly research into the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, it should be clear that in the past, research was generally based on a literary-critical method. Throughout the application of this method over the years, it has become evident that this approach ultimately failed to solve many important mysteries of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. An alternative method of discussing the text was to focus on the form itself rather than the contents. Examining the farewell discourse genre would help scholars to place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* into a context where they could be better understood. In this section we will examine recent scholarly research into the form of the farewell discourse genre. Firstly, we will examine the farewell discourse genre. We will attempt to find some expectations with regard to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that arise from the genre discussion. Secondly, we will look at the form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* itself. This will allow us to pursue our analysis of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* based firmly on the text itself.

(I) THE FORM OF A “FAREWELL DISCOURSE”

The final words of distinguished persons are of great interest in many tradition-oriented cultures.¹³⁹ Because of this the farewell discourse genre can already be found in the earliest biblical tradition.¹⁴⁰ Typically such a discourse is given by a parent¹⁴¹ to his children, or by a leader to his people or successor,¹⁴² in anticipation

139. Collins points out that ‘every tradition-oriented society has attached great importance to the last words of famous men’; J.J. Collins, “Testaments,” p. 325.

140. E.g. Genesis 49 (Jacob), Deuteronomy 33 (Moses), Joshua 23–4 (Joshua), 1 Samuel 12 (Samuel), 1 Kings 2.1–9 (David), and 1 Chronicles 28–9 (David). Farewell discourses can also be found in later biblical writings, e.g. John 13–4 (Jesus), and Acts 20 (Paul).

141. Sometimes the person is not a parent in the strictest sense, but a patriarch or parental figure. In Acts 20 Paul calls the elders of Ephesus together, and they are his metaphorical children rather than his biological ones. The relationship between Paul and the elders can clearly be understood in such a way that a farewell discourse is appropriate. A similar instance can be found in John 13–4, where Jesus and the disciples also have a familial relationship.

142. See also J.J. Collins, “Testaments,” p. 325.

of imminent death.¹⁴³ A person's last words are considered both authoritative and divinely inspired. It was imagined that a dying person would never lie just before his demise, nor would he fail to pass on his final wisdom to his offspring.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore, with one foot metaphorically in the next world, such a person would have access to prophetic knowledge.¹⁴⁵

While it is easy to give a general description of a farewell discourse, we note that the specific characteristics of the genre are difficult to define.¹⁴⁶ The diversity within the genre is so great that a generally accepted list of characteristics is almost impossible to compile.¹⁴⁷ Scholars have attempted to do so despite the difficulty involved, and we will now consider recent attempts to further outline the form of the farewell discourse.

Much research into the farewell discourse genre has taken the New Testament as its focus and starting point.¹⁴⁸ In his 1948 book *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*,¹⁴⁹ and his later article on farewell discourses,¹⁵⁰ Ethelbert Stauffer introduced

143. Note Acts 20, however, where Paul anticipates death before he can return to his audience. In this case his death is not very imminent.

144. Kolenkow maintains that a person's last words were 'authoritative because no person would be expected to tell an untruth at the hour of death/judgment, nor would the dying person fail to give children both goods and truth (or warning)'; Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 259.

145. Cf. Kolenkow, who maintains that 'death was believed to be a time when God granted prophetic knowledge and visions'; Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 259.

146. Collins notes that 'it is questionable whether the pattern of the content can be built into the definition of the genre'; J.J. Collins, "Testaments," p. 325.

147. Consider the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which include biography, exhortation, and prediction. The *Assumption of Moses* (often called the *Testament of Moses*) is almost entirely prediction, with very little exhortation and no biography. The *Testament of Job*, on the other hand, is chiefly biography, with a very short exhortation and no prediction. The *Testament of Abraham* does not even contain a farewell discourse, J.J. Collins, "Testaments," pp. 325–6; Kolenkow, "Testaments," pp. 258–62; Tromp, *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 111–4.

148. Cf. Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 5; Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 261.

149. Stauffer, *Neuen Testaments*.

150. Cf. Stauffer, "Abschiedsreden."

a number of motifs often found in or near a farewell discourse.¹⁵¹ Johannes Munck, apparently independent of Stauffer,¹⁵² also began with the New Testament farewell discourses in 1950 (in this case specifically the Miletus speech in Acts 20), focusing on their Jewish and Greco-Roman context.¹⁵³ Munck concluded that there were four motifs vital to a Jewish farewell discourse: the person dying calls together his family; he admonishes them and discusses the future; he talks about his past life; and he foretells the eschatological future.¹⁵⁴ Munck felt that the last two motifs, which appear less frequently in Jewish farewell discourses, were extremely valuable for comparison with the New Testament.¹⁵⁵

In 1973, Hans-Joachim Michel also studied Paul's Miletus speech, following Stauffer and Munck.¹⁵⁶ Like Stauffer he outlined motifs found in the farewell discourse, but in this case thirteen.¹⁵⁷ Many do not occur in every farewell discourse.¹⁵⁸ Considering the form of the farewell discourse genre, Michel noted four basic characteristics of the structure: the introduction of the person who will die; the calling together of the audience; exhortation and prophecy; and "the end" which includes good-byes and the speaker's death.¹⁵⁹

All of these scholars used the New Testament as the methodological focus of their discussion of farewell discourses, but another approach can be found in

151. The list of motifs is quite long, but the most significant of these are: divine revelation of approaching death; the person dying calls together those left behind; the person dying eats one last time with his loved ones; a successor is appointed; the one dying blesses the audience; the one dying retreats up a mountain to die; the one dying is taken to heaven. See also Hollander's longer discussion in Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 98.

152. So also Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 261.

153. Munck, "Discours d'adieu."

154. Munck, "Discours d'adieu," p. 159.

155. So also Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 5.

156. Michel, *Abschiedsrede*.

157. Michel, *Abschiedsrede*, pp. 48–53.

158. So also Hollander, who maintains that 'he tries to define the genre with the help of thirteen motifs which (again) do not occur in all samples of farewell scenes'; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 5. Hollander also lists the thirteen motifs; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 98.

159. Michel, *Abschiedsrede*, p. 54.

the work of Klaus Baltzer, published in 1964.¹⁶⁰ Baltzer noticed a typical structure consisting of six parts in ancient treaties, which he called the *Vertragsformular* outside of the Old Testament, and *Bundesformular* within it. These six parts are preamble, previous history, declaration of future relations, detailed regulations, invocations of gods, and curses and blessings.¹⁶¹ Baltzer felt that this structure can also be found in the Old Testament, albeit in a slightly adjusted form, and that this structure ultimately evolved into the farewell discourse genre.¹⁶² Baltzer's theory has received much criticism, which focussed mainly on his application of his theories to the Old Testament and the farewell discourse genre.¹⁶³

In 1976 a new voice was added to the discussion of the farewell discourse genre when Enric Cortès's exhaustive study of farewell discourses was published.¹⁶⁴ Cortès worked his way from biblical and apocryphal farewell discourses through pseudepigraphical works (including the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*),¹⁶⁵ ending at the New Testament. With this study Cortès wished to define the structure and contents of the farewell discourse genre, paying special attention to the vocabulary associated with the genre. Through his analysis, Cortès found three motifs that he considered to be essential to the genre. In the first motif, a patriarch or father who is about to die summons his sons together to speak to them.¹⁶⁶ Secondly, an exhortatory

160. Baltzer, *Bundesformular*.

161. Baltzer, *Bundesformular*, p. 20.

162. Baltzer, *Bundesformular*, pp. 180–3.

163. See Hollander's extensive critique, including citations from many other critics; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 5–6. Kolenkow's discussion of critics of Baltzer and her own solution is also enlightening; Kolenkow, "Testaments," pp. 263–4.

164. Cortès, *Discursos de adiós*. Reviews of Cortès's work can be found in Van der Woude, "Los discursos" and Spilly, "Los discursos." Hollander deals with Cortès's conclusions when discussing the genre of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, applying them within the scope of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 3–5.

165. Note that Cortès rejected some works titled "testament" as not belonging to the farewell discourse genre. These include the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Testament of Orpheus*, the *Testament of the Forty Martyrs*, and Jesus's testament in Galatians; Cortès, *Discursos de adiós*, p. 488.

166. Cortès mentioned that Greek uses the verb καλέω in this context, and that other languages use corresponding verbs.

discourse is given for the benefit of the sons. Finally, predictions regarding the future or the end of time are made. According to Cortès, these three formal characteristics are fundamental to the farewell discourse genre.

Cortès's three motifs are clearly evident in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁶⁷ In four instances,¹⁶⁸ the introduction to the testament explicitly mentions the calling of the patriarch's sons, but all testaments imply a gathering of sons.¹⁶⁹ The exhortatory passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* correspond to the second motif, and the biographical sections also belong within that motif.¹⁷⁰ The third motif, which deals with predictions of the future, fits with the future-oriented passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁷¹ Despite all this, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do not fit perfectly into Cortès's formal genre. For example, if we use Cortès's work the prominence of the biographical passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* appears to be unaccounted for. Many of the testaments in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* consist predominantly of biography, and considering these lengthy biographical sections as no more than an introduction to the exhortation could be seen as a somewhat shallow analysis.¹⁷² These large biographical sections in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* must play a more important role, not functioning simply as an introduction to the document, but rather as a vital part of the text's goal.¹⁷³

167. Cortès, *Discursos de adiós*, p. 54.

168. The *Testament of Levi*, the *Testament of Issachar*, the *Testament of Dan*, and the *Testament of Joseph*.

169. E.g. *T. Reu.* 1.2 and *T. Sim.* 1.2, where the patriarch in question is ill and his sons gather (συνάγω) around him.

170. Hollander observes that 'Cortès does not always make quite clear whether the biographical details are only an introduction to the parenesis [...] or even a part of it;' he concludes that 'they seem to be [...] a kind of introduction' to the paraenesis, Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 5, 100.

171. See also Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 5.

172. A cursory reading of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* shows the prominence of biography in this text. For example, examining the *Testament of Issachar*, which M. de Jonge has termed the "typisches Testament," one notices that about forty-five of the fifty-five verses are biography, amounting to more than 80%; M. de Jonge, "Typisches Testament."

173. We will examine the role of the biographical passages in more detail in Chapter 2, beginning on page 62.

Cortès's contemporary, Eckhard von Nordheim, had his 1973 dissertation published in two parts in 1980 and 1985, and the first part is especially applicable to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁷⁴ Von Nordheim's methodology was a reversal of Cortès's approach, as he commenced with a detailed analysis of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*¹⁷⁵ and then attempted to apply his conclusions to other works.¹⁷⁶ While Von Nordheim had a goal similar to that of Cortès, he attempted to define the characteristics of the farewell discourse genre in much more detail. He called Cortès's work superficial,¹⁷⁷ stating that he wished to give a more precise definition of the characteristics of a farewell discourse. In the more minimalist approach taken by Cortès, almost all farewell discourses complied with all three characteristics of the genre, although sometimes with parts that fall outside of his definition (such as the extensive biographical sections in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*). In Von Nordheim's work we see the exact opposite. He found many elements that are part of the genre, yet are often missing from actual farewell discourses.¹⁷⁸ Von Nordheim was aware of this issue, and concludes that certain

174. Von Nordheim, *Lehre der Alten I*. Reviews of Von Nordheim's work can be found in Baumbach, "Lehre der Alten I," Kolenkow, "Lehre der Alten I," M. de Jonge, "Lehre der Alten I," Nickelsburg, "Lehre der Alten I," and Slingerland, "Lehre der Alten II." Once again Hollander examines Von Nordheim's conclusions, and applies them to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 5–6.

175. Von Nordheim spends nearly one hundred pages analysing the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Von Nordheim, *Lehre der Alten I*, pp. 12–107.

176. These works include the *Testament of 'Amram* (4Q'Amram), the *Testament of Job*, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testament of Isaac*, the *Testament of Jacob*, the *Testament of Adam*, the *Testament of Solomon*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, and testaments inside of larger writings (including 2 *Enoch* 55–67, and *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* 33). In his second volume Von Nordheim examines apocryphal and canonical literature, and finally Ancient Near Eastern sources; Von Nordheim, *Lehre der Alten I*; von Nordheim, *Lehre der Alten II*.

177. Cf. Von Nordheim, *Lehre der Alten I*, p. 5.

178. So also Hollander, who maintains that 'whereas Cortès's study is, according, to Von Nordheim, "too vague," he himself seems to fall into just the opposite danger. For example, he mentions a number of elements that have their place in the introductory section of a "testament," but which are often partly lacking in the actual instances of "testaments"; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 5–6.

elements, while often found in a farewell discourse, are in fact unnecessary.¹⁷⁹ Ultimately, as Kugler so elegantly puts it, Von Nordheim's conclusion was that 'the *sine qua non* is parenesis'.¹⁸⁰ While Von Nordheim named many other characteristics that may or may not be present in actual examples of a farewell discourse, he feels that exhortation is the only absolute characteristic.

Reviewing the views of both Von Nordheim and Cortès, the role of exhortation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* becomes very clear. For Von Nordheim, exhortation was the essential element of the farewell discourse genre, and for Cortès it was one of three major features of the genre. Of the other two features that Cortès outlined, one was a stylistic convention and the other was the presence of future-oriented passages, which Von Nordheim did not feel was compulsory.¹⁸¹

Finally, in the 1970s and 1980s Anitra Kolenkow published a series of articles and reviews on the farewell discourse genre.¹⁸² In these articles she argued that this genre is defined by its strong future-oriented focus.¹⁸³ In this she strongly opposed Von Nordheim's conviction of the essentiality of exhortation.¹⁸⁴ Her argument was two-tiered. Firstly, she felt that because most works use the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a model for the farewell discourse genre, the genre has been coloured to match the exhortatory emphasis of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁸⁵

179. Hollander argues that 'when he distinguishes three basic elements of the farewell speech, he admits that two of them, the biographical section and the one about the future, may be lacking as well without affecting the genre'; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 6.

180. Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 16. Cf. Von Nordheim, *Lehre der Alten* 1, p. 233.

181. Like the biographical passages, these future-oriented passages play an exhortatory role in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. After discussing the biographical passages and concluding that they support the exhortation, Hollander hints at this understanding when he states that 'the predictions of the future seem to play a similar role'; Hollander, "Eschatological Agent," p. 104. The role of the passages regarding the future in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will be examined in more detail in Chapter 2, beginning on page 62.

182. Kolenkow, "Genre Testament"; Kolenkow, "Lehre der Alten 1"; Kolenkow, "Testaments."

183. Kolenkow maintains that 'the genre serves particularly as a vehicle for literature forecasting the future'; Kolenkow, "Genre Testament," p. 57.

184. Consider her review of Von Nordheim's first book; Kolenkow, "Lehre der Alten 1."

185. Kolenkow argues that 'the major problem now is that testaments generally are defined according to the ethical model of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs'; Kolenkow, "Genre Testament," p. 57.

Furthermore, she felt that this emphasis away from the future-oriented passages had been strengthened by a scholarly need to differentiate between the genres of farewell discourse and apocalyptic.¹⁸⁶ In Kolenkow's assessment, otherworldly journeys play a large role in establishing the authority of a farewell discourse, especially with regard to the predictions of the future.¹⁸⁷ Kolenkow also suggested that there might be two types of farewell discourse: 'the ethical testament and the blessing testament.'¹⁸⁸ The ethical farewell discourse focusses on exhortation and biography, whereas the other focusses on otherworldly trips and eschatological predictions.

Kolenkow's emphasis on prophecy and prediction in farewell discourses may well be correct, and nonetheless shows the great diversity in the form of farewell discourses. However, her argumentation implies something specific about the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. If she felt that using the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as twelve versions of a typical farewell discourse puts too much emphasis on exhortation, this argues that admonition must be fundamental in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Indeed, she does not disagree with Von Nordheim's conclusions that paraenesis is fundamental (based on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*), but simply argued that his method influenced his analysis of other farewell discourses.

All in all, as with literary criticism, little headway has been made in attempting to define the farewell discourse genre. There is general acceptance of a few characteristics, including the imminent death of an important figure, the calling together of the audience, the speech of the person about to die, and the death of that figure. Any others, such as otherworldly journeys, predictions, and even exhortation, are

186. Kolenkow writes that the underemphasis of prediction 'has been intensified because of an opposition between the genre testament and apocalyptic'; Kolenkow, "Genre Testament," p. 57.

187. Kolenkow claims that 'trips to the other worlds [...] reinforce the authority of testaments in giving revelation of the future'; Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 263. Trips to the other world play a very minor role in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, yet the function that Kolenkow ascribes to them is quite similar to what this research will maintain regarding the future-oriented passages. We feel that the future-oriented passages, especially the *vaticinia ex eventu*, serve to validate the exhortation. See page 73 below.

188. Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 263. Kolenkow especially sees evidence for this in the *Testament of Levi*, where she sees a 'juxtaposition of the two types of testaments'; Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 263.

all contested. This leads us to question whether we can ascribe a work's contents to its genre.¹⁸⁹ We are thus forced to draw conclusions based on the form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* themselves, as a stand-alone document, rather than basing our conclusions of the form of the farewell discourse genre.

(II) THE FORM OF THE *TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS*

We can conclude that the main focus of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is exhortation. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are a document consisting of twelve farewell discourses, each containing the last words of one of the sons of Jacob. The testaments are ordered according to the mothers of the patriarchs—first we see Leah's sons, then Bilhah's, then Zilpah's and finally Rachel's.¹⁹⁰ The testaments vary greatly in length and content, but consistently have a similar structure.

Each testament begins with a similar introduction to the narrative frame,¹⁹¹

-
189. See M. de Jonge in his review of Von Nordheim's work, where he maintains that 'the critic who questions a number of his [Von Nordheim's] results in the second half, will look with some scepticism to his contention that there is a true "Gattung," or even "Grossgattung" "Testament" in the pseudepigraphical literature of the intertestamental period [...] is there enough evidence to speak of "eine echte Gattung Testament"? I doubt it'; M. de Jonge, "Lehre der Alten I," p. 117.
190. This order is very similar to the actual order of birth, except that Issachar and Zebulun (Leah's sons) are given precedence over their elder half-brothers. This seems to emphasise the children of Jacob's wives over those of his concubines, a theme that is also discussed in *T. Naph.* 1.6–12. For a discussion of this particular passage consider page 70 below.
191. Several authors have tried to define the "traditional manner" in which a testament begins. While a simple reading of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* shows clear similarities, precisely defining the different elements of the introduction proves rather difficult. Hultgård gives a list consisting of five elements: '1°. La formule introductive [...] 2°. L'annonce que la mort du patriarche est proche [...] 3°. L'indication de l'âge de patriarche [...] 4°. La réunion des fils du patriarche [...] 5°. L'ordre d'écouter.' With this list Hultgård notes that 'notre analyse diffère sur plusieurs points de celle donnée par Becker,' explaining that Becker omits those elements that are not found in most of the testaments. Hultgård's description is thus a minimal list of the elements found in an introduction to one of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Hultgård, *Composition*, p. 54. Hollander and De Jonge name a similar list, albeit with slightly different wording. They add a sixth element: 'sometimes we hear that this is ... years after Joseph's death'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 29. Becker's analysis also includes the death of Joseph as part of the introduction, and mentions which elements occur in which testaments, Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 159–60. Kugler also names these same five elements, pointing out that 'some testaments preserve other elements in the introduction.' These include the present health of the patriarch and the presence of a selection of the patriarch's brothers; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 12.

where the text presents itself as a copy (ἀντίγραφον) of the last words of the patriarch. After this the patriarch's age is given, and it becomes clear that his death is imminent. The patriarch's family has been called together to hear his last words, and the patriarch commands his children to listen to what he has to say.¹⁹² Here some testaments include additional details, such as the patriarch's state of health (*T. Reu.* 1.2, *T. Sim.* 1.2 *T. Levi* 1.2, *T. Naph.* 1.2, *T. Ash.* 1.2), the time that has passed since Joseph's death (*T. Reu.* 1.2, *T. Sim.* 1.1, *T. Zeb.* 1.1), and the circumstances of the meeting (*T. Naph.* 1.2). Whatever the prologue contains, it introduces the narrative frame in which the farewell discourse will take place.

The testament proper begins with the patriarch's direct speech, usually through a call to the children to listen. This extensive section of direct speech includes three forms of discourse: biographical, exhortatory and future-oriented passages.¹⁹³ The amount of space allotted to each of these varies from testament to testament, but in every testament all three are always present.¹⁹⁴

In the biographical sections, the patriarch retells narratives from his past. Usually the biography will introduce some of the ethical choices that the patriarch

192. Usually this is the "sons" (υἱοί) of the patriarch (cf. *T. Sim.* 1.1, *T. Levi* 1.1, *T. Jud.* 1.1, *T. Iss.* 1.1, *T. Naph.* 1.2, *T. Gad* 1.1, *T. Ash.* 1.1, *T. Ben.* 1.1). *T. Reu.* 1.2 also mentions the sons, and adds the "grandsons" (υἱοὶ τῶν υἱῶν), while *T. Jos.* 1.1 includes the "brothers" (ἀδελφοί) of Joseph in addition to the sons. *T. Zeb.* 1.1 says that the "children" (τέκνα) have been called together, but refers to them as "sons" in the following verse. Finally, in *T. Dan* 1.2 the "family" (πατριά) is called together, but the audience is referred to as "sons" immediately after.

193. For an in-depth analysis of the structure of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, consider Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition." Her discussion of the structure of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* on both a macro and micro level is exhaustive. In contrast to what is discussed above, she sees only two sections in the body of each testament: 'paraenesis and prophecy.' Putting aside complexity of the term "prophecy," her analysis considers the biographical sections and the exhortatory sections as one part. In other words, the paraenesis is divided into 'parenetic prose' and 'parenetic exhortations.' This mirrors the 'prophecy,' which is similarly divided into two sections: 'predictions' and 'predictive exhortations'; Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition," pp. 25–39. While the claim that the biography contributes to the exhortation is something that this research will defend later, the direct incorporation of biographical episodes into the paraenesis goes too far. See also the many scholars who identify three distinct discourse styles, such as Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 1; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 29–41; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 12.

194. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 31; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 12. Additionally, consider the discussion on page 62 below.

has made,¹⁹⁵ which can either be righteous or wicked. In other words, the biography uses certain examples to introduce a specific virtue or vice that played a marked role in the patriarch's life.

This virtue or vice is generally the topic of the following section, which revolves around the patriarch admonishing his sons to either learn from his mistakes (if he made any serious ones) or follow in his footsteps (if he lived virtuously). Often this section contains an extensive discussion of that particular virtue or vice, showing its usefulness or danger. This discussion gives the audience details that help them to understand the nature of the virtue or vice, but the emphasis is always on the exhortation towards righteous, ethical decisions.

In the third and final section of the direct speech, the future is discussed from the patriarch's perspective in time. These are generally either *vaticinia ex eventu* (prophecies after the event) or predictions about the eschatological future. The *vaticinia ex eventu* are usually about the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, the Babylonian captivity, and the Messiah. From the perspective of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, this last item is also a past event, as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* refer to the specifics of Jesus Christ's life.¹⁹⁶ The eschatological passages discuss the salvation of mankind, the destruction of evil, the restoration of the saints, and the resurrection of mankind. These future-oriented passages also contribute to the overall admonition.

Finally, returning from the direct speech to the narrative frame once more, the testaments then tend to conclude in similar ways.¹⁹⁷ In each testament the patriarch states that he has finished his farewell speech, gives some burial instructions, and

195. Hollander argues that 'the patriarch begins by telling his sons about his life in the past, and by describing his ethical attitude under some particular circumstances'; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 1.

196. As discussed in the previous section, we will examine the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in the Christian context in which they functioned, and we will take the text as we have it now. This leads us to understand these passages as referring to the life of Jesus Christ. See also page 25 above.

197. Similarly to the introductions, some variation is present in the concluding elements. Hollander and De Jonge also see this, claiming that 'there is even more variation, but again a regular pattern can be found'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 30. For a discussion of some of the more divergent variance, see Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 30–1.

then dies. Sometimes a description of the children's adherence to his burial instructions is also included.¹⁹⁸

All twelve testaments in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are structured in this manner. These individual testaments are tied together by their overarching ethical themes and common world-view, but there are also traces of a meta-structure in the work as a whole. The testaments have not been arranged randomly, and there is a clear progression of thought throughout the work. Johannes Thomas produced the most complete discussion of this overarching structure.¹⁹⁹ In his view, six testaments play a special role. The *Testament of Reuben* functions as an introduction to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, introducing valuable themes such as fornication, Joseph as a model for righteousness, and the pre-eminent position of Levi and Judah in the text. To this we can add that the *Testament of Reuben* also introduces the world-view in which mankind is situated in a great controversy between good and evil.

Returning to Thomas's theory that six testaments play a special role, he claims that the *Testament of Levi* and the *Testament of Judah* provide a basis for the eminent position of these patriarchs throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. To this we can add that these two testaments also reinforce the position of Christ as Saviour (who comes from both tribes), and thus reinforce the future-oriented passages as well. The *Testament of Asher* is the third-to-last testament, and provides the solution to the tricky issue of differentiating good from evil. The penultimate testament, the *Testament of Joseph*, is the climax of the work, and the *Testament of Benjamin* exhorts the audience to follow the example of Joseph, imitating his good ways.²⁰⁰

198. See also Hollander and De Jonge, who claim that in the conclusions the 'elements that recur frequently are: the speech is said to have come to an end (sometimes this phrase is accompanied by a final exhortation); the patriarch states that he wishes to be buried in Hebron; he dies; the sons are said to have done what their father commanded them; they lay him in a coffin and bring him to Hebron'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 30. Kugler outlines these same elements, Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 15.

199. Thomas, "Paraenesis," p. 185.

200. Thomas, "Paraenesis," p. 185.

The structure Thomas provides is valuable, yet some elements seem to be missing (or are simply not explicit enough). We can extend his discussion by attributing roles to the other six testaments. In our view, the *Testament of Simeon*, the *Testament of Issachar*, the *Testament of Zebulun*, the *Testament of Dan*, the *Testament of Naphtali*, and the *Testament of Gad* also play a very important role in the entire work, though perhaps in ways less immediately obvious. The role of these testaments will become clear from a discussion of the development of the understanding of evil in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the *Testament of Reuben*, the problem of good and evil is introduced. In this testament the author claims that a person's entire existence is defined by a great controversy between good and evil. Everyone is constantly under the influence of both powers. The opponent, generally referred to as Beliar or Satan, is the leader of the forces of evil, and most often functions as the opponent to mankind.²⁰¹

In the nine testaments following the *Testament of Reuben* this theme is made more and more concrete in the examples of the patriarchs' lives. The *Testament of Simeon*, the *Testament of Dan*, and the *Testament of Gad* introduce three powerful spirits of deceit: envy, anger and hatred. The perception of these spirits is vital to the exhortation on mankind's choices, which is fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The *Testament of Issachar* and the *Testament of Zebulun* show positive examples of how to avoid the influence of the powers of evil. Even the *Testament of Levi* and the *Testament of Judah*, which Thomas only describes as reinforcing Judah and Levi's pre-eminent position in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, lead to a greater understanding of the powers of the forces of darkness. Through the extensive positive and negative examples of the patriarchs, and the further discussion of the forces of darkness, the problem introduced in the *Testament of Reuben* becomes more urgent and more understandable to the audience. When the reader arrives at the *Testament of Asher* he is ready to understand the problem as being nuanced, and is also able to see more nuanced solutions. In other words, the "middle" testaments prepare the audience to comprehend the ultimate solution in the *Testament of Asher*. The *Testament of Joseph* and the *Testament of*

201. This theme will be discussed in great detail in Chapter 3.

Benjamin then function to drive home the argument, and re-emphasise important issues.

Now that we have an image of how each individual testament contributes to the overall structure of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and having considered the form of the testaments in more detail, we can now relate the possible conclusions to the broader discussion of form and genre. As we noted, the discussion of genre has not led to many useful conclusions when analysing the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Scholarship's disagreements regarding the farewell discourse genre force us to conclude that a discussion of the isolated form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, apart from any wider genre or classification, is more advantageous. In doing so we can already conclude that exhortation is the focus of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, so much so that when utilised as an exemplary farewell discourse it has been accused of skewing definitions of the genre. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also contain extensive biographical and future-oriented passages, but as we will see in the coming chapters the biography appears to serve as the validator for exhortatory authority,²⁰² and the predictions themselves seem to serve exhortatory purposes.²⁰³ The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are clearly a wholly paraenetical document. Therefore, a correct understanding of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will only be possible through an examination of the exhortation. In this research we will look extensively at the reasoning behind the exhortation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. We will discuss the outline of this research in more detail in the following section.

202. Kolenkow, "Testaments," p. 267.

203. Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 16. See also our discussion of the roles of the various forms of discourse beginning on page 62.

C THE PRESENT STUDY

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have been the object of a seemingly endless debate since their earliest introduction into scholarship. Research into this text has focussed more on recovering older, Jewish versions of it or defending allegations that it is in fact a Christian work than on actually exploring or analysing the document itself. A few scholars attempted to avoid this argument, and specific exegetical studies of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* exist, but they are few and far between. Furthermore, most research focusses on a specific part of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, or on a specific predefined topic.²⁰⁴ For this reason, little research has specifically focussed on exploring what actually lies at the core of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a coherent whole. In this research we wish to focus on illuminating the role that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* played in the context in which it was transmitted.

Consequently, we hope that our research will contribute to a greater understanding of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and its core features. Since admonition plays such a vital part in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, this will be our focus. We will examine how admonition functions in the exhortatory and biographical passages, as well as those regarding the future. From this examination, we will finally be able to see the necessary prerequisites of that admonition. This will give us a better understanding of what lies at the heart of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

From this examination of the admonition in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we will distil the fundamental world-view present in the text. This world-view defines how the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* argues certain points, and how it sees mankind's existence. After discovering what exactly this world-view is, we will look for other documents that share a similar world-view. In other words, the method of this research will be to find the fundamental goals of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, to identify the presuppositions that are necessary

204. There are a few longer studies, which include Hollander, *Ethical Model*; Kugler, *Testaments*. Shorter studies such as Twelftree, "Exorcism"; Loader, *Sexuality*; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress" are slightly less scarce.

for achieving these goals, and to find these presuppositions in other writings. This method will allow us to draw viable conclusions about the document and other similar texts. Furthermore, it will allow us to compare documents on their own terms, rather than imposing external criteria upon them. This should allow for a more fruitful comparison of documents, even when comparing those that are either very similar to each other or those that are very different.

In this research, we will assume that the context of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is Christian. In this we make no claims regarding earlier versions of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, neither accepting nor denying their existence. The document as we have it now is a literary product of early Christianity, and will be studied in that context. For this reason we will not discuss text-critical or form-critical issues, and will simply follow the Greek text of the *editio maior*.²⁰⁵

This research will consist of a further four chapters. In Chapter 2 we will examine the argumentation of the admonition in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. We will look at the exhortation, and argue that the focus is clearly on the double commandment to love/fear God and to love one's neighbour. We will see that this admonition is based on a world-view wherein each person constantly struggles against the forces of darkness. Each person is situated in the great controversy between good and evil. This anthropology is vital to the exhortation.

In Chapter 3 we will examine this world-view in more detail. Each individual, living in the great controversy, can make one of two choices: to do what is right in the eyes of the Lord, or to follow the opponent. This duality of existence is portrayed very ambiguously, as good and evil appear to be present in everyone's life. The forces of darkness do everything they can to lead a person astray, and so each person must struggle constantly with these forces. An individual's weapon against the opponent and his servants is his mind, i.e. his rational ability. The individual should use his mind to make the correct choices, but the opponent also attempts to corrupt his mind. Ultimately, Chapter 3 will outline this and several other motifs indicative of the world-view fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

205. De Jonge et al., *Critical Edition*.

Chapter 4 will discuss these motifs in more detail. We will look at how these motifs are developed in other writings, and select a comparable document—the *Rule of the Community*—for analysis and discussion. This comparison will allow us to refine the motifs from Chapter 3, and will highlight the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*’ emphasis on the individual, an emphasis which is missing from the *Rule of the Community*. This emphasis on the individual, in combination with the motifs, will be used for further comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the writings of Origen and Clement of Alexandria. Based on the world-view fundamental to the texts, we will see that these three bodies of literature show the most resemblance to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

In Chapter 5 we will summarise the findings of the previous chapters, drawing some conclusions about the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, early Christianity, the opponent, and the method of this research. We will show that the struggle between good and evil is fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but also that this great controversy is internalised. Furthermore, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* God does not take part in the struggle, but has given mankind tools (the commandments, mankind’s mind) to withstand the opponent. Thus we see that the opponent is in fact mankind’s opponent. Finally, we will establish that there are many similarities between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, as well as the writings of Origen, arguing for a similar world-view and similar traditions behind these bodies of work.

2 Admonition and the Great Controversy in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

This chapter will focus on the argumentation used in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, arguing that exhortation forms the work's central discursive mode. Here the admonition is fundamentally ethical, and focusses on a single double commandment. Persistently, the author invokes the double commandment, calling his audience to love or fear God and to love one's neighbour. Both as individual testaments and as a collective whole, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* utilise various forms of discourse (biography, prophecy, exhortation, etc.) to emphasise the importance of this double commandment.

In this light, virtues and vices are crucial in that they are reflections and applications of the double commandment; virtues are represented as the observance of the commandments of the Lord, whereas vices are attributed to the forces of the opponent. Adherence to the double commandment is of vital importance for the audience, because it plays such an extensive role in the battle between God and the opponent, and thus between good and evil. Ultimately this chapter will show that this great controversy is fundamental to the ethical admonishment, and thus to the world-view of the author.

In Section A of this chapter, we will examine the ethical nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as expressed in its purest form, exhortation, as well as the role that the double commandment plays in the narrator's argument. To do

this we will first consider the exhortatory passages, and demonstrate what these passages admonish against. This section will argue that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are a collection of commands, and that these commands are in fact a specification of the Lord's double commandment.

In Sections B and C the admonition in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will be examined further. We will specifically look at the pericopes that are not explicitly exhortatory: in Section B we will look at the roles of the biographical passages, and in Section C at the roles of passages regarding the future. In order to make our discussion of these two kinds of passages clearer, we will first look at an extended example, the *Testament of Judah*, which we will examine in two parts. In Section B we will look at the roles that the biographical passages in the *Testament of Judah* play, and then in Section C we will discuss the roles of the future-oriented passages. In both sections, following the discussion of the *Testament of Judah*, we will look at other roles that these passages can play. Ultimately we will see that both of these forms of discourse are meant to amplify the author's argument, and thus also play a role in the overall admonition. For example, the sections regarding the lives of the patriarchs and the future, contribute to the effectiveness of the admonishment by functioning as examples of virtuous or evil behaviour, of punishments for non-adherence to the commandments, and of rewards for remaining close to the Lord. This argument necessitates that a discussion of the exhortatory nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* must also look at the biographical and future-related passages.

Any exploration of the admonition in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will uncover that vices and virtues are instrumental in shaping that admonition. For this reason, an examination of the role of vices and virtues will be presented in Section D. By exploring the way these vices and virtues are envisioned in the text, as well as the role that they play in the exhortation, we can see how they form part of the double commandment and the larger world-view. Virtues are generally based on biographical examples of virtuous patriarchs, they illustrate the benefits of keeping the commandments (and thus remaining near the Lord). Vices, on the other hand, are presented as spirits of deceit that attempt to lead mankind astray, and ultimately

to death. This particular manifestation of the vices and virtues in the exhortation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, shows the important role that the great controversy plays throughout the work.

Finally, in Section E we will discuss how the world-view of a battle between God and the opponent moulds the admonition on the double commandment in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Every choice that a person makes takes place on this battlefield. The world-view of a great controversy defines the ultimate understanding of mankind's existence, and all the exhortation proceeds from this paradigm.

A EXHORTATION AND COMMANDS

Exhortation plays a vital role in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and this section will focus on uncovering the basis of that exhortation. The first part of this section will examine the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to adduce why they can primarily be considered to be a collection of commands. In the second part of this section the contents of these instructions of the patriarchs will be examined in an attempt to elucidate what they actually entail, showing how these instructions revolve around the double commandment of love for or fear of God, and love for one's neighbour.¹ We will note that the specific admonition of the patriarchs (often focussing on a certain vice or virtue) is in fact also an explication of the double commandment.

(I) THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS AS A COLLECTION OF COMMANDS

The ethical and exhortatory nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is already hinted at in the very first sentence of the work. Most of these testaments begin in similar ways, although in the first testament, the *Testament of Reuben*, there is an element that is neither standard nor found elsewhere.² The *Testament of Reuben* 1.1 reads:

Ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης Ρουβήμ, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, πρὶν ἢ ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν, ἐν ἑκατοστῷ εἰκοστῷ πέμπτῳ ἔτει τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ.³

This is a copy of Reuben's testament, of the commands he gave to his sons before his death, in the one hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life.⁴ *T. Reu. 1.1*

-
1. For the various specific wordings of the double commandment consider M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," pp. 382–5.
 2. Consider the discussion of the structure of the twelve testaments given in the introduction, starting on page 37 above.
 3. The Greek text of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* has been taken from De Jonge et al., *Critical Edition*.
 4. All translations of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are the author's. English translations of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* can be found in Kee, "Translation and Introduction"; M. de Jonge, "Testaments (Sparks)"; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*.

Immediately following the standard three-word introduction is the phrase ὅσα ἐν-ετείλατο τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ. Here Reuben's testament is referred to as a command.⁵ In the introduction to the *Testament of Reuben*, the exhortatory nature of the testament is thus emphasised through this phrase. The text portrays itself as a copy of Reuben's testament, in other words as a copy of the precepts Reuben gave to his sons. The implication is that the audience should expect an admonishing discourse that contains commandments. This assumption can be considered valid for both the current testament and, since the *Testament of Reuben* is the first testament, for all the testaments together. In this way the *Testament of Reuben* introduces the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as an exhortatory work focussing on ethical instruction.

Several other testaments also present themselves as commands, but only at a later point in that testament.⁶ This presentation of the testament as commandments can occur in one of two ways. In the first scenario, the testament proper is finished and refers back to the preceding direct speech, that is to say the actual testament. We find this first scenario in four places (*T. Reu.* 7.1, *T. Sim.* 8.1, *T. Levi* 19.4, *T. Naph.* 9.1). In the second scenario, the patriarch narrating the testament refers to what he is saying as commands within the testament proper, without any specific antecedent in mind. That is, there is generally a reference to the instructions of a certain patriarch, but no specific precept of his is designated. This scenario occurs in three places (*T. Reu.* 4.5, *T. Sim.* 7.3, *T. Levi* 10.1). Consider these two examples, each representative of one of these two scenarios:

Καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἐντειλάμενος αὐτοῖς παρεκάλεσεν ἵνα μετακομίσωσι τὰ ὅσα αὐτοῦ εἰς Χεβρών, καὶ θάψωσι μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ.

5. This attribution does not occur elsewhere at the beginning of a testament. The testaments can, however, be referred to as commands in various other places in a testament. Consider *T. Reu.* 7.1, *T. Sim.* 7.3, 8.1, *T. Levi* 19.4, *T. Naph.* 9.1. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 31–32, 41.
6. This should not be confused with the burial instructions that some patriarchs give after their testament, cf. *T. Iss.* 7.8, *T. Ash.* 8.2, *T. Naph.* 9.3, *T. Ben.* 12.1. Although also referred to as commands, these statements reflect their wishes to be buried in Hebron with their forefathers, and other specific personal wishes. *T. Jud.* 26.4 also mentions commands, and seems to refer to burial instructions.

And when he had given them many commands, he urged them to transport his bones to Hebron and to bury him with his ancestors. *T. Naph. 9.1*

διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐντείλησθε τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν ὅπως φυλάξωσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν.

For this reason I give these commands to you, so that you also may give them to your children, and thus they will be observed by their descendants. *T. Sim. 7.3*

Clearly, each individual testament is considered to be a series of commands, and is referred to as such. This reference can occur at the beginning of a testament as an introduction, at the end of a testament as a conclusion, or simply in the body of a testament as a reminder. This correspondence between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and mandates, indicates that the focus of the admonishment (and thus of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) are the commandments. In other words, the exhortation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is an ethical interpretation of the commandments of the Lord. The author of the testaments makes a number of precepts concrete so that the audience will understand and follow them.

All in all, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are clearly a collection of mandates. This leads to the question what the contents of these commandments are. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* contain references to “the commandments of the Lord,” however they also sometimes refer to “the patriarch’s commands.” This is presented in such a way that makes it clear that the Lord’s commandments and the patriarchs’ commands are seen as interchangeable (*T. Jud. 13.1–7*).⁷ In fact, the specific exhortation, and thus the commandments of the patriarchs, are a specification of the general double commandment of the Lord.⁸

-
7. So also Kugler, who argues that ‘the *Testaments* assert an equivalency between the ancestors’ teaching [...] and the keeping of God’s twofold commandment to love God and neighbour’; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 17. Elsewhere, Kugler maintains that ‘this double commandment is made an equivalent to the patriarchs’ teaching on the virtuous life,’ and proceeds to name six testaments where this occurs (*T. Iss. 5.2,7.6–7, T. Dan 5.2–3, T. Gad 4.1–2, T. Jos. 11.1, T. Ben. 3.1–3*); Kugler, “Not-So-Ambiguous Witness,” p. 345. Menn maintains the same regarding the words of Judah: ‘the *Testament of Judah* [...] equates the Lord’s commandment with a patriarch’s commandment’; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 117.
8. As Kugler maintains: ‘the *Testaments* also say that heeding the patriarchs’ advice fulfils the double command to love God and neighbour’; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 18.

Evidently, the final words of the patriarch should be thought of as commands. This must surely refer to a single commandment, or to a collection of commands. This collection of ethical precepts must be at the basis of the exhortation. Therefore, if the primary practice of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is exhortation, then these commandments are the point of departure. In other words, the contents of the patriarch's commands are the central point of the entire work.⁹ We will now turn to a discussion of the contents of these commands.

(II) THE CONTENTS OF THE COMMANDS

At first glance, the contents of the commands are quite diverse.¹⁰ Often a list of very specific commands (e.g. “do not be jealous,” “live simply”) is given, which is then summarised in a general and unspecific reference to the commandments of the Lord.¹¹ We thus see two different sets of commandments: specific commandments and the commandments of the Lord. The specific ethical commandments are often related to avoiding certain vices and maintaining virtues. The commandments of the Lord, on the other hand, are interpreted as the double commandment to love/fear God and to love one's neighbour: this double commandment is actually a single whole, composed of two sub-elements.

Considering the presence of both specific and very general commands in the admonition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the lack of any attempt to differentiate between the two sets of commands, it is reasonable to assume that there is a connection between them. Either the general commands are a summary of the specific ones, or the specific commands are applications of the general command. Both are plausible. For all means and purposes, any further differentiation is unnecessary. Three passages explicitly discuss the relationship between these specific and

9. So also Ulrichsen, who argues that ‘das Liebesgebot das Zentrum der Paränese bildet und als Hauptthema der TP angesehen werden darf’; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 283. See also Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 380–92.

10. So also M. de Jonge, who asserts that ‘the *Testaments* deal with a great many virtues, and warn against scores of vices’; M. de Jonge, “Two Great Commandments,” p. 380.

11. So also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 42; M. de Jonge, “Two Great Commandments,” p. 380.

general commands: the *Testament of Dan* 5.1–3, the *Testament of Issachar* 5.1–2, and the *Testament of Joseph* 10.1–11.1. We will examine these three passages to better understand the connection between the specific and general commands in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

In the first passage, we find an in-depth discussion of the power and dangers of anger and falsehood. This discussion focusses primarily on anger. According to the *Testament of Dan*, anger wraps a person in nets of deceit (*T. Dan* 2.4), blinding that person to reason, as well as to bonds of friendship and blood (*T. Dan* 2.2–3). Furthermore, the author argues that anger makes a person more dangerous and powerful, in that an angry person will focus all his strength and resources on the object of his rage (*T. Dan* 3.1–6). Falsehood compounds anger, making it especially dangerous (*T. Dan* 3.6, 4.6–7).¹² After this extensive discussion of anger and falsehood, the testament is concluded as follows:

5.1. Φυλάξατε οὖν, τέκνα μου, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ τηρήσατε· ἀπόστητε δὲ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ μισήσατε τὸ ψεῦδος, ἵνα κύριος κατοικήσῃ ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ φύγῃ ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ὁ Βελιάρ. 2. ἀλήθειαν φθέγγεσθε ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἐμπέσητε εἰς ἡδονὴν καὶ ταραχάς, ἀλλ’ ἔσεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔχοντες τὸν θεὸν τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ οὐ μὴ κατισχύσῃ ὑμῶν πόλεμος. 3. ἀγαπᾶτε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ζωῇ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.

5.1. Therefore, my children, keep the commandments of the Lord and observe his law. Give up anger and despise lying, so that the Lord may live in you and Beliar may flee from you. 2. Each of you, speak the truth to your neighbour and you shall not fall into pleasure and confusion, but will instead be at peace. For you have the God of peace, and war will not prevail against you. 3. Love the Lord through your entire life, and love one another with a true heart.

T. Dan 5.1–3

In these verses the very specific exhortation of the *Testament of Dan* 2–4 is summarised in a more generic paraenetical statement. The ethics are broadened from a warning against anger to the final statement ‘love the Lord [...] and love one another’ (*T. Dan* 5.3). In this pericope, we can see a distinct progression of thought. The admonition begins with a generic call to obey the commandments of the

12. For a more complete discussion of these passages from the *Testament of Dan*, see page 143 below.

Lord, and ultimately links this call to love for the Lord and one's neighbour. The commandments of the Lord are the basis for all exhortation. There is, however, also a precept against anger and falsehood (*T. Dan* 5.1). The second precept could either be an additional command separate from the commandments of the Lord, or an implicit part of those commandments. As the commandments are to love the Lord and one's neighbour (*T. Dan* 5.3), the second option is more probable: anger and falsehood naturally go against the commandments of the Lord. The text also promises direct benefits for adhering to the admonition: preservation from impropriety, being at peace, and protection against the forces of darkness (*T. Dan* 5.1–2). The ultimate implications of obeying the double commandment are extremely relevant in this passage, as they are part of the struggle between God and the opponent, which will be discussed in a later section.

A similar case can be found in the *Testament of Issachar*, which discusses the simple life. In the *Testament of Issachar* 2–3 the author maintains that Issachar himself lived a life of simplicity. This life clearly found favour with the Lord, as God doubled Issachar's possessions (*T. Iss.* 3.7). Because of this, Issachar calls upon his children to likewise live a life of simplicity (*T. Iss.* 4.1). The testament then describes the simple man and the benefits of a simple life in much detail (*T. Iss.* 4.2–5). The summary of the description of a simple man is that he lives an upright life, looks at all things simply, and is not influenced by the wickedness resulting from the deceit of the world, all of which keeps him from a distorted view of the Lord's commandments (*T. Iss.* 4.6). This specific admonition on the simple life is then summarised in a general reference to the double commandment, as follows:

5.1. Φυλάξατε οὖν νόμον θεοῦ, τέκνα μου, καὶ τὴν ἀπλότητα κτήσασθε, καὶ ἐν ἀκακίᾳ πορεύεσθε, μὴ περιεργαζόμενοι ἐντολὰς κυρίου, καὶ τοῦ πλησίου τὰς πράξεις· 2. ἀλλ' ἀγαπᾶτε κύριον καὶ τὸν πλησίον, πένητα καὶ ἀσθενῆ ἐλεᾶτε.

5.1. Therefore keep the law of God, my children: acquire simplicity, proceed without guile, do not interfere with the Lord's commandments or your neighbour's affairs.

2. Rather love the Lord and your neighbour. Have mercy on the poor and the weak.

T. Iss. 5.1–2

According to this passage Issachar enjoined his sons to keep the law of God, to live simply, to walk in guilelessness and innocence, and not to meddle in the command-

ments of the Lord or the affairs of neighbours (*T. Iss.* 5.1). Thus, while in principle individuals could busy themselves with all the details of the commandments, it is much better if they would just live a simple life. They should love the Lord and their neighbour, and show compassion for the poor and the weak (*T. Iss.* 5.2). Therefore, this passage argues that in living a simple life, one fulfils the commandments of the Lord—the two are one and the same.¹³ Loving the Lord and loving one's neighbour is the commandment of the Lord, and is tantamount to living a simple life. By identifying the simple life as the application of the double commandment, the detailed discussion of the simple life is also placed within the larger context of the Lord's commandments.¹⁴ The simple life is clearly an ethical goal as evidenced by Issachar himself, but the ultimate aspiration is the fulfilment of the double commandment to love the Lord and love one's neighbour.¹⁵

A third link between specific exhortation and a general statement concerning the double commandment occurs in the *Testament of Joseph*. This testament is dominated by two substantial biographical sections. The first (*T. Ben.* 1.2–9.5) focusses on Joseph's enduring chastity despite the wiles of the Egyptian woman. Concluding this biographical section, and as the introduction to an exhortatory section, the *Testament of Joseph* reads:

10.1. Ὁρᾶτε οὖν, τέκνα μου, πόσα κατεργάζεται ἡ ὑπομονή, καὶ προσευχὴ μετὰ νηστείας. 2. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν ἀγνείαν μετέλθῃτε ἐν ὑπομονῇ καὶ ταπεινώσει καρδίας, κύριος κατοικήσει ἐν ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἡγάπησε τὴν σωφροσύνην. 3. ὅπου δὲ κατοικεῖ ὁ ὕψιστος, κἂν τις περιπέσῃ φθόνῳ ἢ δουλείᾳ ἢ συκοφαντίᾳ ἢ σκοτία, κύριος ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικῶν διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν κακῶν ῥύεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑψοῖ καὶ δοξάζει αὐτὸν ὡς κἀμέ. 4. πάντως γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ ἢ ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν διανοίᾳ συνέχεται. 5. γινώσκουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί μου πῶς ἡγάπησέ με ὁ πατήρ μου, καὶ οὐχ ὑψοῦμην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου. καίπερ νήπιος ὢν, εἶχον τὸν φόβον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μου (ἦδεν γάρ ὅτι τὰ πάντα παρελεύσεται) 6. καὶ ἐμέτρουν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ

13. For a discussion of the relationship between simplicity and the commandments of the Lord, see M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," pp. 383–4. See also Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, pp. 284–7.

14. Ulrichsen asserts that 'das Liebesgebot macht ein wesentliches Moment des ἀπλότης-Ideals aus'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 285.

15. So also Kugler: 'the bottom line, says Issachar, is obedience to the law of God by keeping the double commandment to love the Lord and one's neighbour'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 63.

ἐτίμων τοὺς ἀδελφούς μου, καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον αὐτῶν ἐσιώπων πιπρασκόμενος, μὴ εἰ-
πεῖν τοῖς Ἰσμαηλίταις τὸ γένος μου, ὅτι υἱὸς εἰμι Ἰακώβ, ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου καὶ δυνατοῦ.
11.1. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἔχετε ἐν πάσῃ πράξει ὑμῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φόβον καὶ
τιμᾶτε τοὺς ἀδελφούς ὑμῶν· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ ποιῶν νόμον κυρίου, ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.

10.1. My children, so you see what great things patience and prayer, with fasting, bring
about. 2. If you pursue self-control and purity in patience and humility of heart, the
Lord will dwell in you. For the Lord loves self-control. 3. If someone in whom the Most
High dwells were to fall into the hands of jealousy, slavery, or slander, the Lord who
dwells in him because of his self-control will not only save him from the evil, but also
exalt and glorify him, just as he did for me. 4. For mankind is clearly oppressed, be it
in actions, words, or mind. 5. My brothers knew how much my father loved me, yet
I did not exalt myself in my heart. Although I was but a child, I held the fear of God
in my mind, for I knew that all things would pass away. 6. I kept myself in check and
honoured my brothers. Out of fear for them I remained silent when I was sold. I did
not tell the Ishmaelites of my heritage: that I am a son of the great and powerful man
Jacob. 11.1. So you also must fix your gaze upon the fear of the Lord in all that you do,
and honour your brothers. For the Lord loves all those who act according to his law.

T. Jos. 10.1–11.1

In this pericope Joseph’s chastity is clearly linked to his fear of the Lord. This fear
(that is, the keeping of the first half of the double commandment) led to his glory
and exaltation (*T. Ben. 10.3*). The testament maintains that due to his fear of the
Lord, Joseph knew his place among his brothers, and he honoured and respected
them (*T. Ben. 10.6*). In other words, the *Testament of Joseph* reveals how fear of
the Lord leads to love for others: the first half of the double commandment leads
to the second half.¹⁶ The second half of the double commandment is then further
explained in another biographical section concerning Joseph’s loyalty to his brothers
(*T. Ben. 11.1–16.6*).¹⁷

These three passages represent the most obvious links between specific exhorta-
tion and general ethics in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. But links are not

16. So also Kugler, ‘Joseph links the keeping of the first commandment to the second by introducing the
story with a speech that says fear of God leads to honour and respect for the other’; Kugler, *Testaments*,
p. 82.

17. See also M. de Jonge’s discussion of *T. Jos. 10.1–11.1* in the context of the double commandment in M.
de Jonge, ‘Two Great Commandments,’ pp. 387–8.

limited to these three testaments. Many testaments conclude the exhortation with a general reference to the law of the Lord, to the commandments, to the double commandment, or to love for one's neighbour (e.g. *T. Reu.* 6.9, *T. Jud.* 26.1, *T. Zeb.* 10.5, *T. Naph.* 8.10,¹⁸ *T. Gad* 7.7, *T. Ash.* 6.1, *T. Ben.* 3.1).¹⁹ In other words, despite the fact that each of these testaments focusses on specific exhortation, that exhortation is invariably concluded in a general statement containing at least a partial reference to the double commandment.²⁰

The case has occasionally been made that the commandments of the Lord in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do not refer to the double commandment,

-
18. There is some disagreement as to whether this verse refers to the double commandment, or to another commandment. The verse occurs as part of a discussion of natural order. The *Testament of Naphtali* maintains that there is an order to all things, even the commandments of the Lord. These commandments are "double" (clearly a reference to the fact that it is a double commandment) and keeping the commandment requires some skill (*T. Naph.* 8.7). By way of an example, a reference is then made to the fact that there is a time for sexual intercourse and a time for meditation (*T. Naph.* 8.8). In conclusion, it is stated that there are two general commands and their proper order needs to be maintained, otherwise it will result in sin (*T. Naph.* 8.9). Marcus understands the reference to a time for intercourse and a time for meditation as an allusion to the 'Levitical legislation about menstruation'; Marcus, "Common Jewish Christian Milieu," p. 621. Therefore, the seasons or times referred to in *T. Naph.* 8.8 are 'a divine alternation of seasons, a τάξις, with which sexual activity of the righteous must conform'; Marcus, "Common Jewish Christian Milieu," pp. 621–2. He subsequently concludes that the double-commandment referred to here is (1) the Levitical legislation about menstruation, and (2) the command from Genesis 9.1 to be fruitful and multiply. Taking the context of the whole of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* into account, this conclusion is clearly incorrect. In general any reference to "the commandments" implies the double commandment of loving/fearing God and loving one's neighbour. Kee understands this in a similar way, claiming that 'one might infer from 8.1–8 that they are (1) loving God and (2) loving neighbor. This sequence would then mean to give obligation to God priority over responsibility to fellow humans'; Kee, "Translation and Introduction," p. 814. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 319.
 19. Ulrichsen discusses which passages refer only to love for one's neighbour, which ones refer to the double commandment, and which ones refer solely to love/fear of God. He also discusses alternate wordings of the double commandment; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 283. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 42; M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," pp. 382–3.
 20. So also Kugler, who concludes that 'fulfilment of the double commandment is equated with satisfying the patriarchs' demands'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 18.

but rather to the Torah in general.²¹ This presupposes a context where Israel's ethical inheritance is held in high esteem. As the sons of Jacob themselves would have no knowledge of any specifics of the Torah, it would seem logical that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* cannot refer to these. This fact can be used to explain the lack of cultic regulations.²² Despite this lack, some passages could still be considered as referring to specific Israelite law.²³ The *Testament of Levi*, for example, mentions circumcision in the narrative of the rape of Dinah,²⁴ and three testaments could be

21. Slingerland argues this in Slingerland, "Nature of Nomos." He concludes that 'in spite of the fact that the authors of the *T. 12 Patr.* intend their work to stress love of neighbor and other such general aspects of the law, there is no basis for scholarship's consensus that *nomos* has been limited to this sphere. These authors conceive of the law as a written body of jurisprudence to be read, studied, and taught; [...] and they reflect much interest in several aspects of Israel's ritual laws. There is no reason to think otherwise, therefore, than that when these writers speak of *nomos* they have in mind Israel's traditional corpus understood in its wholeness'; Slingerland, "Nature of Nomos," p. 48. Marcus follows Slingerland's argument, claiming that 'the *Testaments* do not reduce νόμος to the natural law, or general moral principles, or the Decalogue, or the Golden Rule.' He concludes that 'the *Testaments* [...] implies the necessity of observing the full Mosaic Torah'; Marcus, "Common Jewish Christian Milieu," pp. 605–6.
22. So also Slingerland, who claims that the author knows 'all about Moses, Sinai, Torah and so forth, but within their depiction these things do not yet exist [...] This explains why a cursory reading of the *Testaments* leaves the impression of *nomos* generally conceived, of *nomos* only vaguely associated with Israel's particular legal symbols'; Slingerland, "Nature of Nomos," pp. 41–2. However, as Thomas points out, 'the author's fiction to the effect that he is speaking of the time of the patriarchs before the Law was given to Moses is not sufficient to account for this vagueness'; Thomas, "Paraenesis," p. 164. Clearly, the fact that the narrative is placed far in the past does not imply that the author could not have deliberated on valued topics that only came up later in history. A literary example of this is *Jubilees*, where Abraham's farewell speech discusses a great many ritual matters (*Jub.* 21).
23. Slingerland lists several, including idolatry, witchcraft, fasting, circumcision, kashrut, marriage practices, and the sacrificial cult; Slingerland, "Nature of Nomos," pp. 45–7.
24. Slingerland maintains that in the retelling of the Hamor slaughter, circumcision is given a role that it does not normally play. The passage in question maintains that Jacob was upset because the people of Hamor were put to death after they had accepted circumcision (*T. Levi* 6.6). Slingerland asserts that 'although the document is not a treatise on circumcision, its authors have used a recast version of the scriptural account in which circumcision becomes important'; Slingerland, "Nature of Nomos," p. 45. When considering the entire narrative of the slaughter of Hamor in the *Testament of Levi* Slingerland's conclusions are invalidated. Levi is furious because of what has occurred to Dinah (*T. Levi* 6.3). He knows that God has sentenced Shechem because 'it turns out that the rape of Dinah was "only

understood to refer to kashrut.²⁵

As far as this case goes, we must note that these references to Jewish regulations are quite vague, and refer more to the existence of these laws than they do to necessarily keeping them. Furthermore, considering how the narratives of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are set far back in the Israelite past, it is natural that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* would make reference to customs and events associated with that setting, without necessarily promulgating their current validity. The author and audience of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* certainly had knowledge of Jewish customs, but this does not mean they kept those customs.²⁶ In

the latest incident in a series of crimes” dating back to the abduction of great-grandmother Sarah; Fisk, “One Good Story,” p. 235 (see also Baarda, “Shechem Episode,” pp. 27–8; Kugel, *Traditions*, p. 241). Furthermore, the Hamorites mistreated all foreigners in various ways, including abducting the foreigners’ wives and sending the husbands themselves away (*T. Levi* 6.9–10). Because of this history of maltreatment Levi manipulates Jacob and Reuben into coercing the sons of Hamor to be circumcised (*T. Levi* 6.3). With help from his brothers he then proceeds to kill everyone in the town (*T. Levi* 6.4–5). Jacob, who was sick that day, only finds out later and he is upset because the town accepted circumcision and the brothers had acted against his will (*T. Levi* 6.6–7). This puts the exclamation of Isaac in a different light, where circumcision was part of Levi’s deception. It is then quite logical that Isaac refers to circumcision when rebuking Levi. This context shows that circumcision simply plays a role in the deception and is not associated with law in any way. So also Kee, who argues that circumcision ‘occurs in connection with Jacob’s rebuke of his sons for killing Shechemites [...] not the cultic act but the violation of fellow human beings is at stake here’; Kee, “Ethical Dimensions,” p. 260.

25. There are three passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that allude to clean and unclean animals (*T. Levi* 9.13, *T. Jud.* 22.2–5, *T. Ash.* 4.5). These passages show elementary understanding of the idea of clean and unclean meat, but do not maintain adherence to kashrut laws. Kee argues that ‘there are two highly significant allusions to the kosher laws in TA [...] there the clean animals are mentioned, but they serve, not as dietary models, but as metaphors of the morally pure or impure person’; Kee, “Ethical Dimensions,” p. 260. Slingerland maintains that ‘the *Testaments* are no more a treatise on the food laws than on circumcision, but glimpses of these matters place the writing in the traditional Jewish mainstream insofar as such things are concerned’; Slingerland, “Nature of Nomos,” p. 46. This claim is in need of much nuancing. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does not associate kashrut with law in any way, and simply attests to existence of the audience’s presumed understanding of clean and unclean foods. This does not place the document in “the traditional Jewish mainstream.”
26. Marcus argues just the opposite. After discussing the passage comparing people to clean and unclean animals, he claims that ‘comparisons would not work if the laws were not considered to be literally valid,’ he continues to claim that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* ‘implies the necessity of

other words, while the author is aware of these laws and understands that they are a natural part of this narrative in ancient Israelite past, this does not mean that the author wishes his audience to keep these laws. There is no reason to assume that the commandments of the Lord refer to the Torah.

We can therefore conclude that there is no explicit association of law with the Torah in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and there are many strong connections between the double commandment and law.²⁷ It stands to reason, then, that the law in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is understood as the general commandment of the law, but also the concretisation of that general commandment in the specific teachings of the patriarchs.

In summary, in three specific locations in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* there is a strong link between specific exhortation on vices and virtues and the double commandment. This strongly suggests that the exhortation on these vices should be considered to be exhortation on the double commandment. Most other testaments support this case by concluding a specific exhortation with more general statements. Throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the double commandment is the basis of the exhortation on these vices and virtues.

The following section will consider the non-exhortatory passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In addition to exhortation, most testaments contain both biographical and future-related passages, which in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have an indirect admonishing function. We will now consider exactly how these passages relate to the exhortation.

observing the full Mosaic Torah'; Marcus, "Common Jewish Christian Milieu," p. 606. He also refers to the sacrificial system outlined in the *Testament of Levi* to make this case. This is hardly a correct assessment. Surely the usage of a comparison simply shows that the object of comparison is known to the author (and audience), not that the author (and audience) agree with the object of comparison.

27. Consider M. de Jonge's reply to Slingerland's thesis, where he asserts that 'Slingerland bei seine Aufzählung von Stellen aus den Test XII, die seine These unterstützen sollen, nicht kritisch genug sichtet;' this is followed by a two page discussion; M. de Jonge, "Die Paränese," pp. 288–9. Consider these other scholars who disagree with Slingerland's understanding of law in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 380–92; Kee, "Ethical Dimensions"; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, pp. 282–4; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 18; M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," pp. 378–92.

B THE BIOGRAPHICAL PASSAGES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ADMONISHMENT

As discussed earlier, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* contain passages that could be considered biographical, passages that are explicitly exhortatory, and passages that regard the future.²⁸ In the majority of the testaments these three forms of discourse are all present,²⁹ so the function of these forms within the overall document is clearly worth examining. Considering that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are exhortatory in nature, the best understanding of the way these three forms of discourse function in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* can be found by examining their contribution to the exhortatory basis of the document.³⁰

Each form of discourse plays a number of very distinct exhortatory roles in the document, which need to be considered separately. To understand the role of the biographical and predictive passages more accurately, an in-depth study of a single

28. See also the discussion on page 37 above.

29. In this case there are only one or two possible exceptions to the rule. The only testament without a biographical section is the *Testament of Asher*, where only one verse resembles biography (*T. Ash.* 5.4). This verse gives a short reflection of Asher's life in the first person. All twelve testaments contain passages regarding the future. Finally, the *Testament of Levi* contains very little direct exhortation; chapter 13 contains some exhortation and in chapter 19 there is a single sentence of exhortation (*T. Levi* 19.1). Despite the fact the *Testament of Levi* contains very little direct exhortation, it does discuss ethical issues and moral dilemmas. The biographical and future-oriented passages in the *Testament of Levi* function to exhort the audience in the same way as will be described in this section. The *Testament of Levi* thus remains exhortatory by nature, even though it contains very little direct exhortation. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 31.

30. Hollander and De Jonge have a similar understanding of (at least) the biographical sections. They claim that 'biographical data function as illustrations, for statements concerning virtues or vices and for direct exhortations. On the other hand, stories about certain events or actions of the patriarch are followed by admonitions which tell the readers what they are supposed to do or to avoid'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 36. M. de Jonge later explicitly includes the predictive passages, claiming that 'the references to the life of the patriarch, and/or that of Joseph, the paradigm of virtue, and the predictions of what will happen when God intervenes in the future, serve to illustrate and underscore the admonishments of the sons of Jacob'; M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," p. 374. Kugler's understanding is similar to M. de Jonge's later statement. He maintains that 'almost without exception the patriarchs' autobiographical comments lay the groundwork for the moral exhortation, and the consequences of heeding the fathers' exhortation or ignoring it appear to be the centre of concern in the eschatological sections'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 17.

testament will be necessary. In this section we will discuss the biographical passages. We will first look at the *Testament of Judah*, a useful example for this discussion, in order to distill the function of the biographical passages. Later we will also look at the passages in that testament that discuss the future. Then we will examine the roles that each form of discourse fulfils throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

(I) BIOGRAPHY IN THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH

The *Testament of Judah* is one of the lengthiest testaments, and begins with an extraordinarily long biographical section (*T. Jud.* 1.3–12.12).³¹ This section discusses Judah's adventures both in war and with women. In the wars Judah is invincible, but he is not as strong where women are concerned. The seventh episode (*T. Jud.* 10.1–11.5) is the narration of Judah's marriage to Bathshua and the fate of his sons.³² In this narrative we can read Judah's explanation that even though he was well aware that Canaanite stock was wicked, youthful passion blinded his mind.³³

31. Several works solely discussing the *Testament of Judah* have been published. This testament's portrayal of women and sexuality has been of interest to various interpreters in recent decades. Consider Eron, "That Women Have Mastery"; Wassén, "Judah and Tamar"; Hayes, "Confession of Judah"; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*; Loader, *Sexuality*.
32. This is not the first time we hear of Judah's marriage. At the end of the fifth episode (*T. Jud.* 7.1–8.3) Judah meets Barsam, king of Adullam, his future father-in-law. He is introduced to the king by his herdsman, an Adullamite, and after a short while marries Bathshua. She eventually conceives three sons, two of whom died childless. The topic of wealth is continued in the following episode where Judah secures a tribute from the sons of Esau. It seems unlikely that the discussion of Judah's wealth is unrelated to the discussion of Judah's wife. Clearly this introduction of Bathshua, soon after a discussion of wealth and indeed prior to another biographical discussion of wealth, links Judah's downfall to wealth. This theme narrative will be discussed in much detail in the exhortatory passages of the *Testament of Judah*. Spilly aptly calls this passage 'a remote preparation for the parenesis'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 233. Consider also Eron's claim that 'Judah's concern for his personal wealth in cattle initiates his troubles'; Eron, "That Women Have Mastery," p. 58.
33. Eron explains this slightly differently. Consider his statement that Judah 'did not realize how evil the Canaanites were because his "youthful impulses" [...] blinded his judgement'; Eron, "That Women Have Mastery," p. 59. Considering the role of the mind in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (which will be discussed in much detail later), it is important to note that Eron's statement is unfortunately phrased. It is essential to understand that Judah *did* know how evil the Canaanites were, but that he was making choices with a blinded mind. So while his mind clearly knew how wicked they were, he committed the iniquity nonetheless due to the blindness.

The *Testament of Judah* makes apparent that when Judah, who was already drunk on beauty and wine, saw the beautiful Bathshua pouring more wine from a jug, he could not resist her beauty and spent the night with her (*T. Jud.* 11.1–2).

This is not Judah's only transgression in the *Testament of Judah*, however. The eighth and final episode of the biographical section (*T. Jud.* 12.1–12) tells of Judah's fornication with another woman. Judah met a woman at the gate to town and asked to lie with her, unaware in his drunkenness that she was Tamar, the widow of his dead sons. She required payment, and so he gave her his staff, belt and diadem in exchange for intercourse. Despite that she, a widow, subsequently conceived twins, Judah was convinced that no one knew of his transgression.

The biographical section thus portrays Judah in two radically different ways.³⁴ On the one hand, Judah is an undefeated veteran of many battles against physical foes. On the other, Judah is twice-defeated in his moral struggle against wine, women, and fornication.³⁵

This biographical section is followed by a general exhortatory passage on the commandments of the Lord (*T. Jud.* 13.1–8), and another on drunkenness, love of money, and beauty (*T. Jud.* 14.1–18.6). These two exhortatory sections contain references to the previous biography, as well as a passage regarding the future. The biographical references further expand on the short descriptions of Judah's moral falls with Bathshua and Tamar introduced in the previous chapters.³⁶

At the beginning of the first exhortatory section, Judah calls his children to obey both his and the Lord's commandments (*T. Jud.* 13.1), which are one and the

-
34. Spilly notes that 'this section not only sets Judah up for the loss of his crown and potential pre-eminence, but shows that he is considered even worse than first-born Reuben in that Judah made the same kinds of mistakes twice—with two women. His pride was not only based on his military prowess but also on his self-righteousness and presumed virtuousness'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 237. The wars are thus clearly utilised to portray the opposite to Judah's defeats when it comes to women.
35. So also Menn, who asserts that the *Testament of Judah* contains 'two parallel narratives illustrating the seduction and defeat of a successful warrior king'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 163.
36. Cf. Eron, who maintains that in the previous chapters Judah 'briefly presents to his sons the basic themes of the parenetic, or teaching, section which follows: the interrelationship of wine, women, and wealth'; Eron, "That Women Have Mastery," p. 58.

same.³⁷ The *Testament of Judah* then uses three biographical narratives—that of Reuben and Bilhah, of Judah and Bathshua, and of Judah and Tamar—to augment the admonition.³⁸ In this, we see Judah recount that while he censured Reuben for fornicating with Bilhah, pride and fornication still tempted him into sleeping with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar the wife of his sons (*T. Jud.* 13.3). In this pericope, the biographical passages are included in the admonition. This is an exhortatory strategy that the *Testament of Judah* further uses in its discussion of Judah and Bathshua.

The author of the testament lets Judah unfold how he married Bathshua. He began nobly, telling Bathshua's father that he would have to consult with his father before agreeing to the union (*T. Jud.* 13.4). This is clearly in adherence with the exhortation above. But Bathshua's father manipulated Judah.³⁹ First, Judah was shown great wealth (*T. Jud.* 13.4–5). Next, Bathshua was adorned with gold and pearls, and she displayed her beauty (*T. Jud.* 13.5). After that, she poured out wine, and the influence of that wine distorted Judah's sight (*T. Jud.* 13.6). Thus, Judah became enamoured with her, spent the night with her and, transgressing the commandment of the Lord and of Jacob, married her (*T. Jud.* 13.7). The Lord rewarded him as he deserved: their children brought him no joy (*T. Jud.* 13.8).

As we can see, this narrative builds upon the biographical episode earlier in the testament, which told of the fate of Judah's sons and Judah's marriage to Bathshua (*T. Jud.* 10.1–11.5). Furthermore, a summary reference to wine in the *Testament of Judah* 11.2 is extended in order to emphasise the three topics which the testament will subsequently discuss: love of money, beauty, and drunkenness. The biographical narrative clearly functions as an exhortatory example, showing the dangers of

37. Here, Judah's teachings are associated with the ordinances and commandments of the Lord. Menn even argues that the two are equatable: 'Judah [...] equates the Lord's commandment with a patriarch's commandment'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 117.

38. So also Spilly, who maintains that 'the point of departure for the parenesis is Judah's lust,' and that through these three narratives 'two other themes of Judah's weaknesses are introduced: his love of money and drinking'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 238.

39. Consider Menn's statement: 'Judah initially desires to consult with his father, but the Adullamite king distracts him'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 139. Cf. Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 404.

the vices on which the *Testament of Judah* focusses.⁴⁰ Judah's success in wars against seemingly unsurmountable odds and his subsequent failures in more spiritual challenges emphasise how much more dangerous supernatural foes can be. The exhortation that follows expands on these three points—the *Testament of Judah* 14.1–16.5 addresses drunkenness and how it leads to fornication, whereas 17.1–18.6 discusses the love of money and beauty.

Concerning drunkenness, the *Testament of Judah* 14 focusses specifically on the power of wine. Chapter 15 of the *Testament of Judah* concentrates on the power that fornication, and thus women, have over men, and chapter 16 calls attention once more to wine, discussing its relation to the commandments of the Lord. A specific theme in this section of the admonition is how wine and fornication can overpower even a successful warrior-king, citing the example of how it overpowered Judah and his kingdom.⁴¹ The *Testament of Judah* explains that drunkenness is dangerous because it can cause the mind to turn away from truth (*T. Jud.* 14.1). The spirit of fornication uses wine to lower a person's resistance.⁴² In other words, if a man drinks wine and becomes drunk, the spirit of fornication is more likely to succeed in leading his mind astray towards fornication, and his body towards intercourse (*T. Jud.* 14.2). If an opportunity presents itself, he then commits a sin and is not ashamed (*T. Jud.* 14.3). This argument against wine is also supported by the examples from Judah's life:

-
40. Spilly considers the biographical parts in the exhortation to be 'a resumption of the narrative'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 238. This must clearly be understood as a return to the narrative, not a continuation of the the narrative. Spilly shows how the biographical sections function as part of the exhortation; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," pp. 238–9.
 41. So also Eron, who asserts that 'a recurrent theme in this section is that even a king can fall under the dominion of the spirit of sexual desire'; Eron, "That Women Have Mastery," p. 61. He continues to name and discuss three occurrences of this theme in the *Testament of Judah*.
 42. Loader interprets this passage in quite a meaningful way. He argues that 'wine serves to draw together what might be seen as itself neutral, namely the "pleasures of the mind," with a particular way of finding such pleasure: sexual immorality'; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 405. This abuse of mankind's nature is a theme that will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. In particular see the conclusions on pages 122 and 148 below.

14.5. ἰδοὺ γὰρ κἀμὲ ἐπλάνησε, μὴ αἰσχυνθῆναι πλῆθος ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὅτι ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων ἐξέκλινα πρὸς τὴν Θαμάρ, καὶ ἐποίησα ἀμαρτίαν μεγάλην, καὶ ἀνεκάλυψα κάλυμμα ἀκαθαρσίας υἱῶν μου. 6. πῶν οἶνον, οὐκ αἰσχύνθην ἐντολὴν θεοῦ καὶ ἔλαβον γυναῖκα Χαναanaίαν.

14.5. For see how it led me astray: even in front of the crowd in the city, I was not ashamed to turn aside to Tamar and commit the great sin though all could see. And I unveiled this immorality to my sons. 6. After drinking wine, I was not ashamed despite the commandments of God, and I took the Canaanite woman. *T. Jud.* 14.5–6

These examples show that because Judah was drunk, he was not ashamed to go against the commandments of the Lord in having sexual relations with Tamar, and in marrying Bathshua (*T. Jud.* 14.5–6).⁴³ The references to the earlier biographical passages are used here in order to demonstrate the dangers of drunkenness and wine. These dangers are very real, and everyone, even kings, are susceptible (*T. Jud.* 15.2). By mentioning kings, the *Testament of Judah* refers to Judah himself, and is illustrated with another biographical example, based on the *Testament of Judah* 12.4:

ἔδωκα γὰρ τὴν ῥάβδον μου, τουτέστι τὸ στήριγμα τῆς ἐμῆς φυλῆς· καὶ τὴν ζώνην μου, τουτέστι τὴν δύναμιν· καὶ τὸ διάδημα, τουτέστι τὴν δόξαν τῆς βασιλείας μου.

For I gave my staff (i.e. the support of my tribe), my belt (i.e. my power) and my crown (i.e. the glory of my kingdom). *T. Jud.* 15.3

Judah gave away items that symbolised his royalty when he fornicated with Tamar (*T. Jud.* 15.3). In his drunkenness he symbolically gave up his kingship. The author maintains that the audience should drink in moderation (*T. Jud.* 16.2), or if possible not drink at all (*T. Jud.* 16.3). Moving on to the discussion of the love of money and beauty, the children are instructed to avoid focussing on either (*T. Jud.* 17.1). The *Testament of Judah* continues with this discussion of beauty and the love of money through the use of a passage regarding the future. We will return to this discussion of the *Testament of Judah* and the functions of the future-oriented passages in the

43. Loader similarly sees the role that the commandments of the Lord play in Judah's sin with both Tamar and Bathshua. He concludes that 'the author put the emphasis on contravention of a biblical prohibition [...] and not wrong done to Tamar. In 14:6 he similarly turns attention to breaching the divine commandment'; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 405.

following section, but firstly a further analysis of all the functions that the biographical form can have in any of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* must be given.

(II) THE ROLES OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL PASSAGES IN THE OTHER TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

As evidenced from the discussion of the *Testament of Judah*, the biographical sections of each individual testament in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* play a role in the over-arching ethical exhortation in that testament. The most straightforward function that biography can play is as an example for the exhortation, as is the case in the *Testament of Judah*.⁴⁴ Additionally, some biographical sections also function to further establish the authority of the patriarch, and thus of his testament. Often there is some overlap between these two functions. In the following pages we will examine these functions of biography through the discussion of exemplary pericopes from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This will allow us to see how the biography contributes to the overall ethical exhortation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Biography as an Example

Often the biographical sections function as examples for the exhortation.⁴⁵ In most testaments, this occurs when the narrator refers back to the biography to give

44. Kugler writes that ‘the autobiographical accounts engender the themes of the ethical sections’; Kugler, “Not-So-Ambiguous Witness,” p. 338. Clearly, this is one role that the biographical sections play, but their function can be more extensive.

45. This is a very common function of the biography, and one that it fulfils in most testaments. In the *Testament of Reuben*, Reuben’s fornication with Bilhah functions as an example of the dangers of youth and women. The *Testament of Simeon*’s narration of Simeon’s jealousy towards Joseph is the starting point for the admonition against envy. In the *Testament of Levi*, this function is quite subtle, but Levi’s devotion to the law stands as a counter-example to the sins of the Levites. The *Testament of Judah* was discussed above. The *Testament of Issachar*’s description of Issachar’s simple life is directly connected to the exhortation to live simply. The discussion of Zebulun’s life as a fisherman, with examples showing his love for his neighbours and a retelling of Joseph’s sale, introduces the theme of compassion and mercy, which is the starting point of the exhortation in the *Testament of Zebulun*. Dan’s envy in the *Testament of Dan* acts as an example for the dangers of envy, as does Gad’s anger in the *Testament of Gad*. Even the *Testament of Asher*, which contains no biographical passage, refers to Asher’s life in the exhortation. The *Testament of Joseph* contains two long narratives, one on chastity and patience, the

examples from it for the exhortation.⁴⁶ The episodes in the lives of the patriarchs are often examples of vices and their consequences, but they can also be examples of virtuous behaviour which the sons should emulate. A prime example of this occurs in the *Testament of Simeon*.

The *Testament of Simeon* 2.1–14 describes Simeon's jealousy of Joseph, which he attributes to the spirit of jealousy. The discourse now moves away from bibliography and towards exhortation. Simeon's children are warned about the spirits of deceit and envy (*T. Sim.* 3.1), followed by a discussion about the nature of envy (*T. Sim.* 3.2–7). The discussion contains these two verses:

3.4. δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου ἐκάκωσα ἐν νηστεία τὴν ψυχὴν μου· καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι ἡ λύσις τοῦ φθόνου διὰ φόβου θεοῦ γίνεται. 5. ἐάν τις ἐπὶ κύριον καταφύγῃ, ἀποτρέχει τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ διάνοια κούφη·

3.4. In fear of the Lord I chastised my mind through fasting for two whole years, and I realised that fear of the Lord gives release from envy. 5. If someone takes refuge in the Lord, the evil spirit will flee from him and his mind will become lightened.

T. Sim. 3.4–5

For two years Simeon willingly suffered by fasting in fear of the Lord. As is clear from the biographical section, this fear is due to the Lord's punishment for Simeon's anger (*T. Sim.* 2.12). Through this experience Simeon learnt that fear of God frees one from envy (*T. Sim.* 3.4), and that if a man flees to the Lord, the evil spirit flees away from him and his mind becomes light (*T. Sim.* 3.5). The spirit referred to here is clearly the spirit of jealousy (and perhaps of deceit), and when the mind becomes light it is the opposite of blindness of the mind—a topic on which Simeon expounded earlier in the testament (*T. Sim.* 2.7). This reference functions to remind the audience of the struggles and consequences that Simeon had to endure according to his biography. The biographical section thus exemplifies the exhortation.

other on brotherly love and loyalty, both of which are the basis for the two exhortatory sections. The *Testament of Benjamin*, curiously, refers predominantly to Joseph's biography, both in the biographical and the exhortatory sections.

46. Collins sees this as the primary function of the biography. He asserts: 'the narrative sections typically recount some episode from the patriarch's life to illustrate some vice or virtue, which is then the subject of the hortatory section'; J.J. Collins, "Testaments," p. 333.

Establishing Authority

In addition to serving as a practical example for the audience, the biographical sections can function to establish the authority of the patriarch featured in that testament, and thereby the author as well.⁴⁷ This is especially evident in the *Testament of Naphtali*, where a narrative concerning Naphtali's conception, birth and lineage is utilised to show Naphtali in a very favourable light. The direct speech of the testament begins with this narrative:

1.6. ἐγὼ ἐγεννήθην ἀπὸ Βάλλας· καὶ ὅτι ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποίησε Ῥαχὴλ, καὶ ἔδωκεν ἀνθ' ἐαυτῆς τὴν Βάλλαν τῷ Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν Ῥαχὴλ ἔτεκε με—διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθην Νεφθαλίμ. 7. καὶ ἠγάπησέ με Ῥαχὴλ, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτῆς ἐγεννήθην· καὶ εἶδει ἀπαλὸν ὄντα κατεφίλει με λέγουσα· ἴδοιμι ἀδελφόν σου ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας μου κατὰ σε. 8. ὅθεν καὶ ὁμοίός μοι ἦν ἐν πᾶσιν ὁ Ἰωσήφ, κατὰ τὰς εὐχὰς Ῥαχὴλ. 9. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ μου ἐστὶ Βάλλα, θυγάτηρ Ῥωθέου, ἀδελφοῦ Δεβόρρας, τῆς τροφοῦ Ῥεβέκκας· ἥτις ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐτέχθη ἐν ἧ καὶ ἡ Ῥαχὴλ. 10. ὁ δὲ Ῥόθεος ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦν Ἀβραάμ, Χαλδαῖος, θεοσεβῆς, ἐλεύθερος καὶ εὐγενής.

1.6. I am a child of Bilhah. Rachel, acting deviously, gave Bilhah to Jacob in her place. Bilhah birthed me on Rachel's thighs. Through this I was called Naphtali. 7. Rachel loved me, because I was born on her thighs. I was a good-looking child, and she would kiss me, while saying "May I, from my own womb, bear a brother of yours who is just like you." 8. This is why Joseph was like me in all ways, according to Rachel's prayers. 9. But my mother was Bilhah, the daughter of Rotheus, who in turn is the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse. My mother was born on the very same day as Rachel. 10. Rotheus was a descendant of Abraham. He feared the Lord and was free and well-born.

T. Naph. 1.6–10

47. In many of the testaments this is the function of the biographical passages, but to a lesser degree than in the *Testament of Naphtali*. In these other testaments the biographical narratives simply show that the patriarchs have experienced certain situations, thus giving them authority in those situations or on these topics. This is present in varying degrees in all twelve testaments, however, some testaments are more prominent. In the *Testament of Reuben*, Reuben explains that he received information about the spirits of deceit in a vision after repenting, thus making him extremely authoritative on that subject. Levi is instituted as a priest, and tours the heavens in the *Testament of Levi*, which also emphasises his authority. In the *Testament of Judah*, Judah is specifically blessed as a king by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, thus stressing his pre-eminent role. Finally, Joseph, as the good man *par excellence* in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* can also lay claim to a great deal of authority.

This passage discusses two of Naphtali's main features, both of which establish Naphtali's authority. Firstly, Naphtali argues that Joseph takes after Naphtali. Naphtali was attractive, and Rachel loved him. She would kiss him, wishing for a son of her own who would be exactly like Naphtali (*T. Naph.* 1.7). In answer to her prayers, she conceived Joseph, who was like Naphtali in all ways (*T. Naph.* 1.8). Naphtali thus, maintains that Joseph, the attractive⁴⁸ and good man *par excellence*, took after him, rather than the other way around.⁴⁹ This claim seems somewhat unlikely, especially considering the glowing portrayal of Joseph throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Naphtali's account of his origin insinuates that he was a handsome and good man in his own right, and that Joseph followed in Naphtali's attractive and virtuous footsteps. Thus, Naphtali, just like Joseph, is elevated above his brothers.⁵⁰

The second feature in Naphtali's biography that shows his authority comes when Naphtali shows that his lineage is noble, and should not be looked down upon.⁵¹ Despite that his mother Bilhah was a slave, she was the niece of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, and she was born on the same day as Rachel (*T. Naph.* 1.9). This lineage can be seen even more favourably because Bilhah's father, Rotheus, was

-
48. Note that Joseph is often referred to as attractive in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Consider *T. Jos.* 18.4 and *T. Sim.* 5.1, which leave no doubt as to Joseph's appearance. This is a common motif in many writings, originating from Gen 39.6. See, for example, *Jub.* 39.5, *Jos. Asen.* 7.3, 13.14, *Dial.* 91. See also Hollander's discussion of Joseph in many ancient writings; Hollander, "Portrayal of Joseph."
49. This explicit assertion of the likeness between Naphtali and Joseph is the starting point for Hillel's analysis of Naphtali as a type of Joseph. She discusses different characteristics of both Naphtali and Joseph, and their roles in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. She comes to the conclusion that the text 'highlights their similarities in physical appearance, characteristics and roles as prophetic visionaries. Naphtali's rank or status in *TPatr* is also elevated by the comparison between Joseph as the "good man" *par excellence* and Naphtali as a man of natural goodness and order, and by Bilhah's genealogy, which presents Naphtali as a descendant of Abraham on both [...] sides. [...] Naphtali and Joseph have many other characteristics in common: they love/fear God, are silent in humility of heart, and are chaste, moral and humble'; Hillel, "Proto-Joseph," pp. 196–7.
50. Cf. Loader, who regarding Naphtali's claims of Joseph resembling him, points out that 'such claims are not made about Dan, Gad, and Asher'; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 416.
51. So also Kee, who argues that 'it is important for the writer to prove that Bilhah is a relative of the Abraham-Isaac-Jacob clan in order that her son, Naphtali, may have a proper place in that tribe's destiny'; Kee, "Translation and Introduction," p. 811.

also a descendant of Abraham. He was a Chaldean: devout, free-born and of noble descent (*T. Naph.* 1.10). In this passage, the narrator tries to show that Bilhah is also a descendant of Abraham, and appears almost apologetic. He insinuates that Naphtali is Abrahamic on both paternal and maternal sides, and is thus of equal status with the other brothers.⁵² Apparently, the audience should not simply consider Naphtali as a son of a concubine. His genealogy elevates both his mother and his own status.⁵³

This example shows how a biographically tinted passage can function to reinforce the authority of the patriarch. The audience, listening to an authoritative figure, are then more likely to adhere to the exhortation outlined in the testament. In this way, the biography functions to strengthen the exhortation. Thus as we examine the core of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we should examine the biographical passages as they contribute to that exhortatory core. In the rest of this research we will discuss the biographical sections of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with this conclusion in mind.

Now that we have concluded our discussion of the exhortatory functions of biographical passages, we can turn to the predictive passages. We will firstly continue the discussion of the *Testament of Judah*, as an extensive example of the function the forms of discourse can have. Then we will look at all the exhortatory functions that the passages regarding the future fulfil in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

52. Cf. Hillel, who maintains 'all vestiges of servitude or inferiority due to Naphtali's birth by a "handmaid" are removed: he is given equal rank [...] with the brothers born of Leah and Rachel'; Hillel, "Proto-Joseph," p. 190.

53. Cf. Loader, who argues that 'the author places great emphasis on enhancing Bilhah's status [...] Her genealogy, thus Naphtali's genealogy, legitimises also his status'; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 416.

C THE FUTURE-ORIENTED PASSAGES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ADMONITION

(I) AN EXAMPLE CONTINUED: PASSAGES REGARDING THE FUTURE IN THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH

Returning to the example discussion of the *Testament of Judah*, once the exhortation on the dangers of wine is concluded, the narrative continues on to a consideration of the risk of beauty and the love of money. This exhortation is then strengthened through the use of a passage regarding the future:

17.2. ὅτι οἶδα ἐγὼ, ὅτι διὰ τὰ δύο ταῦτα ἔσεσθε τὸ γένος μου ἐν πονηρίᾳ· 3. ὅτι καί γε σοφοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν υἱῶν μου ἀλλοιώσουσι, καὶ βασιλείαν Ἰούδα σμικρυνθῆναι ποιήσουσιν, ἣν ἔδωκέ μοι κύριος ἐν ὑπακοῇ πατρός.

17.2. For I know that because of these two things my descendants will walk in evil.

3. Even the wise men among my sons will be altered and they will bring about the diminishment of the kingdom of Judah, which the Lord gave to me because of my obedience to my father.

T. Jud. 17.2–3

This passage regarding the future is again used to emphasise the exhortation. While this prediction (*T. Jud.* 17.2–3) is often considered an interpolation of some sort,⁵⁴ it has a clear function in this section.⁵⁵ This passage is a *vaticinium ex eventu*, a prophecy after the fact, it gives authority to the text, and shows the dangers of beauty and the love of money.⁵⁶

Following this predictive passage, the *Testament of Judah* explains how Judah can know of his future royal bloodline. Judah's kingship was revealed to him in the blessings of his fathers (*T. Jud.* 17.4–6). The *Testament of Judah* then moves to a

54. M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*, 2nd ed, p. 148; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 240.

55. Spilly postulates that such intrusions occur 'perhaps for emphasis and to introduce something very important to the author'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 240. 'The "intrusion" therefore need not be seen as an interpolation'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 241.

56. This passage has been termed 'an intrusion in this parenetic development'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 239. Spilly nuances his opinion, however, and admits that this passage 'may have been included in TJ at this particular point to temper the depressing development of Judah's weakness and fall'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 241. It would seem that the exhortatory function of this section has been overlooked by Spilly.

second passage referring to the future, which Judah ostensibly read in the writings of Enoch:⁵⁷

18.1 Ὅτι καί γε ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. 2. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τῆς φιλαργυρίας, ἀκούσατε Ἰούδα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν.

18.1. I also read about the evil you will commit in the last days in the books of Enoch the righteous. 2. Therefore, my children, you must guard yourselves against fornication and the love of money. Listen to your father Judah. *T. Jud.* 18.1–2

This second prediction explicitly associates the vices that the *Testament of Judah* warns against, with the misdeeds of Judah's descendants at the end of time (*T. Jud.* 18.1). This prediction functions to add emphasis to the admonition against drunkenness and beauty (which lead to fornication) and the love of money. Judah knows that his sons will commit these sins, and that is precisely why he gives them this admonition, these commands, and this testament. The sons should be on their guard against fornication and the love of money, and listen to their father Judah (*T. Jud.* 18.2) so that they will not be led astray.

In the *Testament of Judah* the passages regarding the future thus fulfil two functions. Firstly, these passages, especially by means of *vaticinia ex eventu* give authority to the author and thus to the text. Secondly, the recounting of knowledge about future misdeeds can define why the testament was written and is valuable to read, to

57. The pseudepigraphical nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* places the exhortation in the historical context of the narratives of Genesis. The patriarchs themselves can have no knowledge of events that occur in other historical books that were penned at a later date. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* generally solves this by attributing later knowledge to the “writings of Enoch” or the “writings of our fathers.” Kugler asserts that ‘several sources provide the patriarchs with their information. Enoch is the most popular [...], but the fathers [...], the fathers’ writings [...], and the heavenly tablets are also cited’; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 14. These references should not be taken to refer to an actual writing, whether of Enochic or other origin. Enoch and the first patriarchs simply function as useful authorities in these matters. ‘Enoch is the great authority of the past for the sons of Jacob, who, for obvious reasons, are not able to quote from the law of Moses. He is particularly authoritative in matters of the future’; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 40. See also Slingerland, “Nature of Nomos,” pp. 41–2; M. de Jonge, “Two Great Commandments,” pp. 380–1; Loader, *Sexuality*, pp. 427–8; Kugler, “Not-So-Ambiguous Witness,” pp. 341–2.

listen to, and to pass down to future generations. They serve as examples, specifically to illustrate the dangers of going against Judah's wise words. Thus predictions add weight to the exhortatory goals of the *Testament of Judah*. In general, the predictive passages can perform several functions in any of the the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. We will now proceed to discuss these functions.

(II) THE ROLE OF PASSAGES REGARDING THE FUTURE IN THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

Often the future-oriented passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* function to outline the benefits or consequences of obeying and transgressing the commandments. However, the future-oriented passages can also fulfil another function in the testament: as with the biographical passages, they can boost the authority of the patriarch to give the exhortation. Naturally, these functions often overlap. Each future-related section could function in one, or both of these ways. In the following paragraphs, each function of the passages regarding the future will be discussed alongside an example from one of the testaments.

Future-oriented passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* occur in two different forms: *vaticinia ex eventu* on either Israel's past or the coming of the saviour, and cosmological and eschatological passages. The form of the passage determines which function such a passage can play. Eschatological passages are less likely to establish authority, as these passages refer to a distant future and are therefore unverifiable for the audience.⁵⁸ They can however show the consequences of heeding the exhortation. The *vaticinia ex eventu*, by their nature, show the prophetic skills of the patriarch, thus automatically establishing authority. They can, however, also function to show the consequences of following the admonition.

Establishing Authority

If one considers the form of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a major function of the predictive passages becomes immediately clear—that is, the authority of

58. While the use of apocalyptic or eschatological prophecies can demonstrate the narrator's prophetic skills, often *vaticinia ex eventu* confirm the validity of these prophecies of more distant events.

the patriarch to exhort the audience. The work comes nominally from the mouths of the patriarchs, but is clearly penned by a later hand. The author would have knowledge of past events, and his audience would also be aware of them. These events, while being historical from the audience's perspective, are future events from the perspective of the patriarch. The author could then put events that he knew would occur into the mouths of the patriarchs as predictions. These *vaticinia ex eventu* can function to establish prophetic authority. This use of prediction occurs in many passages, usually discussing the future of Israel. A particularly useful example occurs in the *Testament of Zebulun*:

9.5. ἔγνων ἐν γραφῇ πατέρων μου ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, καὶ διαιρεθήσεσθε ἐν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ δύο βασιλεῦσιν ἐξακολουθήσετε, καὶ πᾶν βδέλυγμα ποιήσετε, καί γε πᾶν εἶδωλον προσκυνήσετε, 6. καὶ αἰχμαλωτεύσουσιν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἐχθροὶ ὑμῶν, καὶ κακωθήσεσθε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐν πάσαις ἀσθενείαις καὶ θλίψεσι καὶ ὀδύνης ψυχῆς. 7. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μνησθήσεσθε κυρίου, καὶ μετανοήσετε, καὶ ἐπιστρέψει ὑμᾶς, ὅτι ἐλεήμων ἐστὶ καὶ εὖσπλαγχνος, μὴ λογιζόμενος κακίαν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, διότι σὰρξ εἰσι καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης ἀπατᾷ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ πάσαις πράξεσιν αὐτῶν.

9.5. From the writing of my fathers, I know that you will leave the Lord in the last days. You will be divided in Israel, you will follow two kings, you will commit every abomination, and worship every idol. 6. Your enemies will take you prisoner, and you will be forced to live among the Gentiles with all manner of sickness, trouble and mental distress. 7. Afterwards you will remember the Lord, you will repent, and he will reinstate you, for the Lord is merciful and compassionate and does not count mankind's evil. A man is flesh, and the spirits of deceit mislead him in all his actions.

T. Zeb. 9.5–7

According to the *Testament of Zebulun*, Zebulun has read in the writings of his fathers that his sons will do three things:⁵⁹ they will depart from the Lord, they will be divided and follow two different kings, and they will commit every abomination and worship every idol (*T. Zeb. 9.5*). These three prophecies are easily understood in the narratives of the kingdom of Israel, and later in the narratives of the kingdoms

59. The “writings of the fathers” are a common source of alleged prophetic knowledge for the patriarchs. See also footnote 57 on page 74, and Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 40; Slingerland, “Nature of Nomos,” pp. 41–2; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 14; M. de Jonge, “Two Great Commandments,” pp. 380–1.

of Israel and Judah.⁶⁰ After committing all these sins, the sons will be taken captive. They will live among the Gentiles and will suffer physically and mentally (*T. Zeb.* 9.6). Fortunately, they will remember the Lord and he will bring them back (*T. Zeb.* 9.7). The Lord is merciful and compassionate, and does not keep record of a person's wickedness (*T. Zeb.* 9.7). This prediction is easily interpreted in the context of the Babylonian captivity and the return from exile.⁶¹

These predictions about Israel function to show that Zebulun has prophetic knowledge of future events. His knowledge goes further than just the future of Israel, however, for after this *vaticinium ex eventu* on the history of the Israelite people, a specifically Christian one follows:

9.8. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατέλει ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, φῶς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἰασις καὶ εὐσπλαγχνία ἐπὶ ταῖς πτέρυσιν αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς λυτρώσεται πᾶσαν αἰχμαλωσίαν υἱῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ Βελιάρ, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα πλάνης πατηθήσεται· καὶ ἐπιστρέψει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς παραζήλωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὄψεσθε θεὸν ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου <ἐν ναῶ>, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος, Ἰερουσαλὴμ ὄνομα αὐτῷ. 9. καὶ πάλιν ἐν πονηρίᾳ λόγων ὑμῶν παροργίσετε αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπορριφθήσεσθε ἕως καιροῦ συντελείας.

9.8. Then the Lord himself shall arise for you, the light of righteousness with healing and compassion on his wings. He will redeem every person from Beliar's captivity, and he will tread on every spirit of deceit. He will convert all the Gentiles, making them

-
60. There has been some discussion as to exactly what two kings or kingdoms are meant with this statement. Hollander, M. de Jonge, and more recently Kugler assume that these two kingdoms are the divided Israel after Solomon; M. de Jonge, "Christian Influence," p. 230; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 272; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 66. This interpretation seems to be the most obvious. Philonenko identifies the kings as Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II; Philonenko, *Interpolations chrétiennes*, p. 36. Spilly, however, argues that 'it is not clear why the author would go back that far in history when the apocalyptic sections seem to refer to events closer in time to his readers'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 270. He argues that two kingdoms might refer to 'the pro-Seleucid and pro-Ptolemaic factions in Jerusalem before the ascension of Jonathan'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 270. A correct identification of these kings or kingdoms is unimportant to the discussion at hand.
61. So also Macky who argues that 'this is certainly a reference to the return from Babylon'; Macky, "Importance," p. 64. In an attempt to solve textual problems, Spilly finds alternative interpretations that avoid excising or relocating parts of *T. Zeb.* 9; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 271. These textual problems revolve around the similarities between verses 7 and 8, see also Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 211–2; Hultgård, *Interprétation*, pp. 163–6. The basic premise of the current research, reading the text as it is, leads us to the conclusion that Macky's interpretation is the most likely.

zealous for him. You will see God in human form, <in the temple> that the Lord will choose. Jerusalem is its name. 9. You will make him angry through your wicked words, and you will be renounced until the end of time. *T. Zeb. 9.8–9*

After the sons of Zebulun are reinstated, the Lord himself shall arise. The Lord is described as the light of righteousness, with healing and compassion on his wings (*T. Zeb. 9.8*).⁶² The arisen light of righteousness will redeem the sons of men from captivity by the opponent, and he will tread upon the spirits of deceit. Furthermore, he will convert the nations to him, and God in the form of man will be seen in Jerusalem (*T. Zeb. 9.8*). Unfortunately for Zebulun's sons, they will provoke the arisen light through wicked words, and will consequently be disowned until the end of time (*T. Zeb. 9.9*). This passage is also a *vaticinium ex eventu*. The arisen light found in this text is clearly Jesus Christ, who, amongst other things, was visible in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the sons of Zebulun did not accept Jesus (exceptions not included), leading to their rejection for all time, where the *vaticinium ex eventu* ends.

Clearly, this passage also discusses the ultimate cosmological consequences of heeding Zebulun's advice, a function of the prophetic passages that we will discuss shortly. These passages regarding the future fortify the idea that Zebulun has prophetic knowledge of future events. From the perspective of a reader who assumes the authenticity of the *Testament of Zebulun*, obviously Zebulun's knowledge would not suddenly cease at some specific point in time. Such a reader will assume that the *Testament of Zebulun*'s discussions of the future, including those which go beyond the time of the actual author, are all equally true and relevant. Future predictions from the author's point of view are justified through the retro-fitting of past events.

62. This is very similar to Malachi 3.20, which reads ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἴασις ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ. We notice two changes, the first being the addition of εὐσπλαγχνία, the theme of the testament. Here we can see the hand of the author, bringing compassion into this work. The second change is the replacement of ἥλιος with φῶς. Hollander and De Jonge point to the Wisdom of Solomon, where ἥλιος and φῶς are used together: καὶ τὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης φῶς οὐκ ἐπέλαμψεν ἡμῖν, καὶ ὁ ἥλιος οὐκ ἀνέτειλεν ἡμῖν (Wis 5.6); Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 273. In this text there is no link between this and a human manifestation of the Lord, but it does show a similarity between these two words. Light and sun, however, hardly need proof to justify their interdependency, as they are almost synonymous.

Future Consequences of Behaviour

Passages discussing future events are often used to show the consequences the actions of the patriarchs' descendants will have in the future.⁶³ A prime example of this occurs in the *Testament of Dan* 6. This pericope contains both positive and negative exhortation—that is, it contains commands *to do* and also *not to do* certain things. There are also two series of commands. The first pertains to avoiding the opponent, and drawing near to God and to the angel that will battle the opponent (*T. Dan* 6.1–2). The second involves avoiding vices and seeking out virtues (*T. Dan* 6.8). In this first portion of exhortation in the *Testament of Dan*, the reference to the future is used to outline the consequences of failing to heed the advice given by Dan.

6.3. διὰ τοῦτο σπουδάζει ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὑποσκελίζειν πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸν κύριον. 4. οἶδε γὰρ ὅτι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πιστεύσει Ἰσραὴλ, συντελεσθήσεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ ἐχθροῦ. 5. αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ἐνισχύσει τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν. 6. ἔσται δὲ ἐν καιρῷ ἀνομίας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἀφιστάμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν κύριος, καὶ μετελεύσεται ἐπὶ ἔθνη ποιῶντα τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἔσται ἴσος αὐτῷ. 7. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι σωτήρ.

6.3. So the enemy is eager to unsettle all those who call on the Lord, 4. for he knows that on the day Israel believes in God, the kingdom of the enemy will be at an end. 5. The angel of peace himself will strengthen Israel so that it will not come to an evil end. 6. In the time of Israel's lawlessness, however, the Lord will depart from them. He will go to the Gentiles that do his will, for not one of the angels is his equal. 7. His name will be Saviour, everywhere in Israel and among the Gentiles. *T. Dan* 6.3–7

The children are told that if Israel believes in the Lord, the opponent will be destroyed (*T. Dan* 6.4). It is added, however, that Israel will not do so. Instead Israel

63. This occurs in many passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Consider these prominent pericopes: in *T. Reu.* 4.6 the sons are promised a cruel death if they try to raise themselves above the Levites; *T. Sim.* 7.2–3 explains that Simeon is giving his commands to his sons so that they will be saved by the Messiah; *T. Levi* 10.1–5 clears Levi of responsibility for his sons' sins against the Saviour because he has warned them; *T. Zeb.* 9.3–6 contains commands for the sons not to be divided, as that will lead to their captivity under their enemies; *T. Naph.* 4.1–2 has Naphtali explain that he gave his children a testament because they will forsake the Lord. Kugler refers to this function when he maintains that the 'future predictions proved that when the tribes heed their forefathers' advice they fare well [...] but when they ignore the patriarch's instructions [...] they are punished'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 19.

(and in this testament the sons of Dan specifically) will be lawless, and consequently the Lord will depart from it. The Lord will no longer be the saviour of Israel, but will become the saviour of the Gentiles (*T. Dan* 6.6). Here the future-oriented passage is clearly employed to show the very real negative consequences of ignoring Dan's admonition.

In the second series of exhortatory commands in the *Testament of Dan*, a passage regarding the future is used to show the exact opposite, that is the rewards of taking Dan's warning to heart:

6.9. καὶ ἃ ἠκούσατε παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν, μετάδοτε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, ἵνα δέξηται ὑμᾶς ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν ἐθνῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ἀληθὴς καὶ μακρόθυμος, πρᾶος καὶ ταπεινός, καὶ ἐκδιδάσκων διὰ τῶν ἔργων νόμον θεοῦ. 6.10. ἀπόστητε οὖν ἀπὸ πάσης ἀδικίας καὶ κολλήθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ νόμου κυρίου, καὶ ἔσται τὸ γένος μου εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.

6.9. Pass on what you have heard from your father to your children, in order that the Saviour of the Gentiles may accept you. He is truthful, patient, gentle, and humble; through his actions he teaches the law of God. 10. Stay away from any unrighteousness and cling to the righteousness of God's law, and my descendants will be saved for ever.

T. Dan 6.9–10

In the first passage regarding the future, it became clear that if the children of Dan did not obey the admonition, their Lord and Saviour would depart from them. In this passage, an alternative is outlined: if the children pass on Dan's commands (and, naturally, if the descendants keep those commands as well) then the saviour of the Gentiles, despite no longer being the saviour of Israel, will accept them and keep them safe (*T. Dan* 6.9). Clearly, this passage is an example that outlines the positive consequences of following Dan's commands.

Many different future-oriented passages can play this role. In the *Testament of Dan* the predictions focus on the saviour. Both eschatological passages and those discussing the more immediate future of the children can function in the same way. Eschatological passages generally discuss the ultimate consequences from a cosmological point of view. These passages show the ultimate consequences of obeying or disobeying the commandments: salvation or destruction respectively.⁶⁴ Similarly the

64. Consider the section discussing mankind's ultimate choice on page 170 below.

vaticinia ex eventu focussing on the fall of the Israelite kingdom, interpret historical events as the consequences of heeding the patriarchs' advice.

We have noted that predictive passages generally portray the consequences of heeding or ignoring the commands of the patriarch. Through prophetic knowledge, these passages show the outcome of the transgressions of the particular tribe at hand, and thereby convince the audience to follow the narrator's ethical teachings and repent for their transgressions.

CONCLUSION

This section set out to discover the function of the future-related passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, for which the exhortatory nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* acts as an interpretative lens. As was elucidated with examples from the different testaments, the future-oriented passages (and also the biographical ones) function to enhance the exhortation, which is the foundation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, in a number of ways. As became clear in Section A, the exhortatory basis is the double commandment, referred to as the commandments of the Lord. As we saw in Section B, the biographical passages support the exhortation; this section showed the same for the passages regarding the future. Because the focus of the exhortation is the commandments of the Lord, it stands to reason that both the biographical and future-oriented passages must also reinforce the commandments. Considering that these forms of discourse are also part of the exhortatory basis, these passages should be read as part of the overall admonition. Any analysis of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* should consider all three types of passages in that work. Throughout the remainder of this research we will include all forms of discourse in our analysis.

Now that we have established the all-encompassing role of exhortation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we can examine how the exhortation manifests itself. In the following section we will consider how vices and virtues are utilised as expressions of the admonition. Vices and virtues are the primary way in which the exhortation is realised, and are evidence of the fundamental world-view present in the text.

D VIRTUES AND VICES

The prominent position of virtues and vices in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is already evident in the subtitles to most testaments. These subtitles were probably not part of the oldest versions of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* but are found in various manuscripts in diverse forms. They generally consist of περί in combination with a topic, and are probably later additions to the text to help the reader understand the subject of each individual testament.⁶⁵ Most of these subtitles concern one or more vices (e.g. the *Testament of Simeon* envy, the *Testament of Gad* hatred) and virtues (e.g. the *Testament of Joseph* chastity, the *Testament of Issachar* simplicity).⁶⁶ The choice of these subtitles shows the emphasis that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* put on vices and virtues, though these vices and virtues are depicted in different ways. Clearly, vices and virtues are a fundamental part of the admonition on the commandments of the Lord, and should be examined in detail. This section will first consider some of the virtues and their roles in the admonition before moving on to discuss the role of vices in the overall exhortation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

(I) VIRTUES

Virtues, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, are portrayed as generic lifestyle choices, exemplified in the lives of certain patriarchs. As we noted in the previous sections, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* a patriarch is often portrayed as an ethical example to be followed.⁶⁷ An examination of the virtues in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will therefore need to focus on the life and choices

65. The various editions of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* show a great variety in titles and subtitles. This extraordinary variation suggests that the subtitles were later additions. For examples, see De Jonge et al., *Critical Edition*, pp. 1, 135.

66. A few testaments stand out as having a title that is not directly associated with a vice or a virtue. However, these invariably discuss vices and virtues from a meta-perspective. The *Testament of Reuben* is named “about the mind,” but discusses the role of fornication and its influence on the mind. So also the *Testament of Benjamin*, “about a pure mind,” the *Testament of Asher* “about the two aspects,” and the *Testament of Naphtali* “about natural goodness,” all of which discuss ethics from a higher perspective.

67. Cf. Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 12–3.

of one of the patriarchs. Generally, throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* Joseph functions as the ultimate ethical example.⁶⁸ In this role he is a “good man,” defined as someone who keeps the double commandment.⁶⁹ Therefore, Joseph does not exemplify a single specific virtue, but rather all the virtues combined.⁷⁰ The other patriarchs lack such all-encompassing virtuousness, which makes them more practical as examples for analysis than Joseph. Utilising the *Testament of Issachar* as a case study, this subsection will examine the life of Issachar, and how it is employed by the narrator to characterise virtue.

The *Testament of Issachar* begins with a biographical section, discussing Issachar’s simple life (*T. Iss.* 1.1–3.8). This is followed by an exhortatory passage, which includes a future-oriented passage that likewise concentrates on the simple life (*T. Iss.* 4.1–6.4). The third and final section, another exhortatory segment, concludes the testament (*T. Iss.* 7.1–7).⁷¹ In the summary of his biography, the author narrates Issachar’s description of the simple life that he led. He is not conscious of having committed any deadly sin (*T. Iss.* 7.1). He has not had intercourse with any woman besides his wife—indeed, he did not even look at any woman in lust (*T. Iss.* 7.2). He did not drink wine, which leads man astray, nor did

68. Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 13.

69. Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 92.

70. In the *Testament of Joseph*, Joseph shows that he is both chaste and a patient endurer. Throughout the temptations by Potiphar’s wife he remains chaste; throughout the rest of his suffering he is never disloyal to his brothers. Amidst his distress he asks God for salvation, and is glorified in the end. So also Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 48; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 42. In the *Testament of Simeon* he is compassionate, merciful, loves his brothers, is forgiving, and, finally, is without wickedness (*T. Sim.* 4.4–6, 5.1). In the *Testament of Reuben* he is immune to fornication, on account of his mind (*T. Reu.* 4.8–9). In the *Testament of Zebulun* he does not bear malice, and is compassionate (*T. Zeb.* 8.4). Much has been written on the topic of Joseph in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Consider, to name a few: Harrelson, “Patient Love”; Harrington, “Joseph”; Hollander, “Ethical Character”; Pervo, “Testament of Joseph”; Hollander, *Ethical Model*; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 42–3; M. de Jonge, “Good and Holy”; Levinson, “An-Other Woman”; Hollander, “Portrayal of Joseph”; Hillel, “Proto-Joseph.”

71. A simple reading shows many similarities, and an in-depth analysis shows the intricacy of the references between this exhortatory section and the biography. See, for example, Hillel’s extensive comparison of the *Testament of Issachar* 3 with the *Testament of Issachar* 7 in Hillel, “Structure, Source and Composition,” pp. 55–7.

he desire a neighbour's goods (*T. Iss.* 7.3). He was not deceitful, nor did he ever lie (*T. Iss.* 7.4). He was always compassionate, honest, and truthful (*T. Iss.* 7.5).

Issachar's biography thus characterises a simple life in every way:⁷²

7.6. τὸν κύριον ἠγάπησα ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἰσχύι μου· ὁμοίως καὶ πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἠγάπησα ὡς τέκνα μου. 7. ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε, τέκνα μου, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα τοῦ Βελιάρ φεύ-
ξεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ πᾶσα πρᾶξις πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐ κυριεύσει ὑμῶν· καὶ πάντα
ἄγριον θῆρα καταδουλώσεσθε, ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, συμπορευ-
όμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἀπλότητι καρδίας.

7.6. I loved the Lord with all my strength. Likewise, I loved every person as if he were my child. 7. Do these things too, my children. Then all the spirits of Beliar will flee from you; then all the actions of evil men will not govern you; then you will control all wild animals. For the God of heaven, walking with mankind in simplicity of heart, will be with you.

T. Iss. 7.6–7

This summary of the simple life describes it as a way of following the double commandment (*T. Iss.* 7.6). As Issachar's main virtue (as well as the focus of the exhortation and of the biographical passages) leading a simple life is considered equivalent to the adherence to the Lord's commandments.⁷³ However, this virtue and these commandments are of even greater significance, because living a simple life will also cause the spirits of the opponent to flee (*T. Iss.* 7.7). The commandments of the Lord, but also the virtue (simplicity) prominent in the *Testament of Issachar*, can protect a person from the opponent. Virtues are weapons in the struggle between good and evil. The model of the patriarch is therefore an example of how to survive the struggle against evil.

(II) VICES

Vices are generally demonstrated in the lives of the different patriarchs. A distinctive feature of the vices, however, is that they are envisioned as spirits. These spirits, identified specifically as the spirit of a certain vice, are generally strongly associated with that vice. The *Testament of Gad* is a useful example for the discussion of

72. See also the discussion of the simple life, beginning on page 55 above.

73. So also Kugler, who notes that 'heeding two simple commandments, to love God and to love one's neighbour, is at the heart of a God-pleasing virtue'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 64.

vices. There can be no doubt that its subtitle (περὶ μίσους) aptly indicates the theme of the testament. The biographical section of the *Testament of Gad* focusses on Gad's hatred of Joseph, while the later chapters discuss the influence of hatred on people in general. The only section that does not concern hatred is the brief passage regarding the future (*T. Gad* 8.1–2). The admonition clearly advocates eschewing hatred, and remaining in love, the opposite of hatred.

In the first biographical section, we read Gad's narration of the original event that led to his hatred of Joseph. Joseph saw Gad and his brothers eating a lamb that was mortally wounded by a bear, and Joseph, unaware of the lamb's mortal wounds, reported to Jacob that the brothers were killing and eating Jacob's sheep. Despite Joseph's ignorance, Gad never forgave Joseph for informing Jacob (*T. Gad* 1.4–8). The *Testament of Gad* then reads as follows:

καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ μίσους ἦν ἐν ἐμοί, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελον οὔτε δι' ὀφθαλμῶν οὔτε δι' ἀκοῆς
ιδεῖν τὸν Ἰωσήφ. Καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῶν ἤλεγξεν ἡμᾶς, ὅτι ἄνευ Ἰουδᾶ ἡσθίομεν τὰ
θρέμματα· καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἔλεγε τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπείθετο αὐτῷ.

The spirit of hatred was inside of me, and I did not want to hear or to see anything of Joseph. He accused us to our faces of eating the young animals without Judah. Our father believed whatever Joseph told him. *T. Gad* 1.9

Clearly, the author maintains that Gad hated Joseph for the false accusation, but this emotion is described as being caused by the spirit of hatred inside of Gad, and not by a human reaction to this situation. Gad confesses that, due to his hatred, he often wished to kill Joseph (*T. Gad* 2.1), and Gad's hatred ultimately led him and Judah to sell Joseph for thirty pieces of gold (*T. Gad* 2.3). Switching to direct exhortation, Gad claims:

Καὶ νῦν ἀκούσατε, τέκνα μου, λόγους ἀληθείας, τοῦ ποιεῖν δικαιοσύνην καὶ πάντα
νόμον ὑψίστου καὶ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ μίσους, ὅτι κακὸν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πάσαις
πράξεσιν ἀνθρώπων.

Now, my children, listen to the words of truth. Do what is right, and keep all the laws of the Most High. Do not be led astray by the spirit of hatred, for it makes all of mankind's deeds evil. *T. Gad* 3.1

In this passage, Gad's children are called to listen to the truth that he reveals to them. On the one hand, they should live righteously and keep the law of the Lord. On the other, they must not be deceived by the spirit of hatred, as this spirit corrupts all relationships (*T. Gad* 3.1). Indeed, a hateful person disapproves of everything that anyone, especially the righteous, does. If one were to keep the law, he would receive no praise from someone who hates. If somebody were to fear the Lord and take pleasure in what is right, he would not be loved by someone who hates (*T. Gad* 3.2). Someone who hates has been blinded by hatred, seeing nothing else, and Gad was blinded by hatred in this way when he saw Joseph (*T. Gad* 3.3).

The exhortation in the *Testament of Gad* 3.1-3 is strongly based on the earlier biography. Gad is an example of the perils of hatred, and as such functions as a model for all people infected by the spirit of hatred. More importantly, the *Testament of Gad* also mentions the law of the Lord. A dichotomy between the law and the spirit of hatred is introduced (*T. Gad* 3.1), and while the exhortation thus links with the preceding biography, this verse prepares the audience for the ultimate topic of the exhortation (that is the commandments to love/fear God and love one's neighbour).

The following part of the exhortation discusses many topics, all against the backdrop of the commandments of the Lord. First, hatred is put into the perspective of the commandments of the Lord, i.e. the love of one's neighbour (*T. Gad* 4.1-2):

4.1. Φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τοῦ μίσους, ὅτι εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν κύριον ἀνομίαν ποιεῖ. 2. οὐ γὰρ θέλει ἀκούειν λόγων ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ περὶ ἀγάπης τοῦ πλησίον, καὶ εἰς τὸν Θεὸν ἁμαρτάνει.

4.1. Watch out for hatred, my children, for it is lawlessness against the Lord himself.
2. It does not wish to listen to his commandments about neighbourly love, and thus it sins against God. *T. Gad* 4.1-2

In this passage the spirit of hatred clearly leads one to sin against God. Initially, it leads a person to go against the commandments, which are a measure of where one stands between God and the opponent.⁷⁴ Going against the commandments is

74. So also Kugler, who maintains that 'hatred violates the double commandment'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 76.

the first step away from God and towards the opponent, which is ultimately a life-and-death decision. This is made clear through a series of examples leading to a discussion of life and death (*T. Gad* 4.3–5), linking death to the opponent and life to God:

τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ μίσους διὰ τῆς ὀλιγοψυχίας συνεργεῖ τῷ σατανᾷ ἐν πᾶσιν εἰς θάνατον τῶν ἀνθρώπων· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀγάπης ἐν μακροθυμίᾳ συνεργεῖ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων.

For the spirit of hatred, using discouragement, works together with Satan towards the death of all mankind. The spirit of love, on the other hand, cooperates with God's law towards mankind's salvation using patience. *T. Gad* 4.7

This passage shows us exactly why the spirit of hatred is so dangerous. As a spirit of the opponent, the spirit of this vice cooperates with the opponent. A person led astray by a spirit is led away from the commandments and towards the opponent, and thus towards death. On the other hand, the spirit of love and the law of God guide each person towards salvation. The vices are thus of vital importance as they have great influence on the salvation of a person.

The nature of controversy between God and the opponent is also made clearer by this passage. The spirit of hatred, which works with the opponent, causes death. Conversely, the spirit of love, working together with the Lord's commandments, leads to salvation, and thus life. We note the difference between the spirit of hatred, which works directly with the opponent, and the spirit of love, which cooperates with the law of God, thereby showing the immense role the commandments of the Lord play in this battle.⁷⁵

In this section, we discussed the roles that vices and virtues play in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Virtues are usually illustrated with biographical examples from the lives of the patriarchs, and demonstrate the benefits of remaining near the Lord by following the commandments. Vices are envisioned as spirits of the opponent that try to lead a person away from the Lord, towards destruction. The portrayal of virtues and vices highlights the focus that the *Testaments of the Twelve*

75. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, God generally does not actively intervene in a person's struggle against the opponent. See also the discussion of God's role, beginning on page 112 below.

Patriarchs places on the great controversy between good and evil. Here we recognise the fundamental role of both the forces of darkness and the commandments of the Lord. The forces of darkness lead a person astray, whereas the commandments of the Lord guide a person towards salvation. In the following section, we will examine the role of the commandments (that is the focus of the exhortation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) in this battle between good and evil.

E THE COMMANDMENTS AND THE GREAT CONTROVERSY

The author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* maintains that the commandments of the Lord guide a person in his choices, which has consequences for both his immediate situation and his ultimate salvation. This is because each person's actions are envisioned as being either works of the Lord or those of the opponent. These actions thus take place in a greater context: the struggle between good and evil.⁷⁶ In this section we will examine the relationship between the commandments of the Lord and the individual's position between the supernatural forces of good and evil as portrayed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This great controversy is the world-view that defines the admonition on the commandments.

We will examine this relationship between the grand struggle and the double commandment through an analysis of several pericopes found throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. For example, the final words of the direct speech in the *Testament of Levi* are an admonishment. At the termination of the testament, which focusses on the sins of the priests and the coming of a "new priest," the children are exhorted one final time. This sentence is clearly a summary:

Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα μου, πάντα ἠκούσατε· ἐλεσθε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ τὸ σκότος ἢ τὸ φῶς, ἢ νόμον κυρίου ἢ ἔργα Βελιάρ.

And now you have heard everything, my children. Therefore, choose either darkness or light for yourselves, that is, either the law of the Lord or the actions of Beliar.

T. Levi 19.1

In the mind of the author a person can only exist in one of two states of being: either he belongs to the Lord or to the opponent. This is evidenced in multiple testaments,⁷⁷ but the most extensive discussion of these two opposing aspects occurs in the *Testament of Asher*. The first sentences of the testament discuss a polarity of existence:

76. Hultgård argues that the struggle between good and evil is essential 'à l'enseignement éthique et théologique des *Testaments*'; Hultgård, *Composition*, p. 160.

77. Cf. *T. Reu.* 4.6, *T. Sim.* 5.3, *T. Iss.* 6.1, *T. Dan* 6.1, *T. Naph.* 2.6, 3.1. Consider Hultgård, *Composition*, pp. 160–1 for an extensive listing and brief discussion of this duality of existence.

1.3. δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δύο διαβούλια καὶ δύο πράξεις καὶ δύο τρόπους καὶ δύο τέλη. 4. διὰ τοῦτο πάντα δύο εἰσὶν, ἐν κατέναντι τοῦ ἐνός. 5. ὁδοὶ δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ· ἐν οἷς εἰσι τὰ δύο διαβούλια ἐν στέρνοις ἡμῶν διακρίνοντα αὐτάς.

1.3. The Lord has given mankind two paths. He also gave two inclinations, two manners of acting, two places and two ends. 4. Accordingly, everything comes in pairs; one opposite the other. 5. There are two inclinations in our chests that choose between the two paths, one good and one evil. *T. Ash. 1.3–5*

God has appointed two ways for man, and these are inherently the way of the Lord and the way of the opponent. Just as there are two ways, there are also two impulses housed within a person—an impulse towards good and one towards evil. The implication is that a person must choose between these two impulses. This choice will lead to one of two types of action: good actions or evil ones. These actions put a person on a certain course, and each of these courses has a corresponding end.

At the beginning of the *Testament of Asher*, the term “end” (τέλος) is used in a subtly different way than it is used later on (*T. Ash. 1.3*).⁷⁸ Early in the *Testament of Asher*, “the end” refers to the end result of an action, which reveals a person’s motivation. The choices a person makes can be evaluated by the goal of the action, and the end result defines whether an action is ultimately good or evil. Later on in the *Testament of Asher*, “the end” instead refers to the end of a person’s earthly life. The choices a person makes either guide him to an afterlife associated with God, or lead him to the destruction associated with the opponent.⁷⁹

In the *Testament of Asher*, the existence of men is portrayed as being of a dual nature, in that everything that one does is either good or evil. All things come in

78. Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 345 and M. de Jonge, “Testaments (Sparks),” p. 577 choose to translate τέλος as “end.” This is an ingenious choice, as the ambiguity that is present in τέλος in the *Testament of Asher* can be portrayed nicely with “end.” Here the meaning of τέλος is the “end of an action,” “outcome,” or “result.” Later, the “end” will also be used to mean the “finish” or the “termination,” especially in the context of mortal man.

79. This understanding becomes clear from the exhortation following these statements. While *T. Ash. 2.1–5.4* focusses on the outcomes of actions as a way of telling good from evil, in *T. Ash. 6.1–6.6* the interpretation of “the end” moves from outcome to termination. The focus here is the outcome of a person’s entire life: salvation or destruction.

pairs, one opposite the other (*T. Ash.* 1.4). The two ways are good and evil, and our bodies house two impulses with which to choose between them (*T. Ash.* 1.5). The important question is which impulse will lead a person.⁸⁰ If a person chooses the good impulse, then his actions are automatically righteous (*T. Ash.* 1.6). A righteous person rejects evil and wickedness, and disavows sin (*T. Ash.* 1.7). However, a person could also choose the evil impulse, and then his every action is inevitably evil. As this person is then ruled by the opponent, even his attempts towards good will be tainted, making them evil (*T. Ash.* 1.8). Clearly, in the *Testament of Asher* the meta-narrative of good versus evil and God versus the opponent is the mechanism by which an individual can measure his actions, thoughts, and achievements.

The role the great controversy plays in a person's actions and ultimate fate is also featured in the *Testament of Reuben*, where a subtle argument links the act of fornication to the mind.⁸¹ In this argument, the testament warns against paying too much attention to the beauty of women. Using Reuben's biographical narrative as an example, the *Testament of Reuben* claims that Reuben was ashamed of his fornication with Bilhah, and his conscience troubled him unto death (*T. Reu.* 4.2–3). Eventually, Jacob interceded with the Lord for Reuben, after which Reuben repented. Since then he has been very careful not to sin (*T. Reu.* 4.4). Building on this explanation, the *Testament of Reuben* exhorts the audience as follows:

4.5. διὰ τοῦτο, τέκνα μου, φυλάξασθε πάντα, ὅσα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἁμαρτήσητε. 6. ὁλεθρὸς γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ πορνεία, χωρίζουσα θεοῦ, καὶ προσεγγίζουσα τοῖς εἰδώλοις, ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶ πλανῶσα τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ κατάγει νεανίσκους εἰς ἄδην οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν. 7. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσεν ἡ πορνεία· ὅτι καὶ ἢ τις γέρων ἢ εὐγενής, ὄνειδος αὐτὸν ποιεῖ καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τῷ Βελιάρ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 8. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν ἑαυτὸν Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ πάσης γυναικός, καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας ἐκαθάρισεν ἀπὸ πάσης πορνείας, εὗρε χάριν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων. 9. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ἡ Αἴγυπτία, καὶ μάγους παρεκάλεσε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ προσήνεγκε· καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὸ διαβούλιον τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν. 10. διὰ

80. See also M. de Jonge, "Two Ways," pp. 188–9.

81. The theme of the mind is discussed in much more detail in Chapter 3, beginning on page 153. For the interplay of fornication and the mind, especially with regards to the *Testament of Reuben*, see Rosenzvi, "Bilhah the Temptress."

τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁρατοῦ καὶ κεκρυμμένου θανάτου. 11. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ κατισχύσῃ ἡ πορνεία τὴν ἔννοιαν, οὐδὲ Βελιάρ κατισχύσει ὑμῶν.

4.5. Therefore, my children, observe all the commands that I gave you, and you will not sin. 6. Fornication is ruination to the mind, separating you from God and leading to idolatry. It deceives the mind and the intellect, leading youths to Hades before their time. 7. Fornication has ruined many. Even if he is an old or well-born man, he is made a disgrace and a laughing-stock with both Beliar and his fellow man. 8. For when Joseph guarded himself from every woman and cleansed his mind from all fornication, he found honour with the Lord and among men. 9. For the Egyptian woman did many things to him, even summoning magicians and bringing potions, but the inclination of his mind did not accept an evil desire. 10. For this reason, the God of my fathers rescued him from all death, both visible and hidden. 11. If fornication does not overwhelm your mind, Beliar cannot overwhelm you.

T. Reu. 4.5–11

In this passage, the *Testament of Reuben* discusses the nature of fornication. The danger of fornication lies primarily in its consequences—it separates a person from God, leading him towards idols, and in doing so it destroys the mind (*T. Reu.* 4.6). In this case, the greater controversy between God and the opponent clearly provides the reasoning behind the dangers of fornication. Fornication allies a person with the opponent, deceiving the mind and leading all men away from God and towards destruction (*T. Reu.* 4.6–7). By introducing the mind into this admonishment, the *Testament of Reuben* has moved the discourse from a direct discussion of the act of fornication to a much broader discussion of ethics in general. It is not the act that allies a person with the opponent, but the inclination of his mind—in other words, the reason fornication is ultimately wrong is because it deceives the mind and the understanding. This causes the darkening of the mind to truth, and keeps it from understanding the commandments of the Lord.⁸²

Having established the importance of the mind in the struggle against fornication, the *Testament of Reuben* utilises Joseph as an example. As opposed to Reuben, Joseph not only guarded himself from every woman, he also purged his mind from any thought of fornication. In this he found favour with both the Lord and men.

82. See also Hollander's discussion, Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 51–2.

Potiphar's wife resorted to magic and love potions, but the disposition of Joseph's mind did not allow even the slightest evil desire to enter his mind. For this reason God protected him from all attacks (*T. Reu.* 4.8–10).

As will become clear in another passage in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that discusses Joseph's protection (*T. Ben.* 3), these attacks were sometimes physical attacks from other men, and sometimes spiritual attacks from the spirits of the opponent. These attacks took both overt and covert form.⁸³ In all this, Joseph is not commended for withstanding the temptations of the Egyptian woman, but rather for the disposition of his mind.⁸⁴

Summarising this discussion of fornication, the *Testament of Reuben* claims that if fornication does not overcome a person's mind, then the opponent will not have the opportunity to overcome that person (*T. Reu.* 4.11).⁸⁵ Clearly, evading fornication is fundamental to remaining true to the Lord. Indeed, the struggle that the individual endures should be seen as being less about avoiding vices, and more about avoiding the opponent. All in all, the *Testament of Reuben* shows how mankind ultimately strives towards keeping the commandments, specifically for the sake of remaining near to the Lord.⁸⁶

In these passages we saw that mankind's existence is defined by the great controversy. Each person must choose between two ways: the good way, defined

-
83. Hollander understands these as hidden versus obvious physical attacks. He argues that 'hidden death most likely refers to the food prepared by the Egyptian woman'; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 52. Considering the battle between the supernatural forces of good and evil, and especially the attacks of the forces of darkness against a person, it seems inconceivable that these supernatural forces are not included in these attacks.
84. So also Rosen-Zvi, who asserts that 'rather than praising Joseph for his abstention from committing a forbidden act, *T. Reuben* celebrates his ability to guard his soul from the forbidden desire'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 78.
85. Loader concludes that 'the author is arguing preventively, that dealing with wrongly directed desire is the best control'; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 384.
86. Rosen-Zvi shows a similar understanding of the meta-narrative of struggle as the basis for the ethics in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, claiming that 'since, moreover, the war against *porneia* plays a crucial role in man's choice between God and Beliar, the struggle against women is in fact the ultimate struggle against Beliar and his authority'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 87. Rosen-Zvi's claim regards fornication specifically, but it would also appear to be true for all vices and virtues in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

by the commandments, and the evil way, defined by the opponent. Ultimately, it is not evil actions themselves that are dangerous, but a person's association with the opponent. What we have not seen, however, is exactly what the implications of a person's choices are. The outcome of this struggle has ramifications in both the present and the future. We will now discuss these outcomes by examining two texts. Firstly, the *Testament of Benjamin* 3.1–4 discusses Joseph as a good example, showing the immediate benefits of keeping the commandments. Secondly, the *Testament of Dan* 4.7–6.2 reflects on the implications that each person's choices will have at the end of times.

Joseph is often the good example in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and nowhere more so than in the *Testament of Benjamin*.⁸⁷ The example of Joseph as a good man with a good mind, first seen in the *Testament of Reuben*, is repeated in the *Testament of Benjamin*, where it is expanded upon in more detail.⁸⁸ After a short description of Benjamin's conception and birth (*T. Ben.* 1.2–6) and Benjamin's discussion with Joseph in Egypt about Joseph's coat (*T. Ben.* 2.1–5), the *Testament of Benjamin* discusses the commandments of the Lord:

3.1. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀγαπήσατε κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ φυλάξατε ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὅσιον ἄνδρα Ἰωσήφ. 2. καὶ ἔστω ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδατε. ὁ ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγαθὴν πάντα βλέπει ὀρθῶς. 3. φοβεῖσθε κύριον καὶ ἀγαπάτε τὸν πλησίον· καὶ ἐὰν τὰ πνεύματα τοῦ Βελιάρ εἰς πᾶσαν πονηρίαν θλίψεως ἐξαιτήσωνται ὑμᾶς, οὐ μὴ κατακυριεύσῃ ὑμῶν πᾶσα πονηρία θλίψεως, ὡς οὐδὲ Ἰωσήφ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου. 4. πόσοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠθέλησαν ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐσκέπασεν αὐτόν; ὁ γὰρ φοβούμενος τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος τοῦ Βελιάρ οὐ δύναται πληγῆναι, σκεπαζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ θεοῦ. 5. καὶ ὑπὸ ἐπιβουλῆς ἀνθρώπων ἢ θηρίων οὐ δύναται κυριευθῆναι, βοηθούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἀγάπης ἧς ἔχει πρὸς τὸν πλησίον.

3.1. So, my children, love the Lord (the God of heaven) and keep his commandments, imitating Joseph, the good and devout man. 2. Make your mind good, as mine is. He who has a good mind sees all things correctly. 3. Fear the Lord and love your neighbour. Even if the spirits of Beliar lay claim to you, causing all manner of evil afflictions, no evil or affliction will dominate you, just as they did not dominate my brother Joseph.

87. Cf. Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 65–6; Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 83–5.

88. Consider also M. de Jonge's discussion of Joseph in M. de Jonge, "Good and Holy."

4. How many people wished to destroy him! But the Lord sheltered him. For he who fears the Lord and loves his neighbour cannot be beaten by a spirit of the air, a spirit of Beliar. The fear of the Lord shelters him. 5. Plots of man and beast cannot overcome him, for he is assisted by the love of the Lord—the love that he has towards his neighbour. *T. Ben.* 3.1–5

Once again, we see that the children are called to love the Lord and keep his commandments. Here Joseph is given as an ethical example (*T. Ben.* 3.1).⁸⁹ He is identified as someone who has his mind set on what is good, consistent with how he is described in the *Testament of Reuben* 4.8–10. The benefit of such an inviolate mind is that one is always able to see all things correctly—in other words, he is able to differentiate between good and evil and is not susceptible to deception (*T. Ben.* 3.2). In turn, this helps him to remain close to the commandments, which will protect him from evil. Even if the spirits of the opponent attempt to maintain a hold over him and afflict him with all manner of evil, they will not prevail, but will fail just as they failed against Joseph (*T. Ben.* 3.3). This should be evident from what is known of Joseph's life and tribulations; many attempted to kill him, but God protected him. God's interventions in history are clear in this narrative: he protects those who keep his commandments, and this protection, which in Joseph's case seems to refer to physical enemies, is actually interpreted supernaturally. The Lord protects against the spirits of darkness, and a person who fears God and loves his neighbour is protected by God (*T. Ben.* 3.4).

While in the *Testament of Benjamin* the explicit interpretation of God's protection is supernatural, it is clear that God also protects against physical enemies.⁹⁰ The interpretation of protection in a supernatural sense (i.e. against the spirits) helps us to understand the physical protection. God's protection is against the spirits, who inflict hardship through man and beast. A person with a good mind cannot be overcome by anything man or beast can contrive against him. In this struggle

89. So also Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 68.

90. The theme of God's protection against physical and supernatural enemies occurs several times in the *Testament of Benjamin*, (cf. *T. Ben.* 3.3–5, 5.2–3, 6.1–6). Consider also M. de Jonge's discussion of this theme, M. de Jonge, "Two Great Commandments," p. 388.

he is strengthened by the love which the Lord bestows upon him, which he likewise has towards his neighbour (*T. Ben.* 3.5). This sentiment is clearly a reference to the double commandment, which according to the *Testament of Benjamin* helps a person persevere even in the face of adversity: the best protection against evil lies in keeping the commandments of the Lord.⁹¹ In the *Testament of Benjamin* we see that even the deeds of humans and animals are interpreted within the world-view of a battle between God and the opponent for the allegiance of the individual. The Lord gives protection to those who follow the commandments, which is clearly an immediate benefit of righteousness.

The second passage that discusses the implications of choosing between the way of God and that of the opponent can be found in the *Testament of Dan*. This passage outlines the future consequences of a person's current actions and allegiance, whereas the *Testament of Benjamin* showed the immediate benefits. The *Testament of Dan* focusses on the nature and consequences of anger and falsehood. The controversy between God and the opponent plays a constant role in much of the exhortation, and we will follow the argument of the testament to further elucidate that role. As discussed earlier, the *Testament of Dan* 2.1–4.7 elucidates the dangers of anger and falsehood, concluding with a discussion of the role of the great controversy. The controversy itself also plays a role in the exhortation, as follows:

4.7. ἔστι δὲ διπρόσωπον κακὸν θυμὸς μετὰ ψεύδους, καὶ συναίρονται ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ταραξῶσι τὸ διαβούλιον· ταρασσομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεχῶς, ἀφίσταται κύριος ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ κυριεύει αὐτῆς ὁ Βελιάρ. 5.1. Φυλάξατε οὖν, τέκνα μου, τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ τηρήσατε· ἀπόστητε δὲ ἀπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ μισήσατε τὸ ψεῦδος, ἵνα κύριος κατοικήσῃ ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ φύγῃ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ Βελιάρ.

4.7. Anger with lying is a two-headed evil. They incite one another to agitate the mind. When the mind is continually agitated, the Lord retreats from it and Beliar rules over it. 5.1. Therefore, my children, keep the commandments of the Lord, and observe his law. Give up anger and hate lying, so that the Lord may live in you and Beliar may flee from you. *T. Dan* 4.7–5.1

As in the *Testament of Reuben*, we see that the mind plays a central part in the great controversy. In the *Testament of Dan* 4.1–6 it is clear that anger and falsehood

91. See also the discussion of God's influence on mankind on page 112 below.

provoke a person's mind. Together anger and falsehood are especially dangerous because they goad each other on, and thus *continually* provoke the mind. Through this provocation they cause the Lord to leave a person, and enable the opponent to rule over that person (*T. Dan* 4.7).

In this case, a person's choices also play a significant role. The children (and thus the audience) are called upon to keep the commands of the Lord so that the Lord may dwell in them, causing the opponent to flee (*T. Dan* 5.1). A person's inclinations and choices can work both ways: adhering to the vices leads the person away from the Lord and towards the opponent, but abiding by the commandments drives out the opponent and causes God to live in that person. In the individual's struggle against the opponent, it is a person's choices that enable a person to be assured of salvation.

The *Testament of Dan* 5.2–3 continues to expand on the theme of the commandments, leading to a proclamation of the double commandment in the *Testament of Dan* 5.3. This is followed by a predictive passage in the *Testament of Dan* 5.4–13, which begins with a discussion of the evil that the sons of Dan will commit in the last days (*T. Dan* 5.4–5). Their evil is so profound that the testament calls the opponent their prince (*T. Dan* 5.6). This introduces the shift from an individualistic discussion of each person's choices to a cosmological discussion of God's destruction of evil and mankind's salvation. When the sons will have repented, the salvation of the Lord will arise (*T. Dan* 5.9–10). This should be understood to refer to Jesus Christ. He will destroy the opponent, and through this victory he will free humanity from the opponent. Clearly, the focus here is on the salvation of mankind, envisioned through God's cosmological and eschatological triumph over the opponent in the great controversy. To conclude this passage regarding the future and introduce the next, the *Testament of Dan* reads:

6.1. Καὶ νῦν φοβήθητε τὸν κύριον, τέκνα μου, καὶ προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ. 2. Ἐγγίζετε δὲ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ παραιτουμένῳ ὑμᾶς· ὅτι οὗτός ἐστι μεσίτης Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ κατέναντι τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ ἐχθροῦ στήσεται·

6.1. Now, my children, fear the Lord. Watch out for Satan and his spirits. 2. Draw near to God and your interceding angel. He is the mediator between God and men for Israel's peace. He stands opposite the kingdom of the enemy. T. Dan 6.1–2

This mention of the opponent and his spirits refers back to the *Testament of Dan* 1.7 and 3.6, where the spirits of anger and falsehood are called spirits of the opponent. Just as in the *Testament of Dan* 5.1, the children are called to be wary of these vices. The children are also called to fear the Lord, another reference to keeping the commandments of the Lord. In these aspects, the *Testament of Dan* 6.1 distinctly resembles the *Testament of Dan* 5.1, yet the reasoning is slightly different. Whereas in the *Testament of Dan* 5.1 the dichotomy was focussed on who would inhabit a person's mind, here the dichotomy is at a cosmic level. Clearly, the same opposition that is present inside a human's mind is also present at a universal level. The outcomes of both struggles are not the same, however. On a cosmological scale, God will clearly destroy the opponent. On a more personal scale, God will save those who keep the commandments, that is those who defeat the opponent in their own personal struggles. Ultimately, the consequences of adhering to the exhortation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are either salvation or destruction.

All in all, we see that human deeds are interpreted as taking place in a world-view of a controversy between God and the opponent. The spirits of the opponent lead the individual to evil deeds. A good person, on the other hand, will remain close to God, and will shun evil deeds. Each person is portrayed as standing between the supernatural forces of good and evil, not only in the present, but also in the future-oriented passages. This world-view is especially clear in the passages discussing the ultimate future where God triumphs over the opponent, but even in the *vaticinia ex eventu* the same battle is evidenced. The children of the patriarchs leave the Lord, cling to the opponent, and are therefore punished. The world-view of each individual, standing in the middle of a cosmic struggle—a great controversy between God and the opponent—underlies all of the exhortation.

F CONCLUSION

In this chapter we examined the argumentation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The whole of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* can be considered a collection of commands, which are put into the context of the double commandment to love/fear God and love one's neighbour. This commandment is extended and applied in the ethical exhortation of the individual testaments, leading to a discussion of specific vices and virtues.

While a large part of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* consists of exhortation, there are also pericopes that are less obviously exhortatory. Biographical pericopes and passages regarding the future are both common. These passages play an admonishing role. In this role they can function in many different ways (e.g. as examples or as consequences) in order to contribute to the admonition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. While not directly exhortatory, these additional forms of discourse play an instrumental role in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs'* admonition on the double commandment.

This ethical application of the exhortation on the double commandment can be found in the discussions of the vices and virtues. The virtues are understood as an attempt to behave in a way that is pleasing to the Lord, and are therefore seen as behaviour that embodies the double commandment. The vices are something totally different. Often portrayed as spirits, they actively lead people astray, attempting to utterly destroy them.

The exhortation on the double commandment is portrayed in a world-view where each person stands between the forces of good and evil. Because of this, the great controversy, which takes place inside of each person, defines the ethics. Each choice that an individual makes plays a part in this struggle. The commandments of the Lord serve as a guide, inasmuch as they help an individual remain close to the Lord. Disobeying the commandments (and thus giving in to the vices) is understood as choosing to follow the opponent, which precludes God's presence in a person's life.

In the following chapter we will discuss this world-view in more detail. We will examine how the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* portray mankind's existence

between the forces of good and evil. This examination of the fundamental world-view and how it is used in the admonition will allow us to compare the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other works from antiquity. By outlining the world-view present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we will be able to discuss other works that share a similar world-view, especially with regards to how the great controversy is envisioned. This will allow us to identify works with a similar literary context.

Mankind in the Great Controversy

3 according to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the entire human existence is portrayed as living on a battlefield between good and evil—in fact, the individual itself could be considered the battlefield. What is usually seen as a grand cosmological battle between good and evil is portrayed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as an internal struggle. This struggle, which takes place inside of each person, is a struggle for influence over that person's choices. These choices have ultimate consequences leading either to salvation or to destruction.

In this chapter we will examine this topic; a person's place in this great controversy. We will ultimately outline a number of motifs regarding mankind's place between good and evil. These motifs are fundamental to the admonishment of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and thus fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* itself. Together these motifs describe the fundamental world-view of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. We will use these motifs for comparison with other documents in Chapter 4, in order to find works that share this understanding of the world.

In Section A, we will introduce the two aspects of human existence, and the two choices each individual can make. Each person can follow the good aspect, thus doing right in the eyes of the Lord, or he can follow the evil aspect and be ruled by the opponent. Not all of a person's choices will be only good or evil, but what

matters for a person is that the balance of his choices inclines him towards good. When a person has a good inclination, he will be considered righteous.

As there are always two aspects to human existence, the individual continually interacts with both, good as well as evil. In Section B we will examine a person's interactions with God, as far as his choices are concerned. Rather than being aimed at helping mankind withstand deceptive promptings, God generally helps mankind in ways that do not directly concern the struggle against the opponent. There is, however, evidence that God sometimes didactically punishes people so that they repent and restrain from sinning, which is the only situation where God intervenes in a person's struggle against the forces of darkness.

In Section C we will examine this struggle between a person and the forces of darkness. These forces attempt to deceive the individual so that he will make wicked choices, thus leading him away from God. The opponent's influence is generally envisioned in the influences of his spirits. These spirits tempt, deceive, and lead a person towards various vices. A spirit is even directly associated with each vice.

Section D will focus on the manner in which a person makes choices and the consequences of these choices. Each individual makes choices, using his rational ability, often referred to as his mind (νοῦς). Maintaining a pure mind is vital, as this enables a person to make righteous choices. A person's mind can easily be influenced by the forces of darkness, which have the power to blind the mind. This leads people to deeds of iniquity. We also see that the choices that each person makes have ultimate consequences. The Lord will judge the forces of darkness and all of humanity. The unrighteous will be destroyed, whereas the righteous will be saved.

A INTRODUCTION TO THE TWO ASPECTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S CHOICE

All decisions that a person makes are part of the struggle between good and evil. The best example of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' world-view regarding man's situation between good and evil, and his choices between the two, is the *Testament of Asher*. The most extensive and clear understanding of the role every person's choices play in the battle between God and the opponent comes from this testament. In all things there is a choice between good and evil, which the *Testament of Asher* refers to as the two aspects.¹ Having related that Asher promised to tell his children exactly what pleases the Lord, the *Testament of Asher* reads:

1.3 Δύο ὁδοὺς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δύο διαβούλια καὶ δύο πράξεις καὶ δύο τρόπους καὶ δύο τέλη. 4. Διὰ τοῦτο πάντα δύο εἰσὶν, ἐν κατέναντι τοῦ ἑνός. 5. Ὅδοι δύο, καλοῦ καὶ κακοῦ· ἐν οἷς εἰσὶ τὰ δύο διαβούλια ἐν στέρνοις ἡμῶν διακρίνοντα αὐτάς. 6. Ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ θέλῃ ἐν καλῷ, πᾶσα πρᾶξις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, κἂν ἁμάρτη, εὐθὺς μετανοεῖ. 7. Δίκαια γὰρ λογιζόμενος καὶ ἀπορρίπτων τὴν πονηρίαν ἀνατρέπει εὐθὺς τὸ κακὸν καὶ ἐκρίζοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. 8. Ἐὰν δὲ ἐν πονηρῷ κλίνει τὸ διαβούλιον, πᾶσα πρᾶξις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ, καὶ ἀπωθούμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν προσλαμβάνει τὸ κακὸν καὶ κυριευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Βελιάρ, κἂν ἀγαθὸν πράξῃ, ἐν πονηρίᾳ αὐτὸ μεταστρέφει. 9. Ὅταν γὰρ ἐνάρξηται ὡς ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν, τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως αὐτοῦ εἰς κακὸν ποιεῖν ἀνελαύνει· ἐπειδὴ ὁ θησαυρὸς τοῦ διαβουλίου τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος πεπλήρωται.

1.3. God has given mankind two ways, two dispositions, two types of action, two opportunities and two ends. 4. Therefore, all things come in pairs, the one against the other. 5. There are two ways, one good and one evil. Regarding these, there are two dispositions in our chests that choose between them, 6. so if the mind desires good, all of a person's deeds are righteous, and if he sins he repents immediately. 7. For speaking justly and renouncing evil, he immediately refutes evil and uproots sin. 8. But if the disposition leans towards evil, all of the person's deeds are evil. Rejecting good, he partakes of evil. Being ruled by Beliar, he turns even the good deeds to evil. 9. For when he begins to do something good, the end of his deed drives to evil doings, because the storeroom of the disposition is filled with the poison of the evil spirit.

T. Ash. 1.3–9

1. Cf. Kugler, 'but what does set the testament [of Asher] apart is its clear-cut articulation of the *Testaments*' otherwise subtle "decision theology"; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 77.

This passage, which was also briefly discussed in Chapter 2, shows that the circumstances of human existence are dual by nature (*T. Ash.* 1.3–4). The individual's choices and deeds can be either good or evil. Good is what is right in the sight of God (*T. Ash.* 1.2). It is worth noting that a good person's every deed is righteous: even if he sins, by immediate repentance the whole of his actions is for good. In other words it is not an arbitrary good deed that is important, but rather a righteous disposition that inclines every action (*T. Ash.* 1.6–7).² Evil, on the other hand, is equated with being ruled by the opponent (*T. Ash.* 1.8). Even in a person's attempts to do good, the evil spirit poisons his actions to evil (*T. Ash.* 1.9). Caught between the two ways there are two impulses in our chests, urging us to choose between them (*T. Ash.* 1.5). Clearly, a person's internal disposition can align itself either with God or with the opponent.

Every person thus has the possibility to do both good and evil things, yet the disposition of one's mind is what ultimately defines whether a person is good or evil. The great controversy between good and evil functions as the background against which all human choice, achievement and action takes place. The central question then becomes which inclination a person will follow.³ A person's core disposition allows no space for the opposing disposition. While this pericope, which functions as the introduction to the *Testament of Asher*, oversimplifies existence by emphasising its stark dichotomous nature, this imagery is nuanced in the rest of the testament. Despite superficial appearances to the contrary, the imagery is not fully

2. So also Hollander and De Jonge, who claim that 'it is not the incidental good deed that matters, but the good disposition'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 344.

3. See also Macky, who claims that 'when a man's inclination turns to evil Beliar rules in him, perverting good to evil by means of the evil spirit within his inclination [...] man's will is the determining factor, for if he turns to evil then God simply departs and Beliar comes in to rule'; Macky, "Importance," pp. 185–6. So also De Jonge, who maintains that 'the central issue is: for which of the two ways and, consequently, for which destination does the διαβούλιον in our breast decide?'; M. de Jonge, "Two Ways," p. 189. Ulrichsen, while appearing to accept a dualistic inclination, also sees that people are either good or evil, and claims, 'der Mensch steht vor einer Wahl und muß sich für Gott und das Gute oder für Beliar und das Böse entscheiden [...] Neigt der Mensch zum Bösen, beherrscht es ihn bald und verdirbt alle seine Taten [...] Der gute Mensch ist "eingesichtig," der böse "doppelgesichtig"'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 279.

dualistic, especially when considering the anthropology. The nuancing of this dualistic discussion is introduced as follows:

Ἔστιν οὖν ψυχὴ λέγουσα, φησί, τὸ καλὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κακοῦ, καὶ τὸ τέλος τοῦ πράγματος εἰς κακίαν ἄγει.

A mind may say what is good for the sake of evil, but the end of the deed leads to wickedness.

T. Ash. 2.1

Thus, it is not the single deed itself that is evil, but the ends to which the deed is done (*T. Ash. 2.1*). This portrayal differs slightly from the imagery of the spirit of evil's poison, which pollutes good deeds, done for potentially good reasons, towards evil (*T. Ash. 1.8–9*). This thought is explicated and extended with four examples given in the *Testament of Asher* 2.2–10.⁴ Because these examples so closely resemble each other, it will be sufficient to discuss only the third:

2.5. Ἄλλος κλέπτει, ἀδικεῖ, ἀρπάζει, πλεονεκτεῖ, καὶ ἐλεεῖ τοὺς πτωχοὺς· διπρόσωπον μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, ὅλον δὲ πονηρόν ἐστι. 6. Πλεονεκτῶν τὸν πλησίον παροργίζει τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν ὕψιστον ἐπιорκεῖ, καὶ τὸν πτωχὸν ἐλεᾷ· τὸν ἐντολέα τοῦ νόμου κύριον ἀθετεῖ καὶ παροξύνει, καὶ τὸν πένητα ἀναπαύει.

2.5. Another steals, injures, robs and defrauds, but has pity on the poor. This also has two aspects, but the whole is evil. 2.6. By defrauding his neighbour he angers God. When he swears falsely before the Lord, yet has mercy on the poor, he rejects and provokes the Lord, who commanded the law, even though he brings rest to the poor.

T. Ash. 2.5–6

-
4. Hillel sees two examples in the *Testament of Asher* 1–2. She considers *T. Ash. 1.6–9* to be the first, and 2.1–10 to be the second; both expounding on 1.3–5. She claims that ‘the first example (1:6–9) describes both a good soul (6–7) and an evil soul (8–9) through the use of parallels and differences, while the second example contains a series of actions and their results that relates the mixed conduct of a two-faced person (2:1–10)’; Hillel, “Structure, Source and Composition,” pp. 75–6. Becker sees *T. Ash. 2.1–10* as exhortation based on 1.3–9, consisting predominantly of an example, whereas 1.6–9 is an explanation of a good or evil person; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 365. Hollander and De Jonge’s analysis of these two chapters coincides with Becker’s, Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 342–6. Becker and Hollander and De Jonge’s analysis of the *Testament of Asher* 1 seems more likely, as 1.6 does not appear to be an example, but rather an explanation. All three agree that *T. Ash. 2.2–10* functions as an example to the exhortation.

This example discusses a person who is clearly evil, yet also does good deeds. Such a man has two aspects, and because the evil one outweighs the good one, the entirety is evil (*T. Ash.* 2.5). In cheating his neighbour he angers the Lord, and his pity for the poor, even when done with good intentions, provokes the Lord (*T. Ash.* 2.6). This example shows that good deeds are evil when committed together with evil deeds. In all four of the examples there are two facets to a person's actions, yet with an evil disposition the facets taken together form a whole that is evil (*T. Ash.* 2.8).⁵ The solution to this dilemma is as follows:

3.1. Ὑμεῖς οὖν, τέκνα μου, μὴ γίνεσθε κατ' αὐτοὺς διπρόσωποι, ἀγαθότητος καὶ κακίας· ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀγαθότητι μόνῃ κολλήθητε, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ποθοῦσιν αὐτήν· 2. τὴν κακίαν ἀποδράσατε, ἀναιροῦντες τὸν διάβολον ἐν ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς ὑμῶν πράξεσιν· ὅτι οἱ διπρόσωποι οὐ θεῶ ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν δουλεύουσιν, ἵνα τῷ Βελιάρ ἀρέσωσι καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῶν ἀνθρώποις. 4.1. Οἱ γὰρ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες καὶ μονοπρόσωποι, κἄν νομισθῶσι παρὰ τῶν διπρόσωπων ἁμαρτάνειν, δίκαιοι εἰσι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

3.1. My children, do not be double-aspected like them, both good and bad, but cling only to goodness, because God rests in it and men yearn for it. 2. Flee from evil and destroy the devil by good works. For those with two aspects cannot serve the Lord, serving rather their own lusts so that they please Beliar and men similar to them. 4.1. Men who are good and have a single aspect, though they are considered to be sinners by those with two aspects, are righteous before God.

T. Ash. 3.1–4.1

As we see, the simplest way of dealing with these two aspects is to shun the evil side. Everyone should make the choice to follow God, and only God. In this passage,

-
5. *T. Ash.* 2.8 talks of keeping the commandments out of wickedness. Clearly this is another referral to the two aspects, in this case doing good for evil reasons. While the commandments are a general manner of referring to righteous acts, Lieberman and also Eubank argue that in this specific case it refers to almsgiving. They base this on the rabbinic usage of “the commandment” and “the commandments” to refer specifically to almsgiving; Lieberman, “Lexicographical Notes”; Eubank, “Almsgiving.” Eubank, furthermore, shows some sources that also consider almsgiving as a predominant commandment (cf. Tob 4.5–11, 12.8–10, 14.8–11, Sir 29.1, Matt 19.16–22); Eubank, “Almsgiving,” pp. 146–7. While in this specific case almsgiving does fit quite naturally (juxtaposed as it is to evil done by means of wealth), considering the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a whole it is more likely that “the commandments” are a generic reference to righteous living.

the children are firstly called to maintain one side only—naturally, the good one—and to do good deeds for good ends (*T. Ash.* 3.1). Men of two aspects serve their own desires. They please the opponent, never serving God (*T. Ash.* 4.2). A person's choices, then, are captured within a struggle between good and evil.⁶ As a person makes choices he aligns himself with one side of the great controversy or the other. These choices ultimately define his disposition and can lead to his destruction or salvation. Furthermore, it is noted that being righteous in God's eyes is not what other men appreciate (*T. Ash.* 4.1). Men of two faces appreciate other men of two faces, and will consider men of only one aspect to be sinners, even though God considers them to be righteous.

The simplest and most advisable way of dealing with the two aspects is to follow the Lord and shun evil. The author of the *Testament of Asher*, however, realises that keeping solely to one path in life is unrealistic. He nuances these statements in the rest of the testament, where the *Testament of Asher* argues that while it may *appear* that some people have multiple facets, in actuality they have either one disposition or the other. In other words, it is possible that people will commit evil deeds for good reasons. This is outlined in a series of examples which mirror the examples given earlier:⁷

4.2. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀναιροῦντες τοὺς πονηροὺς δύο ποιοῦσιν ἔργα, καλὸν διὰ κακοῦ, ὅλον ἐστὶ δὲ καλόν· ὅτι τὸ κακὸν ἐκριζώσας ἀπώλεσεν. 3. ἔστι τις μισῶν τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ ἄδικον, τὸν μοιχὸν καὶ νηστεύοντα· καὶ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ διπρόσωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν ἐστιν, ὅτι μιμεῖται κύριον, μὴ προσδεχόμενος τὸ δοκοῦν καλὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ κακοῦ. 4. ἕτερος οὐ θέλει ἡμέραν ἀγαθὴν ἰδεῖν μετὰ ἀσώτων, ἵνα μὴ χράνη τὸ στόμα, καὶ μολύνῃ τὴν ψυχὴν· καίγε τοῦτο διπρόσωπον, ὅλον δὲ καλόν ἐστιν.

4.2. Indeed many who kill the wicked do two things: something good and something evil, but the whole is good, because an evil person is uprooted and destroyed. 3. A person may hate someone who is both merciful and unrighteous, or someone who fasts

-
6. Similarly, Hollander and De Jonge, who claim that 'in the background is the opposition between God and Beliar'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 349.
 7. So also Kugler, who maintains '4.1–5 mirrors 2.1–10'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 79. Hollander and De Jonge claim the same: 'this chapter is the counterpart of ch. 2, in form and content'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 350.

and yet commits adultery. This is double-aspected. The whole of the person's actions is good as they imitate the Lord, not accepting what seems good together with what is not good. 4. Another person may not wish to observe a holy day with prodigal people, in case he defiles his mouth or pollutes his mind. This has two aspects also, yet the whole is good. *T. Ash. 4.2–4*

These examples show that not all people who appear to have two aspects are evil. Righteous men can commit evil deeds for good (*T. Ash. 4.2–4*). The overarching end of the actions is clearly what defines the action to be good or evil. In the previous discussion of two-aspected evil men, good deeds were made evil by evil ends. Similarly a double-faceted good man, while possibly doing evil deeds and appearing evil, is made righteous by his end (*T. Ash. 4.5*).

Clearly, this treatise on the two ways is quite nuanced and intricate, and on the one hand could be understood as an attempt at differentiating between actual good works and false piety.⁸ This is surely an over-simplification of this discourse, however, as false piety is applicable to the first half of this discussion, but not the second. Though, the complex exploration of good deeds for evil ends fits nicely into a discussion of false piety, the consideration of evil deeds for good ends makes no sense in such a discourse. The key to understanding the place of the second half of this discussion lies in a recognition of the role of the two inclinations. The crux of the matter is not false piety—the discussion is not about why one does *good* deeds at all. Instead, the topic of the discourse is righteousness, that is the end to which one does *all* deeds, both good and bad. Ultimately, it is not important what motivates a person to do good deeds, rather what motivates that person in all his deeds.

This discussion in the *Testament of Asher* raises a fundamental issue with regards to the two inclinations (διαβούλια) that are in each person. The *Testament of Asher* appears to argue for a duality of the inclinations, the ways and the aspects, but this is not as unequivocal as it appears. There are clearly two ways, one of evil and one of righteousness, and there are clearly two sides to mankind's existence. What requires closer examination, however, is whether each individual has two inclinations within or rather a single inclination torn between two destinations.

8. Kee claims that 'notable here is the effort to set authentic works of mercy over against merely external manifestations of piety'; Kee, "Translation and Introduction," p. 817.

The *Testament of Asher* regularly calls the audience to maintain one aspect, but allows for the existence of two aspects in a person's life. In general, simplicity (ἀπλότης) is one of the most prominent virtues in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁹ Simplicity is not merely a down-to-earth lifestyle, but also one that contains no duplicity, doubleness, or hypocrisy.¹⁰ This basic distrust of duplicity does not mesh well with an understanding of the permissibility of two aspects in one person's life. The presence of two facets should equal doubleness in a person's behaviour, but it is reasonable to expect the *Testament of Asher* to promote simplicity in that person.

Strangely enough, the presence of two aspects should be understood as simple. In other words, the good and (seemingly) bad facets can combine towards a single, good whole, and two aspects are only evil if they remain double or combine towards an evil whole. The *Testament of Asher* attempts to show that while it may appear that certain combinations of actions may be double-faceted, they are in fact wholly good.¹¹ We see thus that the *Testament of Asher* contains a strong pedagogical call towards simplicity despite living in an ambiguous world, and indeed despite apparent ambiguity of action.

From this pericope, it follows that a person does not have two inclinations, but rather a single inclination with two intrinsically different directions.¹² A person's

-
9. Consider the usage of ἀπλότης as a virtue in *T. Reu.* 4.1, *T. Sim.* 4.5, *T. Levi* 13.1, *T. Ben.* 6.7. Furthermore, it is the theme and primary virtue of the *Testament of Issachar*, occurring more than eleven times in that testament. For a discussion of simplicity, see Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 43–4; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, pp. 284–7.
 10. See also Hollander and De Jonge, who claim that ἀπλότης means, first of all, integrity, whole-hearted obedience to God's commandments. All "doubleness" is contrary to the will of God; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 44. De Jonge claims that 'anything double is not in agreement with God's will [...] "Doubleness" is hypocrisy [...] The opposite, ἀπλότης, is the central virtue of *T. Issachar*'; M. de Jonge, "Two Ways," p. 190.
 11. So also De Jonge who claims that the *Testament of Asher* discusses 'actions or combinations of actions that may be called διπρόσωπον ("having two aspects") but are, in reality, either completely bad or good'; M. de Jonge, "Two Ways," p. 189.
 12. De Jonge claims as much, and prefers the translation "disposition" to "inclination," explaining that 'although the author speaks of two διαβούλια, he intends to say that every person has one διαβούλιον

choices predispose his inclination towards God or towards the opponent.¹³ As a person makes good and evil choices, his mind becomes more and more disposed towards either good or evil. Thus it can be claimed that a person whose inclination is towards wickedness is under the opponent's control, whereas every action of a person whose inclination is towards good, is righteous (*T. Ash.* 1.6–8).

In summary, the *Testament of Asher* maintains that there are two ways between which every person can choose. He can either follow the aspect of good, which is right in the eyes of the Lord, or follow the aspect of evil and be ruled by the opponent. The choices that one makes are either aligned with God, or aligned with the forces of evil. The best solution is maintaining one facet by walking solely on the path of good, but this is unrealistic. A more nuanced view is that both sides will be present in the choices one makes. A person could have a good disposition, but do deeds that appear to be evil for good ends. The exact opposite can also be true. While it would appear that both aspects are present in such a person's life, we should be aware that the choices a person makes define his disposition, and that people who appear to have two faces could be completely good or evil. As a person is very likely to appear to have two aspects, it is vital that one maintains the whole of these aspects as good. One must make the right choices, because it is only in this way that the inclination of the person will be towards good.

It is thus clear that an individual's choices do not take place in a vacuum, but are coloured by the great controversy between good and evil. With regards to this, the *Testament of Asher* introduces three themes that require further examination. Firstly, the nature of evil is important to an understanding of the choices that each person makes. We will discuss this topic in the Section C. Secondly, the anthropological understanding of how a person makes choices needs clarification, which we

faced with two fundamentally different options'; M. de Jonge, "Two Ways," p. 189. Hollander and De Jonge also stress this matter, stating that 'it should be stressed that the author speaking about two διαβούλια does not intend to say that there are "zwei Seelen in einer Brust." Every person has one διαβούλιον which has two options and is, after the choice has been made, either good or bad'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 339.

13. So also Kugler, who maintains that 'the testament proves that there is but one διαβούλιον that is shaped for good or for bad by human choice'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 78.

will examine in Section D. A third topic, which is not made explicit in the *Testament of Asher* but is clearly important, is the relationship between God and mankind. We will examine this topic in the following section, to gain a more profound understanding of the role God plays in each person's battle against evil.

B GOD AND MANKIND

Typically, one would expect God to play a substantial role in the battle against evil. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, however, God does not usually participate directly in that struggle; he judges and punishes, yet rarely interferes in the choices that a person makes.¹⁴ There is, however, an exception to this rule: God's didactic punishment.

In general we see four different ways in which God involves himself in the deeds of men, only the last of which pertains to the struggle against the forces of darkness. Firstly, we see that God, often by means of an angel, will save Joseph from his brothers and other dangerous people.¹⁵ Secondly, God has the power to instill people with special knowledge. This can be general knowledge regarding mankind,¹⁶ ethical lessons,¹⁷ prophetic knowledge,¹⁸ or secrets.¹⁹ Thirdly, we see that God can protect people from physical enemies.²⁰ Finally, and in this context most import-

-
14. There is a possible exception to this statement. The *Testament of Joseph* often speaks of the Lord's protection of Joseph against the influences of evil. The culmination of those admonishing statements occurs in *T. Jos.* 10.3 which claims that a person in whom the Lord dwells will be saved from envy, slavery, slander and darkness. Such a person will be rescued from evil. This passage seems to claim that the Lord protects a person from these difficulties. This, however, does not seem to be the case, especially when considering the *Testament of Benjamin's* discussion of Joseph's life. *T. Ben.* 3.3, which as the last testament functions as a conclusion to the entire work, claims that because Joseph feared the Lord and loved his neighbour, the evils that attempted to overcome Joseph were unable to take control of him. Joseph was protected, not by the Lord, but by his pure mind through which he kept the commandments of the Lord. See also the discussion of the *Testament of Benjamin* 3 on page 94 above.
 15. This theme is alluded to in the following passages: *T. Gad* 2.5, *T. Sim.* 2.8, *T. Reu.* 4.10, *T. Jos.* 6.7.
 16. We see this in *T. Reu.* 5.3, where Reuben learns about the nature of women.
 17. See, for example, how Judah learns that even kings are susceptible to the machinations of the opponent in *T. Jud.* 15.5.
 18. Cf. *T. Iss.* 2.1 and *T. Jos.* 6.6 where angels have revealed the future wickedness of the patriarch's descendants to the patriarch, and *T. Levi* 2.9–12, 9.6 where Levi learns from an angel that he will be a priest of the Lord.
 19. Consider *T. Reu.* 3.15, where Jacob hears of Reuben's fornication with Bilhah from an angel.
 20. Judah, for example, tells his sons that he had an angel of power that would protect him in his wars (*T. Jud.* 3.10). Reuben, similarly, explains that Joseph was rescued by God from both seen and unseen death (*T. Reu.* 4.10).

antly, God has the power to punish people for their sins, so that they will repent.²¹ As this last type takes place in the context of mankind's struggle against the forces of evil, we will examine an example of it in more detail.

At the beginning to the *Testament of Reuben*, Reuben calls his sons to listen to his commandments (*T. Reu.* 1.5). He continues this admonishment with an example that refers to his biographical episode with Bilhah:

1.6. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπιμαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σήμερον, τοῦ μὴ πορευθῆναι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ νεότητος, καὶ πορνείᾳ, ἐν ᾗ ἐξεχύθην ἐγὼ καὶ ἐμίανα τὴν κοίτην τοῦ πατρός μου Ἰακώβ. 7. λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν, ὅτι ἐνέπληξέ με πληγὴν μεγάλην ἐν ταῖς λαγῳσί μου ἐπὶ μῆνας ἑπτὰ· καὶ εἰ μὴ Ἰακώβ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν προσηύξατο περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον, ὅτι ἤθελε κύριος ἀνελεῖν με. 8. ἤμην γὰρ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ὅτε ἔπραξα τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου· καὶ ἑπτὰ μῆνας ἐμαλακίσθην ἕως θανάτου· 9. καὶ ἐν προαιρέσει ψυχῆς μου ἑπτὰ ἔτη μετενόησα ἐνώπιον κυρίου.

1.6. Look! I call the God of heaven to witness to you today, so that you will not continue in the ignorance of youth and fornication, in which I found pleasure and with which I stained my father Jacob's bed. 7. For I tell you that I was struck with a great wound in the loins for seven months. The Lord would have destroyed me if my father Jacob had not prayed to him for me. 8. I was thirty years old when I committed that evil act before the Lord, and for seven months I was weak to the point of death. 9. But by deliberate choice I was repentant for seven years before the Lord. *T. Reu.* 1.6–9

Here Reuben tells of the severe disease in his loins which lasted for seven months (*T. Reu.* 1.7). God punished him in this way for his fornication with Bilhah (*T. Reu.* 1.6). The wound would have been fatal, had Jacob not intervened with prayer

21. This influence of God, especially in the passages regarding the future, has readily been pointed out, see for example Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 193; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 52. In many of the passages regarding the future the descendants of the patriarch are said to sin, to repent, and then to be restored (cf. *T. Levi* 10, 14–15, 16, 18, *T. Jud.* 18,22,24,25, *T. Zeb.* 9,10, *T. Dan* 5, *T. Naph.* 4, *T. Ash.* 7, and *T. Ben.* 9). Hultgård maintains that 'l'idée d'un repentir du peuple, préalable à la restauration, a son équivalent dans la repentance de l'individu, à laquelle les *Testaments* attachent une importance particulière'; Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 193. Similarly Hollander and De Jonge claim, regarding the so-called Sin-Exile-Return passages, that they emphasise 'the importance of righteous behaviour and of repentance, and [...] [promise] return and salvation after renewed obedience'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 52. But, besides in the future-oriented passages, this theme is also present in the biographical admonition (cf. *T. Reu.* 1.7, *T. Sim.* 2.12, and *T. Gad* 5.9).

(*T. Reu.* 1.7). After seven months of being close to death, Reuben spent seven years repenting (*T. Reu.* 1.8–9). In this passage it becomes clear that after Reuben's sin, he was stricken in the organs responsible for this sin.²² God's punishment has a didactic purpose, however: Reuben repents after the punishment and once he has repented lives an ascetic life of mourning (*T. Reu.* 1.10). Here it is clear that God intervened to counteract the influences of the opponent. This influence over a person appears to be external to that person's struggle against the forces of darkness. God did not intervene so that Reuben would not desire to sin, rather he intervened so that Reuben would find the way back to the Lord after sinning.

Even though God has many powers in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, he does not directly battle with the forces of darkness inside of a person. Mankind, guided by the commandments, has to fight this war against deception and temptation alone. Only after sinful deeds does God intervene with didactic punishment, helping a person to understand his sin, and to repent from that sin. Hopefully, such a person will avoid sinning again in the future.

Having examined God's influence on mankind in the great controversy, we will now consider the opposite side. Throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the impact that the forces of darkness have on mankind is constantly emphasised. In the following section we will examine how the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* portray the interplay between each person and the powers of evil.

22. This is a common theme in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Often a patriarch will be punished in the organ associated with his sin. Besides Reuben, Simeon's hand withers after he wishes to kill (i.e. lay hands on) Joseph (*T. Sim.* 2.12) and Gad's liver is afflicted with a disease after his anger (situated in the liver) towards Joseph (*T. Gad* 5.9).

C MANKIND AND THE FORCES OF EVIL

A very distinct recurring concept in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is the role of the spirits of deceit, commanded by Beliar, the principal opponent. These spirits influence every person towards evil deeds, but are not themselves accountable for the evil deeds, nor can those deeds be attributed to them. Each person's choices play a significant role, and each person is fully autonomous in all choices.²³ It is apparent that the portrayal of the spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is complex and nuanced, and thus in need of detailed analysis. This section will discuss the nature of the realm of evil from the perspective of mankind in some detail.

(I) MANKIND AND THE SPIRITS OF DECEIT

In the *Testament of Reuben* 2.1–3.8 we learn that, in order to blind mankind, the opponent set eight spirits against them, mirroring the eight spirits that God gave mankind at creation. As this section of the *Testament of Reuben* is rather extensive, we will divide it into four parts for discussion.²⁴ Firstly, a general description of the entire passage will be given in order to facilitate the discussion and outline the four parts. Secondly, each part will be discussed in detail.

The *Testament of Reuben* calls the audience to listen and announces the discussion of the seven spirits of deceit (*T. Reu.* 2.1–2). Intriguingly, seven spirits of creation are then enumerated instead of spirits of deceit, and as a separate statement, an eighth is also mentioned (*T. Reu.* 2.3–3.1). We then learn that the spirit of deceit was mingled with these spirits of creation, after which the *Testament of Reuben* does enumerate the seven spirits of deceit, again emphasising a distinct eighth spirit (*T. Reu.* 3.2–7). A final verse concludes the exhortation, forming an *inclusio* with the *Testament of Reuben* 2.1 (*T. Reu.* 3.8).

23. So also Ulrichsen, who claims that 'die Ethik der TP setzt die Freiheit des Willens voraus [...] Deshalb ist der Mensch selbst für seine Handlungen verantwortlich'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 281.

24. This list of spirits is considered by some to be a later interpolation, see Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 188–90; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, pp. 71–8. Others see it as a part of the original author's work, cf. 'the evidence indicates that the authors of the testament included it'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 42, see also M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*, pp. 75–7; Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition," p. 146. Considering the importance of the spirits of evil, it seems that this pericope fits the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* well.

2.1. Καὶ νῦν ἀκούσατέ μου, τέκνα, ἃ εἶδον περὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ μου. 2. ἑπτὰ πνεύματα ἐδόθη κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ τοῦ Βελιάρ καὶ αὐτὰ εἰσι κεφαλὴ τῶν ἔργων τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ.

2.1. Now, my children, listen to what I learnt about the seven sprits of deceit during my repentance. 2. Beliar gave mankind seven spirits, and from these stem the works of youth. T. Reu. 2.1–2

In the *Testament of Reuben* the works of youth result in Reuben's downfall (T. Reu. 1.6). The association between what a person does when he is young and the spirits of the opponent is therefore quite obvious (T. Reu. 2.2). Reuben claims that he has knowledge of seven spirits of deceit, which were appointed by the opponent and struggle against mankind (T. Reu. 2.1–2). One would expect this statement to be immediately followed by an enumeration of the spirits of deceit, but the *Testament of Reuben* first lists eight spirits of God:²⁵

2.3. καὶ ἑπτὰ πνεύματα ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς κτίσεως, τοῦ εἶναι ἐν αὐτοῖς πᾶν ἔργον ἀνθρώπου. 4. πρῶτον πνεῦμα ζωῆς, μεθ' ἧς ἡ σύστασις κτίζεται· δεύτερον πνεῦμα ὀράσεως, μεθ' ἧς γίνεται ἐπιθυμία· 5. τρίτον πνεῦμα ἀκοῆς, μεθ' ἧς δίδοται διδασκαλία· τέταρτον πνεῦμα ὁσφρήσεως, μεθ' ἧς ἐστι γεῦσις δεδομένη εἰς συνολκὴν ἀέρος καὶ πνοῆς· 6. πέμπτον πνεῦμα λαλιᾶς, μεθ' ἧς γίνεται γνῶσις· 7. ἕκτον πνεῦμα γεύσεως, μεθ' ἧς γίνεται βρώσις βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν, καὶ ἰσχύς ἐν αὐτοῖς κτίζεται· ὅτι ἐν βρώμασιν ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόστασις τῆς ἰσχύος· 8. ἑβδομον πνεῦμα σποράς καὶ συνουσίας, μεθ' ἧς συνεισέρχεται διὰ τῆς φιληδονίας ἡ ἁμαρτία· 9. διὰ τοῦτο ἔσχατόν ἐστι τῆς κτίσεως καὶ πρῶτον τῆς νεότητος, ὅτι ἀγνοίας πεπλήρωται, καὶ αὕτη τὸν νεώτερον ὁδηγεῖ ὡς τυφλὸν ἐπὶ βόθρον καὶ ὡς κτῆνος ἐπὶ κρημνόν. 3.1. Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις ὄγδοον πνεῦμα τοῦ ὕπνου ἐστί, μεθ' οὗ ἐκτίσθη ἑκστασις φύσεως καὶ εἰκὼν τοῦ θανάτου.

25. This somewhat abrupt change has led some to consider T. Reu. 2.3–3.2 an interpolation (this is separate to the discussion that the entire listing of the spirits is an interpolation cf. Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 42). This section is put into parentheses in De Jonge's translation, based on the trend set by Charles; M. de Jonge, "Testaments (Sparks)," p. 516. It is not in parentheses in Hollander and De Jonge's translation; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 91–3. Becker sees this list as a later addition, Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, pp. 189–90. Ulrichsen comments on Becker that 'seine Argumente überzeugen nicht. Wahrscheinlich handelt es sich nicht um eine Originalkomposition des Verfassers, sondern um eine übernommene Liste'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, pp. 73–4. Granted, this list is clumsily introduced, but it could just as easily have been added by the author as by a later interpolator. See also M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*, p. 79.

2.3 Seven spirits were given to mankind at creation, these cause every human action. 4. (1) The spirit of life, with which nature is created. (2) The spirit of sight, with which comes desire. 5. (3) The spirit of hearing, with which teaching is given. (4) The spirit of smell, with which taste is given to inhaled air and breath. 6. (5) The spirit of speech, with which is comes knowledge. 7. (6) The spirit of taste, with which comes eating and drinking, and with which his strength is created (in food is the foundation of strength) 8. (7) The spirit of sexual reproduction and intercourse, with which sin enters by the love of pleasure. 9. That's why this spirit is last in creation and first in youth. Clearly it is filled with ignorance. It leads youth like blind men to a pit, or like a animal to the precipice. 3.1 Besides these there is an eighth spirit. The spirit of sleep, with which the ecstasy of nature and the image of death is created. T. Reu. 2.3–3.1

The *Testament of Reuben* maintains that these seven spirits were given to mankind at creation.²⁶ Each spirit concerns a part of humanity as they are linked with a general emotion, metaphysical entity or behaviour. These seven spirits are (1) life, linked with the substance of being; (2) sight, linked with desire; (3) hearing, linked with teaching; (4) smell, linked with taste and breathing; (5) speech, linked with knowledge; (6) taste, linked with eating, drinking, and strength by extension; and (7) procreation and intercourse, linked with love of pleasure and sin.

This list is clearly an example of an ancient anthropology,²⁷ bearing some simil-

26. So also Hillel, who maintains that 'the first list depicts the spirits given to humans at creation to govern humanity's way of life'; Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition," p. 146.

27. Ulrichsen claims that the spirits are 'überwiegend neutral-anthropologisch'; Ulrichsen, *Grundchrift*, p. 73. Alternatively, the list could be construed as similar to lists of planets. This is what Toepel claims. He compares Ptolemy's list of the planets' influence on bodily injuries and disease in *Tetrabiblos* 3.12 with this list in the *Testament of Reuben*. He claims 'Ptolemy's list agrees almost literally'; Toepel, "Planetary Demons," p. 236. His conclusion on this matter is that 'in view of the spirits' sevenfold nature in *Testament of Reuben* and their connection with parts of the human body it seems well possible that in fact planetary demons are hinted at here'; Toepel, "Planetary Demons," p. 237. Toepel's claim is not well defended. A close examination of Ptolemy's list shows that the list contains six planets, all linked to a sense, with the sense of hearing differentiated between the left and the right ear. Each planet is also linked to part of the body. These conclusions lead to three objections. Firstly, there are seven or eight spirits in the *Testament of Reuben*. Secondly, the list in the *Testament of Reuben* goes further than simply linking the senses to other things—the *Testament of Reuben* includes life, procreation and sleep. Thirdly, the list in the *Testament of Reuben* hardly links up with the organs of the body, only doing so half-heartedly in the second list for three of the seven spirits. It would seem unlikely that this list is closely related to planetary demons.

arity to stoic understandings of the division of the mind.²⁸ The hand of the author can be found in the adaptation of the list, that is in the ways the spirits are linked to aspects of mankind's existence. This appears to be the only place in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* where senses are linked to spirits.²⁹ Several of these are relatively obvious or natural, such as taste being linked to eating, and hearing being linked to teaching. Considering that these are the spirits of the Lord, the fact that the spirit of sight is linked with desire, and the spirit of procreation is linked with sin is salient (*T. Reu.* 2.4,2.8).³⁰ These two spirits are the exact same spirits that play a part in the narrative of Bilhah and Reuben.³¹ Further in this testament, it is explained that Reuben saw Bilhah naked and, overcome with desire, he entered her chamber at night (*T. Reu.* 3.11). Then, through having sex with her, he sinned (*T. Reu.* 3.11). Reuben's youth made him more susceptible to this sin (cf. *T. Reu.* 3.8).³²

Despite being composed of spirits of God, this list thus includes sinful deeds—indeed, they are the very sins that Reuben committed. The list is then summarised by focussing on the seventh spirit, the spirit of procreation and sexual intercourse. This spirit might be last in order of creation, but it is the principal spirit with which

28. Kee claims that 'in the Stoic fragments [...] we read of the eight parts or faculties of the soul [...] With this anthropological theory the basic understanding of the human being in *T. Reu.* 2.3–8 is nearly identical'; Kee, "Ethical Dimensions," p. 266. Becker uses the Stoic origin to defend the argument that this pericope is an interpolation, 'daß in der eingeschobenen Liste stoische Tradition begegnet und von hierher der Geistbegriff zu erklären ist, ist schon mehrfach aufgewiesen und darf als sichere Erkenntnis der Forschung gelten'; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 189. See, amongst others, Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 189; Kee, "Ethical Dimensions," p. 266; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 93; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 73; Hillel, "Structure, Source and Composition," p. 146; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 42; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 83.

29. So also Becker, 'daß nämlich Sinnesorgane zu Geistern werden, ist innerhalb der TP einmalig'; Becker, *Entstehungsgeschichte*, p. 189.

30. Becker notices the second of these, and points out that the last spirit goes together with sin. He shows that it was sin that led to the enumeration of the spirits, but only sees this list as an external interpolation, without considering its role in the *Testament of Reuben* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Ulrichsen agrees with Becker, Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 73.

31. Rosen-Zvi notes the same peculiarities in the list. He claims that 'the source of these two unique additions is not very hard to trace. They concisely summarize the dynamic of sexual sin found in the *T. Reuben* narratives'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 83.

32. See also the extensive discussion of Reuben's fornication with Bilhah beginning on page 153 below.

a young man struggles. The spirit of procreation and sexual intercourse is filled with ignorance, and leads a young man to fall (*T. Reu.* 2.9). Clearly, this last spirit is the spirit on which Reuben wishes to focus, and which will play a large role in the subsequent sections of this testament.

Quite unexpectedly, at the end of this list Reuben then claims knowledge of an eighth spirit: the spirit of sleep. This spirit creates the trance of nature and the image of death (*T. Reu.* 3.1). Considering the link that is made later in the *Testament of Reuben* between this spirit and both deceit and fantasy (*T. Reu.* 3.7), one would imagine that the “trance of nature” refers to dreams and visions which often occur in some sort of trance or sleep.³³

The *Testament of Reuben* now proceeds to the second list of spirits:

3.2. τούτοις τοῖς πνεύμασι συμμίσγνυται τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς πλάνης. 3. πρῶτον τὸ τῆς πορνείας ἐν τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἔγκειται· δεῦτερον πνεῦμα ἀπληστίας ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ· 4. τρίτον πνεῦμα μάχης ἐν τῷ ἥπατι καὶ τῇ χολῇ· τέταρτον πνεῦμα ἀρεσκείας καὶ μαγανείας, ἵνα διὰ περιεργείας ὡραῖος ὠφθῇ· 5. πέμπτον πνεῦμα ὑπερηφανίας, ἵνα καυχᾶται καὶ μεγαλοφρονῇ· ἕκτον πνεῦμα ψεύδους, ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ καὶ ζήλῳ τοῦ πλάττειν λόγους καὶ κρύπτειν λόγους αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ γένους καὶ οἰκείων· 6. ἑβδομον πνεῦμα ἀδικίας, μεθ’ ἧς κλοπὴ καὶ γριπίσματα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ φιληδονίαν καρδίας αὐτοῦ. ἡ γὰρ ἀδικία συνεργεῖ τοῖς λοιποῖς πνεύμασι διὰ τῆς δωροληψίας. 7. ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ὕπνου, τὸ ὄγδοον πνεῦμα, συνάπτεται πλάνῃ καὶ φαντασίᾳ.

3.2. The spirit of deceit is mixed with these. 3. (1) The spirit of fornication situated in the nature and the senses. (2) The spirit of greed in the stomach. 4. (3) The spirit of battle situated in the liver and the gall. (4) The spirit of flattery and trickery, that through vain effort he may appear beautiful. 5. (5) The spirit of arrogance, that he may be boastful and conceited. (6) The spirit of lying: moulding words and keeping secrets from his house and family through depravity and envy. 6. (7) The spirit of unrighteousness, with which come thefts and double-dealing, so that he may attain his heart's desire. For, unrighteousness cooperates with the other spirits by means of bribes.

7. Besides these spirits, the eighth spirit, the spirit of sleep, unites deceit and delusion.

T. Reu. 3.2–7

33. Consider Genesis 2.21 and 15.12 for a link between ἔκστασις and sleep. See also Tertullian's discussion of this passage and the interplay of sleep and ecstasy (*Test.* 45). See also Hollander and De Jonge's extensive discussion of sleep and ecstasy; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 94.

The *Testament of Reuben* introduces this second list with the words “these spirits” (τούτοις τοῖς πνεύμασι). This should be understood as referring back to the previous eight spirits (*T. Reu.* 3.2). Apparently, these eight spirits of the Lord are all mingled with the spirit of deceit (*T. Reu.* 3.2). Earlier, in the *Testament of Reuben* 2.1–2, the spirits of the opponent were referred to in plural, but here the noun and adjective are singular. Directly after this sentence, Reuben proceeds to name eight evil spirits and link them to the eight spirits of the Lord. This link is not straightforward, as there is little direct correspondence between the two lists of spirits.³⁴ The imagery used is therefore not systematic, rather it shows how the opponent’s spirit can assume different forms that correspond to mankind’s natural spirits.³⁵ In essence, the eight spirits of deceit mentioned here represent the one true evil spirit that taints God’s creation.

The spirits of deceit are (1) fornication, seated in the nature and the senses; (2) insatiate desire, seated in the belly; (3) fighting, seated in the liver and the gall; (4) flattery and trickery; (5) arrogance; (6) lying; and (7) unrighteousness. In the beginning of this list there is an explicit link with the list of God’s spirits, but this link soon dissolves. The first evil spirit, linking fornication with nature and the senses, could refer to the spirit of life. The second spirit is insatiate desire, which reminds one of the spirit of sight, with which desire comes. The third concerns fighting, which does not have a strong (or indeed any) link with hearing and teaching. The fourth through seventh spirits in this list do not mirror spirits from the first list at all. Clearly, the most important similarity between the two lists is the prominent place of fornication (*T. Reu.* 3.3). Fornication, the first spirit of deceit, is seated in mankind’s nature and the senses. This describes the entirety of human existence, which is precisely what the first eight spirits listed. As at the end of the

34. Hollander and De Jonge see this difficulty too, and point out that ‘these seven spirits are only superficially connected with those in the first list’; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 94.

35. The singular spirit then would appear to refer to all eight of the opponent’s spirits: the *spirits of deceit*. Hollander and De Jonge claim the same. After pointing out that ‘we would expect a plural after 2.2 and before 3.3–7’, they discuss ‘a similar singular evil spirit par excellence’ in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 94.

first list, the central role of the spirit of fornication in the *Testament of Reuben* is once again visible.

This list is the first mention of the spirits of deceit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. As such one could expect this list to be a comprehensive list of the spirits, or at least a list of the prominent spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. However, while some of these evil spirits are discussed later in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,³⁶ some are never mentioned again.³⁷ These eight spirits of deceit can therefore not be considered to be a comprehensive list of the spirits which will be discussed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, nor are they the prominent spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Therefore, the *Testament of Reuben* does not wish to enumerate the exact spirits of deceit, but rather attempts to show the nature of mankind's existence, consisting of unaligned or natural spirits and evil ones.

At the end of this list of spirits, Reuben once again discusses an eighth spirit: the spirit of sleep, connected with deceit and fantasy (*T. Reu.* 3.7).³⁸ Unlike most others, this spirit does reflect the eighth spirit of the Lord, as they are both spirits of sleep. Sleep plays a large role in the following biographical section of the *Testament of Reuben*. After seeing Bilhah bathe, Reuben cannot sleep (*T. Reu.* 3.12). Bilhah, on the other hand, is sleeping when Reuben fornicates with her, allowing for her unknowing and unwilling participation in the fornication (*T. Reu.* 3.13–5).³⁹ In

36. Clear examples are fornication in the *Testament of Reuben*, fighting in the *Testament of Judah*, and lying in the *Testament of Dan*.

37. Several authors have pointed to this discrepancy. Hollander and De Jonge claim that 'the sins mentioned in this list are not all those which are most prominent in the Testaments'; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 94. Kugler maintains 'although some of the "spirits" mentioned in 3.3–8 resemble interests expressed throughout the Testaments [...] the correspondences are incomplete'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 42. Macky, discussing the expected introductory nature of the list, states 'but such is not the case. Four of the seven are never mentioned again'; Macky, "Importance," p. 203.

38. For a more extensive discussion of the spirit of sleep, consider the discussion of this spirit in the section on the names of the spirits, on page 149 below.

39. For a more extensive treatment of these verses consider the discussion beginning on page 153 below.

the *Testament of Reuben* and the other testaments, sleep is linked to sin in both a positive and negative manner, alternately preventing and encouraging sin.⁴⁰

In summation, following the two respective expositions of the spirits of God and of the opponent, the *Testament of Reuben* contains the following concluding admonition:

καὶ οὕτως ἀπόλλυται πᾶς νεώτερος, σκοτίζων τὸν νοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ μὴ συν-
ιών ἐν τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, μήτε ὑπακούων νοουθεσίας πατέρων αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ κἀγὼ
ἔπαθον ἐν τῷ νεωτερισμῷ μου.

And in this way every young man perishes, plunging his mind into darkness away from the truth, neither understanding the law of God nor taking note of his fathers' warnings (as, indeed, happened to me in my youth). *T. Reu.* 3.8

Reuben counsels his sons of the dangers every young man faces. By plunging his mind into darkness, away from the truth, such a man can perish (*T. Reu.* 3.8). This statement appears to go back to the brief admonishing remark at the end of the first list (*T. Reu.* 2.9). A young man with a darkened mind does not understand the law of God, and does not obey the warnings of his fathers. Both of these shortcomings appear to be equated with each other.⁴¹ Here Reuben once again emphasises how youth played a role in his sin.

In conclusion, each person is influenced by two kinds of spirit. First are those given to mankind by God, which mainly consist of mankind's nature and senses. There are also spirits that the opponent has set against mankind. These taint God's creation, in that they abuse the first set of spirits to lead mankind away from the Lord.⁴² Mankind must be aware of the opponent and his spirits, and take precautions to avoid their influence. In other words, each person has received spirits from

40. Consider *T. Jud.* 18.4, where Judah explains that one can be kept from sleep due to sin, and *T. Iss.* 3.5, where Issachar's need for sleep keeps him from fornication. See also the discussion of *T. Sim.* 4.7–5.1 on page 141 below, where the influence of the spirit of envy on sleep is discussed.

41. So also Kugler: 'note the equation of truth, law and the instruction of the fathers'; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 42. Consider the discussion on the relationship between a testament and the commandments of the Lord, in the previous chapter.

42. Kirchhoff claims 'daß jede gute Anlage pervertiert wird, wenn sie unwissend oder unachtsam gebraucht wird'; Kirchhoff, "Männliche Machtausübung," p. 477. This shows how the first set of spirits can be abused by the spirits of deceit.

God, and each person can choose in which manner he wishes to use them. The forces of darkness will do everything in their power to use an individual's natural spirits against him, and using these spirits for evil will lead a person away from the Lord, towards destruction.

The following sections will examine these forces of darkness, and consider exactly what influence they have over mankind. Firstly, the role the opponent himself, as well as his influence on mankind, will be examined. Secondly, we will discuss the spirits of deceit and the role they play in each person's struggle between good and evil.

(II) THE OPPONENT AND HIS INFLUENCE

Throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, reference is made to a supernatural struggle between two opposing forces. Mankind stands between the forces of good and evil—in fact, the battle takes place within each person.⁴³ On the one side we have God and on the other side the opponent.

In this section we will concentrate on the leader of the forces of darkness. This figure, most commonly referred to as “Beliar” (Βελιάρ), is named 29 times in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,⁴⁴ and can be found in all testaments except for the *Testament of Gad*. He is alternately referred to as “Satan” (Σατανᾶς),⁴⁵ the “devil” (ὁ διάβολος),⁴⁶ the “enemy” (ὁ ἐχθρός),⁴⁷ and the “prince of deceit” (ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης).⁴⁸ A final possible designation for the opponent occurs in *T. Ash.* 7.3, where

43. So also Ulrichsen, who claims that ‘der Kampf zwischen dem Guten und dem Bösen im Inneren des Menschen gekämpft wird’; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 276. He then goes on to claim that the spirits are simply inclinations inside of a person, and thus psychological forces. As will become very clear in this section, this is hardly the case. Macky correctly sees the spirits as ‘non-human powers [...] that transcend man and his impulses and his sins’; Macky, “Importance,” p. 216.

44. De Jonge et al., *Critical Edition*, p. 214.

45. Σατανᾶς and cognates occur five times, in *T. Dan* 3.6, 5.6.6.1, *T. Gad* 4.7, and *T. Ash.* 6.4.

46. Ὁ διάβολος and cognates occur four times, each time clearly referring to the opponent. The occurrences are in *T. Naph.* 3.1, 8.4, 6 and *T. Ash.* 3.2.

47. Ὁ ἐχθρός and cognates occur nine times, but only the references in *T. Dan* 6.2, 3, 4 refer to the opponent. See also Macky, “Importance,” p. 176.

48. Ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης is found in two places: *T. Sim.* 2.7 and *T. Jud.* 19.4.

God in the form of a man is said to break the head of the dragon (δράκων) with water. This is probably a reference to Psalm 74.3, which has been altered to imply the defeat of the opponent through baptism.⁴⁹

According to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, most of the opponent's power over humans is indirect, i.e. through his spirits. In a few passages, however, the opponent is mentioned directly. His most prominent power is that he rules over those who go against the commandments of the Lord. The *Testament of Dan* 4.7 discusses this direct influence of the opponent:

ἔστι δὲ διπρόσωπον κακὸν θυμὸς μετὰ ψεύδους, καὶ συναίρονται ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ταραξῶσι τὸ διαβούλιον· ταρασσομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεχῶς, ἀφίσταται κύριος ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ κυριεύει αὐτῆς ὁ Βελιάρ.

4.7. Anger with lying is a two-headed evil. They incite one another to agitate the mind. When the mind is continually agitated, the Lord retreats from it and Beliar rules over it.

T. Dan 4.7

Here we see that when a person's mind becomes stirred up by anger, the Lord departs.⁵⁰ The mind then becomes the dominion of the opponent. The mind is thus a place that can either be inhabited by the opponent or by God—if the Lord leaves the mind, the opponent has free reign there.⁵¹ The *Testament of Asher* 1.8 treats this topic more subtly, but arrives at the same outcome:

ἐὰν δὲ ἐν πονηρῷ κλίνη τὸ διαβούλιον πᾶσα πράξις αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ, καὶ ἀπωθούμενος τὸ ἀγαθὸν προσλαμβάνει τὸ κακὸν καὶ κυριευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Βελιάρ, κἂν ἀγαθὸν πράξη, ἐν πονηρίᾳ αὐτὸ μεταστρέφει.

But if the disposition leans towards evil, all of the person's deeds are evil. Rejecting good, he partakes of evil. Being ruled by Beliar, he turns even the good deeds to evil.

T. Ash. 1.8

-
49. The change from ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος in the LXX to δι' ὕδατος would appear to suggest baptism. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 360. The change from τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων to τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ δράκοντος identifies “the dragon” as the opponent. The association of the opponent with the dragon is well-attested in Christian writings. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 360.
50. For an extensive discussion of the influence of the spirit of anger, and especially of this passage, consider page 143 above.
51. Cf. Matt 12.43–4, Luke 12.24–5. Once a demon leaves a person, he will search for somewhere else to live. If he returns to the previously possessed person and finds that person “empty,” he will move in with seven other, more evil, demons.

If a person's mind gives in to the impulse for wickedness, the person becomes evil and falls under the opponent's control (*T. Ash.* 1.8). Everything a person does after that is wicked. The *Testament of Naphtali* 8.6 presents a similar understanding:

τὸν δὲ μὴ ποιῶντα τὸ καλόν, καταράσσονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἀδοξήσει ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι δι' αὐτοῦ, καὶ διάβολος οἰκειοῦται αὐτὸν ὡς ἴδιον σκεῦος, καὶ πᾶν θηρίον κατακυριεύσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ κύριος μισήσει αὐτόν.

8.6. Consider a person who does not do good. People and angels will curse him. Through him God will be in ill-repute amongst the Gentiles. The devil will claim him as his own vessel. Every animal will master him. The Lord will hate him.

T. Naph. 8.6

If a person does not do what is good, then alongside other repercussions, the devil will use that person as his own instrument (*T. Naph.* 8.6). The *Testament of Reuben* 4.11 formulates this idea in the exact inverse of the previous texts:

ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ κατισχύσῃ ἡ πορνεία τὴν ἔννοιαν, οὐδὲ Βελιάρ κατισχύσει ὑμῶν.

If fornication does not overwhelm your mind, Beliar cannot overwhelm you.

T. Reu. 4.11

Here it is stated that if fornication (a spirit that will be discussed in more detail below)⁵² does not overcome you, then neither will the opponent (*T. Reu.* 4.11).⁵³ Clearly, the logic with regard to the opponent ruling over a person works both ways. If a person does what is evil, then the opponent rules that person; if a person does not do what is evil, then the opponent cannot rule over that person.

The choices a person makes have consequences in the meta-narrative of the great controversy. An individual's choices are not made in a vacuum, but have very real and dangerous repercussions. As one makes more evil choices, the opponent gains increasing control, ultimately leading to destruction. On the other hand, as one makes more good decisions, the opponent has progressively less mastery, which

52. See page 131 below.

53. Much less clear, but still worth consideration, is *T. Iss.* 6.1. Here the children are foretold that their sons will forsake the commandments of the Lord and cleave to the opponent. While it is not explicit that the one implies the other, some causal relationship is clearly evident, especially considering the texts above, which do explicitly portray the one resulting in the other.

can ultimately lead to salvation. Building on this envisioned power of the opponent are the eschatological events in the *Testament of Zebulun* 9.8 and the *Testament of Dan* 5.11:⁵⁴

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνατέλει ὑμῖν αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, φῶς δικαιοσύνης, καὶ ἴασις καὶ εὐσπλαγχνία ἐπὶ ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς λυτρώσεται πᾶσαν αἰχμαλωσίαν υἰῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ Βελιάρ, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα πλάνης πατηθήσεται· καὶ ἐπιστρέψει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη εἰς παραζήλωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅψεσθε θεὸν ἐν σχήματι ἀνθρώπου <ἐν ναῶ>, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξηται κύριος, Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

Then the Lord himself shall arise for you, the light of righteousness with healing and compassion on his wings. He will redeem every person from Beliar's captivity, and he will tread on every spirit of deceit. He will convert all the Gentiles, making them zealous for him. You will see God in human form, <in the temple> that the Lord will choose. Jerusalem is its name. *T. Zeb. 9.8*

καὶ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν λάβη ἀπὸ τοῦ Βελιάρ, ψυχὰς ἀγίων, καὶ ἐπιστρέψει καρδίας ἀπειθεῖς πρὸς κύριον, καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτὸν εἰρήνην αἰώνιον.

He will set free the prisoners (i.e. souls of the saints) from Beliar. He will turn the hearts of the disobedient to the Lord. He will give eternal peace to those who call upon him.

T. Dan 5.11

According to the *Testament of Zebulun* 9.8, the Lord will arise and ransom mankind from their captivity to the opponent. The same happens in the *Testament of Dan* 5.11, which explains that the souls of the saints will be set free from their captivity. Apparently, mankind are prisoners to the prince of darkness in some way or another. The most obvious conclusion, then, would be that he at least has some control over this world and its inhabitants.

From the discussion above it becomes clear that the opponent's most prominent power is that he rules over those who go against the commandments of God, and that remaining near to the Lord and keeping the commandments conversely leads to the opponent's departure. In the *Testament of Dan* 5.11 we see the emergence of precisely this idea. Similarly, the *Testament of Naphtali* 8.4 explains to the children that if they do what is good, the devil will flee from them. In both cases the first

54. For a more extensive discussion of *T. Zeb.* 9.8, consider the discussion on page 77 above.

implication is that keeping near to the Lord leads to the opponent's flight. These passages could lead to the conclusion that there is no real battlefield where God and his opponent war: mankind has a choice, and only one of both leaders is present at any one time.⁵⁵ This conclusion is too simplistic, because clearly each person is under the influence of both sides continuously. The individual, as the location of the struggle between good and evil, has to make choices between the two sides. At a certain point the one side will have the upper hand, and then the person will be ruled by that side. But even if one side appears to be victorious, change is possible. Continually avoiding wicked deeds and keeping the commandments of the Lord ensures that God regains or maintains control. On the other hand giving in to sinful thoughts and behaviour, will allow the opponent to be in control of a person.

Besides this primary power of the opponent, two passages discuss other powers that he has over man. The first is the *Testament of Judah* 19.3–4, which reads:

19.3. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου, ὁ οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων, συνέγνω ὅτι ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ ἐποίησα. 4. ἐτύφλωσε γάρ με ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης, καὶ ἠγνόησα ὡς ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ὡς σάρξ, ἐν ἁμαρτίαις φθαρεῖς· καὶ ἐπέγνω τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν, νομίζων ἀκαταμάχητος εἶναι.

19.3. But the God of my fathers, who is compassionate and merciful, knew that I acted in ignorance. 4. The prince of deceit had blinded me. As a man of flesh and blood, corrupted by sins I was ignorant. Thus I discovered my weakness, no longer considering myself invulnerable.

T. Jud. 19.3–4

Here the passage discusses how Judah repented for his sins. He has learnt that as a creature of flesh, he was corruptible. The opponent can use his own nature against him.⁵⁶ God pardoned him because his deeds were done in ignorance. The opponent had blinded him.⁵⁷ Here the opponent is clearly directly responsible for Judah's

55. Macky discusses this same 'simple theory', concluding that it cannot be the whole truth; Macky, "Importance," p. 186.

56. This power of the opponent is evident from the double list of spirits in *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.8 as discussed on page 115 above. See also the conclusions made on page 148 about the power of the opponent.

57. The blinding power of the opponent is a popular theme in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but is always connected to his spirits. This is the only passage where the opponent himself is responsible. For the blinding power of the spirits of deceit consider *T. Sim.* 2.7, *T. Dan* 2.4, *T. Gad* 3.3, and the section below on blinding, commencing on page 167.

metaphorical blindness.⁵⁸ Another power of the opponent is found in the *Testament of Benjamin* 7.1–5, which reads as follows:

7.1. Διὰ τοῦτο, τέκνα μου, φεύγετε τὴν κακίαν τοῦ Βελιάρ, ὅτι μάχαιραν δίδωσι τοῖς πειθομένοις αὐτῇ. 2. ἡ δὲ μάχαιρα ἑπτὰ κακῶν μήτηρ ἐστί. Πρῶτον συλλαμβάνει ἡ διάνοια διὰ τοῦ Βελιάρ· ἔστι δὲ πρῶτον ὁ φθόνος· δεῦτερον ἀπώλεια· τρίτον θλίψις· τέταρτον αἰχμαλωσία· πέμπτον ἔνδεια· ἕκτον ταραχή· ἑβδομον ἐρήμωσις.

7.1. My children, avoid the wickedness of Beliar. He gives a sword to those who obey him. 2. The sword is the mother of seven evils. First it captures the mind through Beliar. The first evil is envy, the second depravity, the third oppression, the fourth captivity, the fifth poverty, the sixth upheaval, the seventh desolation. *T. Ben.* 7.1–2

This passage calls the children to be wary of the opponent. If they were to trust him, they would receive a sword. This sword is the mother of seven evils. The seven evils are seven vengeance: envy, destruction, oppression, exile, famine, tumult and desolation. Apparently, trusting the opponent leads to terrible things. It appears that the opponent does not so much bring about the seven vengeance, but that these are the consequences of following him, which leads a person towards destruction.

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* examples of the opponent's direct power are not common. Clearly, the opponent rules over those who go against the commandments of the Lord. To find the opponent's most prominent method of influence, we must look at the role of the spirits of deceit that he set against mankind.

(III) THE SPIRITS OF DECEIT AND THEIR INFLUENCE

The opponent attempts to lead a person astray, both directly and through the spirits of deceit. In this section we will examine the nature and influence of the opponent's spirits. The spirits are referred to by multiple epithets, often consisting of a descriptive word combined with "spirit," e.g. "evil spirit."⁵⁹ Each label carries

58. For a discussion of blindness and its interpretation as metaphor in the *Testament of Judah*, consider Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, pp. 161, 166–167.

59. Regarding the usage of singular and plural in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* when referring to the spirits of deceit, we can note that the usage is very intuitive. Three usages are apparent: (1) when referring to a specific spirit, e.g. fornication, the singular is used (e.g. the spirit of hatred in *T. Gad*

slightly different nuances: an evil spirit is evil, while a deceiving spirit deceives. Each label thus refers to different types or aspects of the spirits. The names are by no means synonymous, these different names highlight different ways of understanding the nature and influences of the spirits.

The three most common labels for the spirits are “evil spirits” (πνεύματα πονηρά), “spirits of deceit” (πνεύματα τῆς πλάνης), and “spirits of Beliar” (πνεύματα τοῦ Βελιάρ).⁶⁰ Other labels, such as “demon” (δαίμων),⁶¹ occur less frequently, as does the simple designation “spirit.”

When considering the nature of the spirits, a label that we commonly see for them is a reference to their master: Beliar. This way of referring to the spirits occurs eight times.⁶² Analogous to this label is the designation in the *Testament of Dan* 6.1, which refers to Satan and his spirits. “Satan” is synonymous with “Beliar” in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, therefore Beliar’s spirits must be synonymous with Satan’s spirits. This label for the spirits is fairly obvious, yet shows one of the characteristics of the spirits. The spirits are extensions of Beliar’s power and influence—they execute Beliar’s will.⁶³

Another label that occurs frequently is “evil spirits,” which appears nine times in total.⁶⁴ This designation is rather obvious. The primary features of the spirits are

6.7, or spirit of anger in *T. Dan* 2.4. In this category we also count the usage of a singular to refer to a single—but further undefined—spirit of Beliar, such as in *T. Jos.* 7.4 and *T. Ben.* 3.4); (2) words such as “every,” and “any” lead to the usage of a singular, implying that the spirits are plural (consider *T. Iss.* 7.7 and *T. Zeb.* 9.8); (3) all spirits are referred to together, which is generally done with a plural (E.g. *T. Zeb.* 9.7, *T. Dan* 5.5). There is no deviation from the first two usages, but with regards to the third a singular is occasionally used to refer to all the spirits of deceit, though there are clearly many spirits (e.g. *T. Reu.* 3.2, *T. Jud.* 14.8,25.3).

60. This is immediately clear upon reading the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Both Hollander and De Jonge and Macky outline the same three labels, Macky, “Importance,” 200–202; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 50.

61. Found only in *T. Jud.* 23.1, in this case combined with πλάνη.

62. The spirits are referred to as “spirits of Beliar” in *T. Levi* 3.3, *T. Jud.* 25.3, *T. Iss.* 7.7, *T. Dan* 1.7, *T. Jos.* 7.2, *T. Ben.* 3.3, 4, 6.1.

63. So also Macky, “Importance,” p. 202.

64. We see “evil spirit,” in singular or plural, in *T. Sim.* 3.5,4,9,6.6, *T. Levi* 5.6,18.12, *T. Jud.* 16.1, *T. Ash.* 1.9,6.5.

their inherent evilness, and their ability to produce evil in mankind.⁶⁵ The spirits of deceit are never referred to in morally ambiguous terms. As discussed, in the *Testament of Reuben* 2.1–3.8 we learn that the eight evil spirits are the opponent’s corruption of God’s eight spirits, given to mankind at creation. God’s eight spirits can be abused by the prince of darkness. They are good, but can lead to evil, for example the spirit of sight might lead to desire (*T. Reu.* 2.4). In contrast, the opponent’s counter-spirits are inherently evil. Consider, for example, insatiate desire (*T. Reu.* 3.3).

Of all the labels for the spirits, “spirits of deceit”⁶⁶ occurs most frequently—fourteen times in nine testaments.⁶⁷ This label recalls the opponent’s appellation as prince of deceit. The deceptive quality of the spirits is already visible in the first discussion of them in the *Testament of Reuben* 2.1–3.8. Here the spirits are shown as mingling with God’s creation, leading to the darkening of a person’s mind. This is clearly a deception that leads mankind astray, away from God and towards darkness.⁶⁸ In the *Testament of Judah* 20.1 the spirit of deceit appears opposite the spirit of truth, and this dichotomy enforces the spirit’s identity as deceiver. We also see the deceptive quality of the spirits clearly in the *Testament of Zebulun* 9.7, where the children are told that at the end of time God will not hold mankind accountable for their evil because they were deceived (ἀπατάω) in all their actions by the spirits. Finally, in the *Testament of Dan* 2.4 the influence of the spirit is elucidated

65. So also Macky, “Importance,” p. 201.

66. In translating πλάνη there are two options: “deceit” (Kee, “Translation and Introduction”; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*) and “error” (M. de Jonge, “Testaments (Sparks)”). Deceit implies agency on the part of the spirit, while error does not hold that same connotation. Therefore, the translation depends on one’s understanding of the role of the spirits: are they deceivers, or do they simply represent error? The cognate verb, πλανάω, means “to lead astray.” This leans the argument towards the understanding that the spirits actively lead mankind astray. They deceive mankind in order that they will transgress into error. For example, in *T. Zeb.* 9.7 we see that the spirits deceive (ἀπατάω) mankind—they are deceivers, not the embodiments of error. For this reason “deceit” has been chosen as the preferred translation in this study.

67. The occurrences in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are *T. Reu.* 2.1,3.2, *T. Sim.* 3.1,6.6, *T. Levi* 3.3, *T. Jud.* 14.8,20.1,25.3, *T. Iss.* 4.4, *T. Zeb.* 9.7,8, *T. Dan* 5.5, *T. Naph.* 3.3, *T. Ash.* 6.2.

68. In many writings mankind are led astray by the evil spirits. In *Jubilees* the spirits are wicked and evil, existing to lead mankind astray (*Jub.* 10.8). Notably, they are never called spirits of deceit in *Jubilees*. In *1 Enoch* the spirits lead mankind towards sacrifice to demons (*1 En.* 15.11, 19.1).

when Dan explains that the spirit covers a person with nets of deceit, blinds his eyes, darkens his mind, and gives a person the spirit's own vision. The spirit of deceit thus deceives a person in such a way that he no longer sees things as they are, but rather how the spirit wishes him to see them. In these examples, the deceptive power of the spirits is very clearly present.

In addition to these three common epithets—spirits of Beliar, evil spirits, and spirits of deceit—the spirits are often joined to a specific vice. Clearly these names indicate the dangers of the spirits, inasmuch as they lead mankind to go against God's law. The vice-related spirits we encounter are fornication (πορνεία, *T. Reu.* 5.3, *T. Levi* 9.9, *T. Jud.* 13.3, 14.2, *T. Dan* 5.6), jealousy (ζήλος, *T. Reu.* 3.5, *T. Jud.* 13.3, *T. Dan* 1.6), anger (θυμός, *T. Dan* 1.8, 2.1, 4, 3.6), hatred (μῖσος, *T. Gad* 1.9, 3.1, 4.7, 6.2), envy (φθόνος, *T. Sim.* 3.1, 4.7), lying (ψεῦδος, *T. Reu.* 3.5, *T. Dan* 2.1), arrogance (ὑπερηφάνεια, *T. Reu.* 3.5, *T. Dan* 5.6), insatiate desire (ἀπληστία, *T. Reu.* 3.3), battle (μάχη, *T. Reu.* 3.4), obsequiousness (ἀρέσκεια, *T. Reu.* 3.4), trickery (μαγγανεία, *T. Reu.* 3.4), unrighteousness (ἀδικία, *T. Reu.* 3.6), lust (ἐπιθυμία, *T. Jud.* 16.1), consuming passion (πύρωσις, *T. Jud.* 16.1), profligacy (ἄσωτία, *T. Jud.* 16.1), and money-grubbing (αἰσχροκέρδεια, *T. Jud.* 16.1). This list should not necessarily be understood as listing the different types of spirits, but rather as showing the influences of the spirits. The admonishment focusses on these vices in its discussion of the commandments of the Lord, and attributes them to specific spirits. Besides the general deceptive power of the spirits, their most evident power concerns these vices. This power will become most evident from a discussion of several of the most common spirits, that is the spirit of fornication, the spirits of envy and jealousy, and the spirits of anger and hatred, as well as how these spirits gain control over mankind.

The Spirit of Fornication

The spirit of fornication is the most common vice-related spirit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁶⁹ It occurs in four testaments, and this spirit represents

69. Consider Menn's discussion of (the spirit of) fornication, where she shows that fornication is both present in testaments where 'one might expect warnings concerning fornication,' but also 'in other

the most emphasised vice in the entire work.⁷⁰ The spirit of fornication was briefly discussed above, using a passage in the *Testament of Reuben*.⁷¹ A useful pericope with which to begin a further examination of this spirit is the *Testament of Levi* 9.9–10. In a section where the author retells what Levi’s grandfather Isaac told him, the *Testament of Levi* reads:

9.9. καὶ ἔλεγεν· Πρόσεχε, τέκνον, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς πορνείας· τοῦτο γὰρ ἐνδελε-
χιεῖ, καὶ μέλλει διὰ τοῦ σπέρματός σου μιαίνειν τὰ ἅγια. 10. λάβε οὖν σεαυτῷ γυναῖκα,
ἔτι νέος ὢν, μὴ ἔχουσιν μῶμον μηδὲ βεβηλωμένην μηδὲ ἀπὸ γένους ἀλλοφύλων ἢ
ἐθνῶν.

9.9. Beware of the spirit of fornication, my son,’ he said, ‘for it will be constantly present and it is destined to pollute the sanctuary through your descendants. 10. So, while you are still young, take a wife, one that is faultless, undefiled, and not a foreigner nor a Gentile.’

T. Levi 9.9–10

Isaac warned Levi against the spirit of fornication, because through it Levi’s descendants will pollute the sanctuary (*T. Levi* 9.9). For this reason, Levi should find himself a wife while he is still young—not just any wife, but a wife without fault, undefiled, and not foreign or a Gentile (*T. Levi* 9.10). While one would expect to see most of the things Isaac teaches Levi in this passage (e.g. sacrificial laws, bathing rituals), the presence of a discussion of the spirit of fornication is unusual. Although Isaac might know that fornication would play a role in the future sins of the priests (cf. *T. Levi* 14.6, 17.11), it is by no means the single reason for the pollution of the sanctuary. One must then wonder as to the real reason for the inclusion of fornication in this discussion.⁷² The most logical explanation for why the author places

testaments without such narratives’; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, pp. 168–9. Clearly, the spirit of fornication is very important within the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

70. Rosen-Zvi goes so far as to say ‘it is evident that *porneia* does not appear simply as a specific vice (such as jealousy or hatred)’ Instead of fornication being a specific vice, he concludes that it ‘serves as the basic characteristic of the ultimate ethical ideal’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 87. This claim overemphasises the role of fornication. As will be discussed in a later section, it is the good mind that plays the role that Rosen-Zvi attributes to fornication. Nevertheless, the role of the spirit of fornication is quite pronounced.

71. See page 125.

72. Spilly sees the explicit role that fornication plays here, ‘in the midst of this discussion, however, *T. Levi* 9.9–10 introduces warnings against fornication (which will thereby pollute the holy place) and inter-

emphasis on fornication is based on the role of the spirit of fornication in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a whole. Fornication's pre-eminent position is evidenced here in that fornication is included in even the most specific instructions that Levi receives regarding priesthood.

Through this pericope we can also better understand the conceptualisation of fornication in the world-view evidenced in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the *Testament of Levi* marriage is clearly useful in safeguarding against fornication.⁷³ This is quite logical, as marrying young allows a permissible release for a person's natural urges.⁷⁴ In Levi's case, the spirit of fornication will be less able to use his natural desires in order to lead him into unrighteousness.⁷⁵ From this admonishment we can see that in this world-view, the spirit of fornication causes a man to sin by using a part of his nature against him.⁷⁶

The spirit of fornication can even use marriage to lead a person to sin. The *Testament of Levi* 9.10 maintains that Levi should marry an Israelite wife. Marriage outside of the Israelite nation is not accepted, as the other nations are evil.⁷⁷ In the

marriage with foreigners. By now the reader should be accustomed to these interruptions in the flow of the discussion. Through them the author signals something important to him'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 150. Spilly, however, attributes the importance of fornication here solely to the role it will play in the future sins of the priests (*T. Levi* 14.5–6, 17.11), without any acknowledgement of the preeminent position of fornication in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

73. So also Menn: 'marriage is an antidote for fornication'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 173.
74. So also Macky who claims that 'presumably this means that sexual desires will be kept under control by the outlet provided in marriage'; Macky, "Importance," p. 205.
75. Cf. *T. Reu.* 3.3, 'the first, the spirit of fornication, is seated in the nature and the senses.' Macky understands the spirit's influence in the same manner: 'the spirit did not create the desire. Rather, it hides behind and within a natural desire, heating it up, increasing its power, deceiving a man into thinking that he is acting naturally, when in fact he is ruled by Beliar's spirit'; Macky, "Importance," p. 205.
76. Ulrichsen's argument differs. He sees the spirit of fornication as a psychological force. Discussing this command to marry young, he claims that 'das ließe sich aber kaum mit einer dämonologischen Erklärung vereinbaren'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 226. This is hardly the case, as the spirit is utilising mankind's natural desires, and then this is the only logical explanation why finding a righteous outlet for those desires is a protection against the spirit of fornication.
77. Menn claims that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* maintain that 'the Canaanites are an evil people, not that exogamy in itself is wrong'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 147. This statement is too simple. Admittedly in the narrative the Canaanites are clearly evil, and the narrative makes no mention

Testament of Judah 13.3 we see that the spirit of fornication leads Judah to lust after and marry the Canaanite Bathshua. The *Testament of Judah* 13 calls the audience to pay attention to Judah and obey the commandments of the Lord (*T. Jud.* 13.1). The children should not follow natural desires, neither should they boast of the feats of their youth (*T. Jud.* 13.2). This sentence seems to contradict the previous twelve chapters that consisted largely of Judah's boasting of the feats of his youth, but one must bear in mind that Judah was not actually boasting, but was merely demonstrating the Lord's blessing.⁷⁸ The *Testament of Judah* 13.3 reads as follows:

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κἀγὼ καυχησάμενος ὅτι ἐν πολέμοις οὐκ ἠπάτησέ με πρόσωπον γυναικὸς εὐμόρφου, ὠνειδίζον Ῥουβὴμ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου περὶ Βάλλας γυναικὸς πατρός μου, τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς πορνείας παρετάξατο ἐν ἐμοί, ἕως συνέπεσα εἰς Βησσουὲ τὴν Χαναanaίαν καὶ εἰς Θάμαρ τὴν νυμφευθεῖσαν τοῖς υἱοῖς μου.

Since I boasted that when at war not a single beautiful female face deceived me, I reprimanded my brother Reuben on account of Bilhah, my father's wife. Then the spirit of jealousy and fornication raged inside me until I had intercourse with Bathshua, the Canaanite, and Tamar, the wife of my sons. *T. Jud.* 13.3

There seems to be some realisation of the irony of his boasting. Judah admits that he himself boasted about how, when at war, no women's face beguiled him, and he censured Reuben on account of Bilhah.⁷⁹ Yet although he was safe from fornication in war, later the spirit of pride and the spirit of fornication tempted him, leading to his fornication with Bathshua, a foreigner, and Tamar, his daughter-in-law (*T. Jud.* 13.3).⁸⁰ Here the influence of the spirit of fornication is clear: through its decep-

of exogamy. But generally, marriage outside of Israel would be considered wrong. Consider also that apparently Joseph's marriage to an Egyptian needs to be justified. This explains why it is attributed as a divine reward (*T. Ben.* 18.3).

78. So also Loader, who notes that Judah calling his children not to boast 'must call into question the first seven chapters of his testament'; Loader, *Sexuality*, p. 403.

79. See the discussion of Reuben's misstep with Bilhah on page 153 below.

80. These two sins are exactly those he boasted of. During his wars he had no intercourse with foreign women, and he reprimands Reuben for fornicating with a member of the family. Menn also notes this, claiming that the spirit of fornication causes 'him to commit the very sins to which he considered himself immune, namely to have sexual relations with a Canaanite woman and with a relative'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 158.

tion Judah married Bathshua and fornicated with Tamar.⁸¹ The spirit of pride, as evidenced in Judah's boasting and censuring of Reuben, opens a door for the more dangerous spirit of fornication. As is very clear from the rest of the narrative, the spirit of fornication utilised mankind's natural urges and weaknesses to bring Judah to fornication, sin and thus unrighteousness.⁸²

This passage from the *Testament of Judah* is also part of a larger theme. In the first twelve chapters Judah fought many wars and was victorious regardless the odds. On the other hand, he struggled twice with the spirit of fornication, and lost both times. Thus, in the biographical section a dichotomy is created between a warrior on the one side, undefeated on the physical battlefields, and a king on the other, twice-defeated on the moral battlefield.⁸³ The biographical section thus shows that the dangers lie not on the battlefield, but rather in moral judgement.⁸⁴ The ultimate test of a man is not in physical war, but in his participation in the war between good and evil.⁸⁵ Physical opponents, no matter how seasoned or highly-ranked they are, are easily defeated, but the spirits of deceit are a far more formidable enemy. The true

81. The *Testament of Judah* portrays the women as seductresses, also reminding the reader of Bilhah's passive seduction of Reuben. Cf. Rosen-Zvi who claims that 'the verse casts all three female characters in the same role as temptress, for all, as we will see, are but different representations of the same "spirit of *porneia*" that ensnares man'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 81.

82. Ulrichsen sees this differently. He correctly claims that 'die persönliche Verantwortung kommt in diesen Stellen wie gewöhnlich zum Ausdruck. Wer der Hurerei zum Opfer fällt, kann nur sich selbst dafür tadeln'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 226. This does not indicate that the spirit is an internal force, however, nor does it imply that the spirit does not deceive a person so that he fornicates. Generally, a person's choices are his own, whatever the deception of the spirits, as is the responsibility for his deeds. But there is also evidence that the opponent can be blamed for his missteps. Consider Judah, who specifically blames the opponent for his fornication, and is subsequently forgiven by the Lord (*T. Jud.* 19.3-4).

83. So also Menn, who maintains that 'the story [...] is divided and reshaped into two parallel narratives illustrating the seduction and defeat of a successful warrior-king'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 163.

84. Similarly, Rosen-Zvi claims that 'the true war is thus located not on an external battlefield but rather within man's soul'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 81. The inclusion of the reference to a man's soul seems somewhat out of place, and/or anachronistic. It would be better to state that the battle is within a person, with a key role assigned to the mind.

85. Consider the visible and invisible wars of *T. Reu.* 6.12.

battle that each person faces is in the choices that he makes—the choices that take place in the great controversy between God and his opponent.

From these examples it is apparent that the spirit of fornication utilises mankind's natural sexual desires. The spirit stirs up a person's mind, and thus leads one into sin. Despite clear knowledge that the acts are sinful, a person under the influence of the spirit of fornication will be driven to commit those acts. Each person must thus battle his true opponents that is the forces of darkness. These are more difficult to defeat, but this struggle is of vital importance.

The Spirits of Envy and Jealousy

The *Testament of Simeon* bears the subtitle “about envy,” and much of the testament focusses on Simeon's envy (φθόνος) and jealousy (ζήλος) of Joseph. The *Testament of Simeon* is also the first place where the spirit of envy⁸⁶ is mentioned.⁸⁷ A factor that might be perceived as complicating is Simeon's references to “jealousy,” which has a meaning similar to “envy.” “Jealousy” occurs less frequently than “envy,”⁸⁸ but it does occur first.⁸⁹ One could make a case for differentiating between envy and jealousy in this testament.⁹⁰ Indeed, ζήλος is sporadically used in the positive sense (“zeal”) elsewhere in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.⁹¹ A better solution, however, is simply to consider these two words as synonyms.⁹² Bearing in mind that

86. The noun φθόνος occurs eight times, the verb φθονέω five times.

87. It occurs only in passing in *T. Jud.* 13.3 and *T. Dan* 1.6.

88. The noun ζήλος occurs three times, the verb ζηλώω once.

89. *T. Sim.* 2.6 contains ζηλώω, *T. Sim.* 2.7 ζήλος. The first occurrence of φθόνος and cognates is in *T. Sim.* 2.13.

90. Kugler suggests that ‘one could solve the conundrum by reading *T. Sim.* 4.7 as the heading of a section dealing with φθόνος, and treating ζήλος in 4.9 as an expression of its subsidiary character to φθόνος.’ He immediately points out that this argument ‘is not an easy case to make’, and appears to abandon the idea; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 45.

91. See *T. Ash.* 4.5, where ζήλος is clearly used in a positive sense. *T. Reu.* 3.5, 6.4, 6.5, *T. Jud.* 13.3, *T. Iss.* 4.5, *T. Dan* 1.6, *T. Gad* 7.4, *T. Ben.* 4.4 all use ζήλος and cognates in a negative sense, to mean jealousy. In *T. Levi* 6.3 it is doubtful whether the word is used in a positive or negative sense: Levi is jealous/zealous because of the abomination wrought by Shechem and Hamor.

92. This is the conclusion that Kugler reaches claiming that ‘the testament simply uses the two terms synonymously’; Kugler, *Testaments*, p. 45. Hollander and De Jonge come to the same conclusion,

this is present in other testaments,⁹³ we will consider envy and jealousy to refer to the same basic emotion. The spirit of envy and the spirit of jealousy can be discussed together in this section because they are so closely related. The spirit of jealousy first appears when Simeon recalls his feelings towards Joseph:

2.6. καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐζήλωσα τὸν Ἰωσήφ, ὅτι ἠγάπα αὐτὸν ὁ πατήρ ἡμῶν· 7. καὶ ἐστήρισα ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὰ ἥπατά μου τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πλάνης, ἀποστείλας τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ζήλου, ἐτύφλωσέ μου τὸν νοῦν, μὴ προσέχειν αὐτῷ ὡς ἀδελφῷ, καὶ μὴ φείσασθαι Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρός μου. 8. ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, ἀποστείλας τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.

2.6. And at that time I was jealous of Joseph, because our father loved him. 7. And I determined to kill him, because the prince of error sent the spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I did not regard him as a brother, nor did I consider my father Jacob. 8. But his God and his fathers’ God sent his angel and rescued him from me.

T. Sim. 2.6–8

Simeon was jealous of Joseph because Jacob loved him. Simeon has determined to kill Joseph (*T. Sim.* 2.6),⁹⁴ an action associated with the opponent, who sent the spirit of jealousy. This spirit blinded Simeon’s mind, keeping him from seeing Joseph as a brother, and from caring about Jacob (*T. Sim.* 2.7).⁹⁵ This passage shows how Simeon’s emotions are associated with the struggle between God and his opponent. Simeon was deceived by the spirit towards emotions and intentions that were not righteous; in fact, he was blinded. The struggle becomes even more clear

claiming that ‘φθόνος is used together with ζήλος with little difference in meaning.’ They also point to *1 Clement*, where these two words are used together, Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 109–10. Ulrichsen agrees, claiming (quite succinctly) that the theme is ‘φθόνος = ζήλος = Neid’; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 79.

93. See *T. Gad* 7.2–4 and *T. Ben.* 4.4.

94. The *Testament of Simeon* associates Simeon’s determination to kill Joseph with his liver. Compare this with Zebulun whose liver was poured out towards Joseph in compassion (*T. Zeb.* 2.4).

95. Blinding of the mind is a common theme in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This appears to be one of the major functions of the spirits of deceit. Consider the *Testament of Dan* 2, which bears close similarities to this text, but also *T. Jud.* 11.1, 18.3, 18.6, 19.4, and *T. Gad* 3.3. In all of these cases the spirits of deceit, or the opponent himself, blind the person through certain emotions. This theme is present in other texts as well. See Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 113. The theme of blinding will be discussed in more detail later in this section, starting on page 167.

in the next sentence, where God is said to send an angel and deliver Joseph from Simeon's hands (*T. Sim.* 2.8). God thus intervenes to counteract the influences of the opponent.

From this pericope we see that the actions that follow from jealousy are Simeon's, yet the reason for his jealousy is attributed to the spirit of the opponent. The consequences are also situated within that struggle. Thus, Simeon is jealous of Joseph, but this emotion is immediately discussed in the world-view of the great controversy.

After this introduction to Simeon's jealousy of Joseph, the narrative of the sale of Joseph is given. Judah sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites (*T. Sim.* 2.9), which is interpreted as God's intervention in delivering Joseph from Simeon's hands. Reuben is portrayed in a positive light, as he wanted to save Joseph and grieves at his failure to do so (*T. Sim.* 2.10). Simeon, on the other hand, is angry with Judah, and he remains angry for five months (*T. Sim.* 2.11). The spirit of envy does not only destroy Simeon's relationship with Joseph, but also estranges him from his other brothers.⁹⁶ This emotion has consequences, which are radicalised by his accompanying feelings of anger:⁹⁷ God withers his hand for seven days (*T. Sim.* 2.12).⁹⁸ From this we can note, then, that the actions of Simeon are portrayed in a world-view in

-
96. So also Spilly: 'the author of the *Testaments* builds his case against the evil of envy/jealousy by showing the progressive deterioration of Simeon's relationships with his family,' concluding that after planning to kill Joseph, Simeon thereby became alienated from his brothers (especially Reuben and Judah); Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 81.
97. The fact that Simeon claims that the withering of his hand is because of Joseph (*T. Sim.* 2.13), and that what he wanted to do was out of *envy* (*T. Sim.* 2.14), argues that it was not anger, but envy that caused the withering of his hand.
98. Spilly notes that the *Testament of Simeon* 'attributes the withering to punishment for his intended sin against Joseph. Evidently the hand was considered the potential murder weapon'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 81. He also notes that in four testaments (*T. Reu.* 1.7–8, *T. Gad* 5.9–11, *T. Zeb.* 5.1–4, and *T. Sim.* 2.12) 'the principle: by what things a person sins, by the same is he punished' is developed, Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 81. This analysis seems correct, and is based on *T. Gad* 5.10, but the understanding is slightly different. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* associates certain vices, sins, and powers with certain organs (cf. *T. Naph.* 2.6–9, *T. Reu.* 2.3–4); naturally the punishment of a sin would occur in the source of the sin. Thus, as anger is caused by the liver, the punishment will be in the liver as well.

which God reacts to the deeds of man, in a manner similar to God's intervention on Joseph's behalf. Simeon realises that his withered hand is an intervention from God, due to Simeon's feelings towards Joseph:

2.13. καὶ ἔγνων, τέκνα, ὅτι περὶ Ἰωσήφ τοῦτό μοι συνέβη· καὶ μετανοήσας ἔκλαυσα, καὶ ἠὺξάμην κυρίῳ, ἵνα ἀποκατασταῶ, καὶ ἀπόσχωμαι ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ καὶ φθόνου καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ἀφροσύνης. 14. ἔγνων γάρ, ὅτι πονηρὸν πρᾶγμα ἐνεθυμήθην ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρός μου διὰ Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου φθονήσας αὐτῷ.

2.13. And I realized, children, that it was because of Joseph that this had happened to me; and I repented and wept, and I prayed to the Lord that I might be restored and keep myself from all pollution and envy and from all wrong-doing. 14. For I realized that what, in envy, I had planned to do to my brother Joseph was wrong in the Lord's sight and my father Jacob's.

T. Sim. 2.13–14

Once Simeon makes this realisation, he repents, weeps, and prays (*T. Sim. 2.13*). Simeon wishes to be restored, and vows to keep himself away from all defilement, jealousy, and senselessness (*T. Sim. 2.13*). Simeon emphasises his knowledge of the fact that he had devised an evil deed through jealousy (*T. Sim. 2.14*). This evil deed is referred to as evil before the Lord, showing that this relates to the Lord's commandments. This foreshadows the *Testament of Simeon's* move from biography and towards exhortation:

3.1. Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα, φυλάξασθε ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πλάνης καὶ τοῦ φθόνου. 2. καὶ γὰρ ὁ φθόνος κυριεύει πάσης τῆς διανοίας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσιν αὐτὸν οὔτε φαγεῖν οὔτε πιεῖν οὔτε ποιῆσαι τι ἀγαθόν· 3. πάντοτε ὑποβάλλει ἀνελεῖν τὸν φθονούμενον· καὶ ὁ μὲν φθονούμενος πάντοτε ἀνθεῖ, ὁ δὲ φθονῶν μαραίνεται. 4. δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου ἐκάκωσα ἐν νηστείᾳ τὴν ψυχὴν μου· καὶ ἔγνων ὅτι ἡ λύσις τοῦ φθόνου διὰ φόβου θεοῦ γίνεται. 5. ἐάν τις ἐπὶ κύριον καταφύγῃ, ἀποτρέχει τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ διάνοια κούφη· 6. καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονομένῳ, καὶ οὐ καταγινώσκει τῶν ἀγαπώντων αὐτόν, καὶ οὕτως παύεται τοῦ φθόνου.

3.1. And now, my children, beware of the spirits of error and envy. 2. For envy dominates a man's whole mind and lets him neither eat nor drink nor do anything that is good. 3. It is continually suggesting to him that he should kill the man that is envied; yet the man that is envied continues to flourish, while the man that envies wastes away. 4. For two whole years I humbled myself with fasting in the fear of the Lord; and I

realized that deliverance from envy comes from the fear of God. 5. If a man flees to the Lord for shelter, the evil spirit runs away from him, and the load on his mind is lightened. 6. And from then on he feels sympathy for the man that is envied and shows no prejudice against those who love him; and so he is envious no more.

T. Sim. 3.1–6

Simeon's children are warned about the spirits of deceit and of envy (*T. Sim.* 3.1). The spirit of envy, which is the particular spirit that troubled Simeon, is specifically mentioned together with the general epithet "spirit of deceit." A discussion of the nature of the spirit of envy follows. This spirit rules a person's mind, and controls his life (*T. Sim.* 3.2). It makes one want to kill the person whom he envies, especially when he sees the object of his envy flourishing while he fades away (*T. Sim.* 3.3).

After Simeon experienced these envious, murderous desires he humbled himself for two years by fasting in fear of the Lord. Through this experience he learnt that fear of God frees one from the spirit of envy (*T. Sim.* 3.4). Mankind, embedded within the battle between good and evil, can counter the destructive influences of the opponent by remaining close to the Lord. Fear of the Lord, that is keeping the commandments of the Lord, frees one from the spirits of deceit. If a man flees to the Lord, the spirit flees away from him, and his mind becomes light (*T. Sim.* 3.5). The spirit here is clearly the spirit of jealousy, and indeed of deceit. The lightening of the mind is the opposite of blindness, which Simeon expounded on earlier (*T. Sim.* 2.7).⁹⁹

In the presence of the Lord, the effects of the spirit of deceit are countered. Clearly, the spirit of envy is more than just an internal passion. The spirits form a very real enemy that lead mankind to destruction,¹⁰⁰ but once an envious person has given himself over to fear of the Lord, he sympathises with whomever is envied and ceases to be jealous. The *Testament of Simeon* thus gives Simeon's children a solution to the dangers of the spirit of envy. They should flee to the Lord, where they are safe from the influences of the spirit of deceit.

99. Consider also the statement that envy rules over the mind of men (*T. Sim.* 3.2).

100. So also Spilly, '*T. Sim.* 3.5 is one of the clearer statements in the *Testaments* that the evil spirit is more than personified passion'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 84. See also Macky, "Importance," pp. 201–21.

Following this admonishment, the *Testament of Simeon* then contains another biographical passage, culminating in a discussion of Joseph as the good example (*T. Sim.* 4.1–6). If one follows Joseph's example of being compassionate rather than jealous he will protect himself against the opponent. This statement is emphasised and applied as follows:

4.7. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, τέκνα μου ἀγαπητά, ἀγαπήσατε ἕκαστος τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγαθῇ καρδίᾳ, καὶ ἀποστήσατε ἀφ' ὑμῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ φθόνου· 8. ὅτι ἀγριοῖ τοῦτο τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ φθείρει τὸ σῶμα, ὀργὴν καὶ πόλεμον παρέχει τῷ διαβούλιῳ, καὶ εἰς αἵματα παροξύνει, καὶ εἰς ἔκστασιν ἄγει τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔξ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐνεργεῖν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὕπνον ἀφαιρεῖ, καὶ κλόνον παρέχει τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τρόμον τῷ σώματι· 9. ὅτι καίγε ἐν ὕπνῳ τις ζῆλος κακίας αὐτὸν φαντάζων κατεσθίει καὶ ἐν πνεύμασι πονηροῖς διαταράσσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκθροεῖσθαι τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ, καὶ ἐν ταραχῇ διυπνίζεσθαι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ ὡς πνεῦμα πονηρὸν καὶ ἰοβόλον ἔχων, οὕτως φαίνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 5.1. Διὰ τοῦτο Ἰωσήφ ἦν ὡραῖος τῷ εἶδει καὶ καλὸς τῇ ὄψει, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνοίκησεν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδὲν πονηρόν· ἐκ γὰρ ταραχῆς τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ πρόσωπον δηλοῖ.

4.7. So too each one of you, my beloved children, must love his brother with a good heart, and you must rid yourselves of the spirit of envy. 8. For this makes the mind savage and destroys the body: it causes anger and conflict in the mind, and acts as a spur to deeds of blood: it impairs a man's natural powers of thought and paralyses his intelligence: moreover it deprives him of sleep, causing confusion in his mind and trembling in his body. 9. And even if he gets some sleep, some vicious passion deludes him and devours him, and with evil spirits disturbs his mind, stirs up his body, and ensures that he wakes up with his mind in turmoil; and he appears in consequence to other men as someone possessed of an evil and poisonous spirit. 5.1. The reason why Joseph was handsome and good-looking was that no wickedness had found a home with him; for the face is an index of the turmoil in the spirit. *T. Sim.* 4.7–5.1

Joseph's role as the good example becomes clear through the admonishment that Simeon's children should love their brothers and rid themselves of the spirit of envy (*T. Sim.* 4.7). Previously, the method of defeating the spirit of envy was fear of the Lord (*T. Sim.* 3.5), but now loving one's neighbour is listed as well. Clearly,

the commandments of the Lord are vital in a person's defence against the forces of darkness.¹⁰¹

Another admonition made in this pericope is that the sons should stay away from the spirit of envy, as it does seven things to a man, his mind, and his soul (*T. Sim.* 4.8). The spirit (1) makes the mind savage, (2) destroys the body, (3) gives anger and conflict to the mind, (4) stirs one up to deeds of blood, (5) leads the mind into frenzy, (6) cripples the intelligence, and (7) takes away sleep, giving tumult to the mind, and trembling to the body (*T. Sim.* 4.8). This list sets out to elucidate the influence that the spirit of jealousy has on a person. The spirit of jealousy's effects were also discussed earlier in the *Testament of Simeon* 3.2–3. These effects differ in some respects from those found in the *Testament of Simeon* 4.8, but clearly show the apparent power of the spirit of jealousy on the mind, body, and soul. The danger of envy is not the damage that can be done to the object of envy, as seen in the *Testament of Simeon* 2.7, but rather the damage done to the subject of that envy. The person who envies, and is consumed by the spirit of envy, is disorientated, disturbed, and open to destruction.¹⁰²

The discourse continues with a final point, discussing the exact influence of the spirit of jealousy on sleep (*T. Sim.* 4.8–5.1). A man who is troubled by evil spirits is troubled even in his sleep. Thus he is deprived of sleep, and he appears as though he has an evil and poisonous spirit (*T. Sim.* 4.9). Hence, the spirit influences a person's appearance by haunting his sleep. Proof of this statement is given through the counter-example of Joseph. He was comely and beautiful because no wickedness dwelt in him, allowing him inner rest. A person's face reflects the troubles of his spirit (*T. Sim.* 5.1).

101. Spilly hints at this understanding: 'throughout the paraenesis, the author is concerned with the development of one's relation to God and one's relation to his brother'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 87.

102. Macky sees this same danger: 'envy naturally harms its object, but that is not the chief objection to it. Simeon is much more concerned about the subjective effects of it, the disorientation and disintegration of the one who envies'; Macky, "Importance," p. 206.

The spirit of envy and jealousy therefore has the power to influence a person's entire being. This power goes far beyond any natural desire.¹⁰³ The spirit is clearly not a psychological force, but an external power.¹⁰⁴ Abusing natural desires, this spirit inflames a person, leading him wholly away from the Lord. Clearly, the spirit of envy and jealousy influences a person in a awful manner, leading him to destruction.

The Spirits of Anger and Hatred

The nature and workings of the spirit of anger (found only in the *Testament of Dan*) are very similar to those of the spirit of hatred. In the previous chapter, the spirit of hatred (found only in the *Testament of Gad*) was discussed extensively.¹⁰⁵ Consequently, that discussion will not be repeated here. This section will discuss the spirit of anger in the *Testament of Dan* in detail, and in the conclusion the findings on the spirit of anger will be linked to findings on the spirit of hatred from the previous chapter.

The *Testament of Dan* begins with that patriarch confessing his feelings to his children, and thus recalling the narrative of his envy of Joseph. It reads:

1.4. ὁμολογῶ σήμερον ὑμῖν, τέκνα μου, ὅτι ἐν καρδίᾳ μου ἡδόμην περὶ τοῦ θανάτου Ἰωσήφ, ἀνδρὸς ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, 5. καὶ ἔχαιρον ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει Ἰωσήφ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἡγάπα. 6. τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ ζήλου καὶ τῆς ἀλαζονείας ἔλεγε μοι· καί γε σὺ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ. 7. καὶ ἐν τῶν πνευμάτων τοῦ βελίαρ συνήργει μοι λέγων· λαβὲ τὸ ξίφος τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνελε τὸν Ἰωσήφ καὶ ἀγαπήσει σε ὁ πατὴρ σου ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ. 8. τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ πείθόν με, ἵνα ὡς πάρδαλις ἐκμυζᾷ ἔριφον οὕτως

103. Both Macky and Spilly consider the turmoil in a person under control of the spirit of envy far greater than he himself could create. The spirit is very powerful in influencing a person; Macky, "Importance," p. 206; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 87.

104. Spilly and Macky share this opinion, Macky, "Importance," p. 206; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 87. Ulrichsen does not, explaining 'daß er [Belial] den Geist der Eifersucht sendet, ist ein bildlicher und dramatischer Ausdruck dafür, daß er uns zu Eifersucht reizt. Der Geist der Eifersucht ist also ganz unpersönlich'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 226. Besides the argument raised by Spilly and Macky that according to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the torment of the spirit goes far beyond a natural desire, one must wonder why something that is figurative and dramatic must also imply that it is not true.

105. See page 85 above.

ἐκμυζήσω τὸν Ἰωσήφ. 9. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐνέβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖράς μου, ἵνα εὕρω αὐτὸν μόνον οὐδὲ ἔασε με τὸ ἀνόμημα τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἵνα λυθῶσι δύο σκῆπτρα ἐν Ἰσραήλ.

1.4. I confess to you today, my children, that I was myself delighted when it was suggested that we should kill Joseph, although a true and good man. 5. And I was overjoyed when Joseph was sold, because his father loved him more than us. 6. For the spirit of jealousy and self-esteem said to me, You are his son as well. 7. And one of the spirits of Beliar egged me on saying, Take this sword and kill Joseph with it, and your father will love you when he is dead. 8. (This spirit that tried to persuade me to thirst for Joseph's blood, like a leopard for a kid's, is the spirit of anger.) 9. But the God of our father Jacob would not let him fall into my hands, and he prevented me from ever finding him alone to do that wicked deed and thus destroy two tribes in Israel.

T. Dan 1.4–9

In this passage we read that Dan was thrilled to hear that the brothers were considering selling Joseph, and he was even more delighted when Joseph was actually sold (*T. Dan 1.4–5*). The spirit of jealousy had already begun to deceive him. The spirit reminded Dan that Dan himself was Jacob's son as well, and should be loved equally (*T. Dan 1.5–6*). The spirit of anger, following closely in the footsteps of the spirit of jealousy, then convinced Dan to attempt murdering Joseph (*T. Dan 1.7–8*). The Lord prevented this from occurring by never allowing Joseph to be alone with Dan (*T. Dan 1.9*).

It is clear that the spirit of anger causes Dan to have murderous thoughts about Joseph. After the spirit of jealousy leads Dan to be jealous of Joseph, the second spirit eggs him on. The spirit of anger lets Dan think that murdering Joseph will open the way to Jacob's love. These temptations go so far that Dan actually thirsts for Joseph's blood, causing him to compare himself to a wild animal. Clearly, the spirit of anger leads Dan into a fit of extreme jealous rage. Dan then proceeds to explain how the spirit of anger can cause these reactions in people:

2.1. Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα μου, ἐγὼ ἀποθνήσκω καὶ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ διαφυλάξητε ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ψεύδους καὶ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ ἀγαπήσητε τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν μακροθυμίαν, ἀπολείσθε. 2. τύφλωσις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ θυμῷ, τέκνα μου, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τις ὁρῶν πρόσωπον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ. 3. ὅτι κἂν πατὴρ κἂν μήτηρ ἐστὶν

ὥς πολεμίοις προσέχει αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν ἢ ἀδελφός οὐκ οἶδεν, ἐὰν προφήτης κυρίου παρακούει, ἐὰν δίκαιος οὐ βλέπει, φίλον οὐ γνωρίζει. 4. περιβάλλει γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ δίκτυα τῆς πλάνης, καὶ τυφλοῖ τοὺς φυσικοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦ ψεύδους σκοτοῖ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ὄρασιν παρέχει αὐτῷ. 5. ἐν τίνι δὲ περιβάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ; ἐν μίσει καρδίας, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ καρδίαν ἰδίαν, κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, εἰς φθόνον.

2.1. And now, my children, I am dying, and I assure you that unless you keep yourselves from the spirit of falsehood and anger, and love truth and patience, you will perish. 2. Anger blinds a man, my children, and the angry man can see no one as he truly is. 3. For though it is his own father or mother, he treats them as enemies: though it is his brother, he does not recognize him: though a prophet of the Lord, he disobeys him: though a righteous man, he takes no notice of him: though a friend, he does not acknowledge him. 4. For the spirit of anger wraps the nets of error round him and blinds his natural eyes: through falsehood it darkens his mind and gives him its own distorted vision. 5. And what does it blind his eyes with? With a bitter hatred; and it makes him like itself, so that he is envious of his brother. *T. Dan 2.1–5*

As this passage says, it is important that the children avoid the spirit of falsehood and anger, or else they will perish (*T. Dan 2.1*). The danger of anger is that it blinds a person so that he can no longer see things correctly (*T. Dan 2.2*). He will treat people whom he would usually consider to be friendly as enemies (*T. Dan 2.3*). The spirit of anger achieves all this with nets of deceit. These nets, empowered by falsehood, blind a person and cause the person to see all things in the same manner as does the spirit of anger (*T. Dan 2.4*). The spirit of anger causes the person under its control to become like itself; this person becomes wholly consumed by anger (*T. Dan 2.5*)

As we see in this passage, the spirit of anger leads a person into a blind rage. Utilising falsehood and mankind's natural desires, it sets out to deceive a person. Rather than seeing things as they are, the spirit of anger causes an angry person to see things solely as the spirit wants him to see them.¹⁰⁶ Thus the spirit uses

106. Cf. Macky who claims that 'the effect of the spirit of anger is to use hatred to inhibit all thoughts and intentions of a contrary nature'; Macky, "Importance," p. 207.

mankind's nature—mankind's sight—against him.¹⁰⁷ Deceived into seeing matters incorrectly, the person no longer treats people as he would normally, but follows the way of the spirit of anger. This power is severe, as is explained in the *Testament of Dan* 3.1–5:

3.1. πονηρὸς ὁ θυμός, τέκνα μου, καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτὸς γίνεται ψυχή, 2. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἰδιοποιεῖται τοῦ θυμώδους τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς κατακυριεύει, καὶ παρέχει τῷ σώματι δύναμιν ἰδίαν ἵνα ποιήσῃ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν. 3. καὶ ὅταν πράξῃ ἡ ψυχή δικαιοῖ τὸ πραχθέν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ βλέπει. 4. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θυμούμενος, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ δυνατός, τριπλὴν ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τῷ θυμῷ, μίαν μὲν διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς βοηθείας τῶν ὑπουργούντων, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τοῦ πλούτου παραπείθων καὶ νικῶν ἐν ἀδίκῳ, τρίτην τὴν φυσικὴν ἔχων τοῦ σώματος καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ δρῶν τὸ κακόν. 5. ἐὰν δὲ ἀσθενὴς ᾖ ὁ θυμούμενος, διπλὴν ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν παρὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως, βοηθεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ θυμὸς πάντοτε ἐν παρανομίᾳ.

3.1. Anger is evil, my children, for it becomes as it were a mind to the mind itself. 2. And it makes the body of the angry man its own, and gains the mastery over his mind, and motivates the body to commit iniquity of every kind. 3. And when it does it, the mind justifies what is done, because it does not see. 4. Consequently, the man who is angry, if he is a man of influence, has a threefold power in his anger: first, through the power and the help of his servants; secondly, through his wealth, which enables him to exert pressure and win the verdict, although he is in the wrong; and thirdly, because he has the natural power of his own body and himself does the evil. 5. And

107. Ulrichsen sees the spirit of anger as a psychological force. He points to the “mythological” wording of some passages, concluding ‘die Sprache ist mythologisch gefärbt. Die Bedeutung ist aber deutlich entmythologisiert’; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 227. According to Ulrichsen, the “mythological” wording of the *Testament of Dan* with regards to the spirit should be understood in a non-mythological way. His argument seems to be that the usage of natural and psychological terms (inclination, soul, mind, heart) found predominantly in the *Testament of Dan* 4, shows that the spirit is not an external but rather an internal force. It would seem more logical that the spirits of deceit utilise mankind's nature, which includes his mind, inclination, soul, and sight, so that they might deceive mankind more effectively. Macky summarises the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs'* view of spirits well, saying ‘the spirits were understood as non-human powers that are the manifestations of a world of spiritual evil that transcends man and his impulses and sins. The only appearance of this world of spiritual evil is in man's passions and actions. Man's natural capacities and impulses are the means by which the spirits invade him, but the excess of unintended passions and actions in man's life is explained as due to something beyond himself that he is not able to control’; Macky, “Importance,” p. 216.

even if the man who is angry is a weakling, he nevertheless has twice the power that was given him by nature; for anger always helps transgressors. *T. Dan 3.1–5*

Not only does the spirit of anger influence the sight of an angry person, it also affects the mind (*T. Dan 3.1*). The spirit of anger consumes a person's body, gains dominion over a person's mind, and can thus force the body to do whatever it wishes (*T. Dan 3.2*). The person, thus blinded by the spirit of anger, justifies his evil deeds to himself (*T. Dan 3.3*). Another characteristic of the spirit of anger's influence is that an angry person will gain power through his anger, doubling or even tripling his power. If the angry man is a man of influence, he will single-mindedly use all his resources to achieve his goal and the anger fuels his body to perform great feats of strength, effectively tripling his power (*T. Dan 3.4*). Even if he is naturally weak, the driving force of anger will make him twice as strong (*T. Sim. 3.5*). In other words, the spirit of anger does not simply blind a person, but consumes him entirely. Gaining control over the person, the spirit justifies the iniquities that the person commits, and empowers him with great strength.¹⁰⁸ Not only is the angry person blinded to the people around him, he no longer can distinguish between good and evil. The spirit further provokes a person by creating disorder and havoc in a person's mind (*T. Dan 4.1–2*). This provocation, fuelled by lies and falsehoods, culminates as follows:

ἔστι δὲ διπρόσωπον κακὸν θυμὸς μετὰ ψεύδους, καὶ συναίρονται ἀλλήλοις, ἵνα ταραξωσι τὸ διαβούλιον· ταρασσομένης δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς συνεχῶς, ἀφίσταται κύριος ἀπ' αὐτῆς καὶ κυριεύει αὐτῆς ὁ Βελιάρ.

4.7. Anger with lying is a two-headed evil. They incite one another to agitate the mind. When the mind is continually agitated, the Lord retreats from it and Beliar rules over it. *T. Dan 4.7*

In this passage, which is summarily discussed above,¹⁰⁹ the mind is presented as so agitated, and the soul so distressed by the spirits of anger and lying, that the

108. Macky also considers the metaphor of the soul to refer to the location of control over the body: 'the power of anger to control man's decision-making leads the author to the metaphor that anger is the "soul," which means the controlling power'; Macky, "Importance," p. 207.

109. See page 124.

Lord departs (*T. Dan* 4.7). The spirit of anger and the spirit of lies complement one another, removing all vestiges of peace from the mind. This compels the Lord to leave, allowing the opponent free rein (*T. Dan* 4.7). The frenzy caused by the spirit of anger is so all-encompassing that it goes beyond any natural state. This spirit, using mankind's desires, sight, and mind, brings about a situation in which there is no room for the Lord.¹¹⁰

In conclusion, the spirit of anger and the spirit of hatred agitate a person's inner self. These spirits abuse mankind's nature, firstly by blinding him, and secondly by empowering him with great strength. These two spirits bring a person into a frame of mind in which it becomes imperative to do the spirit's will. In this state the person no longer sees the will of the spirit as an evil deed. Fully blinded and deceived, the person commits all manner of iniquity.

As we look back to the discussion of the spirit of fornication, the spirits of jealousy and envy, and the spirits of anger and hatred, it is apparent that the vice-related spirits deceive mankind, leading them into destruction. The choices that mankind makes are distorted by these vice-related spirits. The spirit enflames that particular vice in a person, so that the person is no longer capable of making the correct decisions. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* exhibit the extremes to which vices can lead, thereby identifying the dangers of even the barest trace of a vice.¹¹¹ The spirits use and abuse mankind's nature to lead them to sin.¹¹²

Non Vice-Related Spirits

In addition to the general epithets used for the spirits and the spirits named after specific vices, we see four other labels for the spirits. Firstly we see "the spirit of

110. See also the discussion of the rest of the *Testament of Dan*, beginning on page 97

111. Spilly claims 'the *Testaments* do not deny a basic justification for their [the brothers'] attitudes towards Joseph, but they do condemn the brothers because they go to such extremes, flamed by the spirit of deceit'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 80. While it does appear that the brothers' attitudes are understandable, that does not entail that they are justifiable. The emotions and vices are not without reason, yet they are clearly evil and wrong.

112. Macky shares this understanding of the mechanics of the spirits' deception, claiming that 'man's physical nature provides the opening for the evil spirits to come in and take over'; Macky, "Importance," p. 204.

sleep” (ὑπνος, *T. Reu.* 3.1,3.7). Additionally there are “poisonous” (ιοβόλος, *T. Ash.* 1.9, *T. Sim.* 4.9),¹¹³ “air-like” (ἀέριος, *T. Ben.* 3.4), and “unclean” spirits (ἀκάθαρτος, *T. Ben.* 5.2).¹¹⁴ These names for the spirits show their *modus operandi*, and what their nature is. They are especially powerful while a person is sleeping, they poison a person’s actions and his appearance, they are air-like, and they are unclean, the opposite of holy.

The spirit of sleep appears both in the list of spirits given to mankind at creation by God, and in the list of the spirits of deceit—in other words, this spirit appears to belong to both God and the opponent.¹¹⁵ God’s spirit of sleep created the trance of nature and the image of death (*T. Reu.* 3.1). The opponent’s spirit then mingled with this spirit to create deceit and fantasy (*T. Reu.* 3.7). As we examine this spirit it seems that the author wished to introduce sleep into the *Testament of Reuben*. Sleep plays a large role in Reuben’s biography and sin. As sleep is a part of human nature and can be both good and evil, the author seems to have appended sleep to the description of mankind’s nature in the *Testament of Reuben* 2–3. As this pericope discusses the spirits that are part of mankind, sleep is described as a spirit in order to fit with the rest.

In the *Testament of Reuben*, sleep plays an important role in the biographical section regarding Reuben and Bilhah, whereas fantasy plays a significant role in a later section discussing the watchers. In the biography, Reuben sees Bilhah naked and from then on he cannot sleep. When he fornicates with her, she is asleep because of her drunkenness. Sleep, therefore, is twice associated with fornication, albeit in different ways. Later in the *Testament of Reuben*, the women who lust after the watchers do not physically fornicate with them, but fantasise about them while

113. *T. Ash.* 1.9 speaks of the poison of the evil spirit. While not a descriptive adjective like the others, it does reflect that particular understanding of the spirits.

114. There are other labels associated with spirits. In *T. Levi* 4.1 there are unseen or invisible spirits that waste away at the end of times. These spirits could be associated with evil, but this is not made explicit in this passage. In *T. Levi* 3.2 reference is made to the spirits of retribution, but these are God’s spirits, and are therefore not applicable to this discussion.

115. See also the discussion of the two lists of spirits on page 115 above, and especially the discussion of the eighth spirit of sleep on page 121.

having sex with their husbands—thus resulting in the birth of the giants. Therefore, both fantasy and sleep are very strongly linked to fornication, the particular vice in the *Testament of Reuben*.¹¹⁶ The spirits are especially powerful during sleep, as an individual has no way of repelling them.¹¹⁷ During sleep the mind is not in control, and it can therefore not choose to stand up to the spirits of the opponent.

There are two verses that discuss the second label, “poison:” the *Testament of Asher* 1.9 and the *Testament of Simeon* 4.9. These two verses both provide explanations of what the poison of the forces of darkness does to a man; in the *Testament of Asher* 1.9 his actions are poisoned, and in the *Testament of Simeon* 4.9 his appearance is poisoned. In the *Testament of Simeon* 4.9 a spirit is explicitly called poisonous, whereas the *Testament of Asher* 1.9 refers to the poison of an evil spirit.¹¹⁸

The *Testament of Asher* 1.9 talks of the perverting influence which the poison of the forces of darkness has on the actions of people. There are two ways: good and evil. The outcome of an action, and not the intention of that action, defines if the action is good or evil. A sin followed by repentance is good, whereas someone ruled by the opponent will start something good only to see it perverted to evil. The *Testament of Asher* 1.9, then, understands the spirit to poison someone’s deeds. The poison infects a person’s actions and turns that person towards evil.

While the disturbing influence of the spirit is clearly focussed on a person’s mind, and therefore his actions, the effects of this influence are also visible in a person’s physical appearance. This becomes clear in the *Testament of Simeon*, where a person is disturbed by jealousy. Evil spirits agitate his mind, unsettle his body, and awaken his mind to confusion. He is deluded and devoured by jealousy. This causes

116. We see in other testaments that sleep is discussed in diverse contexts. In *T. Iss.* 3.5, sleep is part of Issachar’s simple life, whereas in *T. Jud.* 18.4 the children are warned that fornication and the love of money rob people of their sleep. These passages show a similar understanding of the influence of the forces of darkness on sleep.

117. Consider, in this context, the power of the spirit of envy according to *T. Dan* 4.7–5.1. In that passage, as discussed on page 141, it becomes clear that the spirit of envy can deprive a person of sleep.

118. Spilly explains that ‘the spirit of jealousy poisons a person’s whole life. The author of the *Testaments*, skilful in describing the causes and consequences of various kinds of human behaviour, seems to have been a careful observer of human life’; Spilly, “Redactional Approach,” p. 87.

him to have the appearance of one with a poisonous spirit. This is contrasted with Joseph's beauty, attributable to his lack of wickedness.

In the *Testament of Benjamin* 3.4, reference to a third label is made. This is the spirit of the air, a spirit of Beliar. No further reference is made, and nothing is added to explain this attribution. One could imagine that this label emphasises the ethereal nature of the spirits. They are not visible, because they are made of air. This interpretation is supported by the *Testament of Levi* 4.1, where the spirits are called invisible (ἀόρατος). Furthermore, the label "air" also emphasises the location of the spirits of deceit. They occupy the space that humankind also inhabits, and live in the air all around us.¹¹⁹ The spirits of the opponent are very dangerous, they are all around a person and he cannot see them.

Another fourth and final epithet, "unclean" (ἀκάθαρτος), occurs in the *Testament of Benjamin* 5.2, where the effects of a good mind are discussed. If the children have a good mind, as Joseph had, then they will be the recipients of all manner of benefits. One of these benefits is two-fold: the unclean spirits (τὰ ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα) will flee from them, and the beasts will fear them. In other documents, the label "unclean" frequently refers to demonic possession.¹²⁰ In the *Testament of Benjamin*, however, the context points into another direction, for in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* demonic possession is never explicitly stated, or even implied.¹²¹ The understanding that "unclean" refers to demonic possession cannot be correct. Ritual purity is never a topic of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,¹²² and the only other uses of "unclean" refer to clean and unclean animals in

119. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 419.

120. To name a few, Matt 10.1, 12.43, Mark 1.23, 3.11, 3.30, Luke 4.33, 6.18, 8.29, and Rev 16.13, 18.2.

121. Twelftree argues that exorcism does occur in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but with a 'relatively low profile'; Twelftree, "Exorcism," p. 187. He sees references to exorcism, and thus demonic possession, in *T. Levi* 18.11–12 and in *T. Jos.* 7.4. In *T. Levi* 18.11–12 the opponent is "bound," which falls within the syntactic field of exorcism and possession, but hardly makes for a very strong case. In *T. Jos.* 7.4 a spirit troubles (ἐνοχλέω) the Egyptian woman, and the clearest affliction she has are suicide threats towards Joseph. These appear to be simply another attempt to persuade Joseph to have intercourse with her, especially considering the other ploys she utilises. The spirit, then, most likely troubles her with regards to fornication, which is not so much demonic possession as the tempting and destructive influences of the spirits of deceit.

122. Cf. Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 43.

an exhortatory example.¹²³ Instead, the reference would appear to be nothing more than a generic use of “unclean,” in the sense of filthy, detestable and dirty.

In summary, whatever their labels, the spirits of deceit are dangerous to mankind. Their designations show the dangers with which they are associated: deceit, evil, and vices. These should be understood as characteristics of the forces of darkness. The spirits of each particular vice lead a person towards that vice. They utilise mankind’s nature, senses and desires in order to lead a person to sin. Their power is in the deception of a person, leading such a person to commit evil deeds despite his knowledge that they are evil. In this way the spirits poison the intentions of a person, leading this person to evil.

CONCLUSION

In this section we discussed the interaction between mankind and the forces of evil. These forces are commanded by the opponent, Beliar. His influence on mankind is mainly through the spirits of deceit. The spirits of deceit were set against mankind by the opponent, and are linked to mankind’s nature. They use a person’s nature against him so that he will fall into sin. The spirits are especially visible in the vices they embody. These spirits, using the natural desires of each person, agitate his mind and soul to such and extent that he commits a vice. The opponent then rules over that wicked person. This way of envisioning the forces of darkness and their influence is a vital part of the world-view of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. When looking for documents with a similar world-view, we will select works that portray the opponent and his spirits in a similar way.

Now that we have seen the choices available to mankind and the supernatural influences on his choices, in the following section we will examine more closely the process through which mankind makes choices. Specifically, the role that the mind plays, and the influence that the forces of darkness have over the mind will be discussed. Finally, the ultimate consequences of these choices will be elucidated.

123. See *T. Ash.* 2.9,4.5. Both texts use the example of unclean animals that appear clean yet in actuality are not, or vice-versa. This is equally true of people who do good for evil reasons. They appear good, yet in actuality are evil.

D EACH PERSON'S CHOICE AND THE BLINDING OF HIS MIND

Mankind's choices between the ways of good and evil play a large role in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The forces of darkness attempt to lead mankind astray, and abuse mankind's nature so that they will sin. Specifically, the spirits lead mankind towards vices, away from the commandments, and thus away from the Lord. Standing between the forces of God and those of the opponent, mankind must make the correct choices. In this section, we will examine the perception of the way mankind makes choices according to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In this understanding the mind is significantly involved, as it chooses between the two paths. This will be the first topic discussed. Secondly, this section will examine how the forces of darkness can cause mankind to make the wrong choices, primarily through the blinding of the mind. Finally, the ultimate consequences of the choices mankind makes will be examined.

(I) THE INDIVIDUAL'S CHOICE AND MIND

In the *Testament of Reuben*, a double list of eight spirits is discussed. As determined earlier, Reuben first claims that eight spirits were set against mankind by the opponent, and that these bring forth works of youth, which lead a person to destruction (*T. Reu.* 2.2, 3.3–7). Subsequently, Reuben maintains that eight other spirits were given to mankind at creation by God (*T. Reu.* 2.3–3.2). These eight spirits produce all the works of man. Thus there is a juxtaposition between the two sets of spirits. On the one hand there are eight from the opponent, fighting against man and causing the works of youth. On the other hand there are eight spirits from God, created for man and consisting of the works of man. Both sets of spirits are part of mankind's existence. Clearly Reuben finds himself in a battle with the opponent and his cohorts, supported by the Lord and the Lord's natural spirits. Mankind is perpetually on the border between these two powers, and is constantly being pulled towards one or the other.

In the exhortation (*T. Reu.* 3.9–6.12), the *Testament of Reuben's* argument moves from a discussion of the act of fornication to a discussion of the mind (ἐννοια), focussing on the role the mind plays in causing fornication. This pericope

can be divided into four parts. Firstly, Reuben discusses his sin with Bilhah (*T. Reu.* 3.9–15). Next the *Testament of Reuben* concentrates on the relationship between fornication and the mind (*T. Reu.* 4.1–11), which is extended in a section that shows how fornication begins in the mind itself (*T. Reu.* 5.1–7). Finally, the pericope is concluded with a passage regarding fornication in the future (*T. Reu.* 6.1–12). We will discuss these four parts in turn, in order to elucidate the role of the mind.

The pericope begins with Reuben's exhortation based on his sin with Bilhah, as follows:

3.9. καὶ νῦν, τέκνα, τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀγαπήσατε καὶ αὕτη φυλάξει ὑμᾶς. Διδάσκω ὑμᾶς, ἀκούσατε Ῥουβὴμ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν. 10. μὴ προσέχετε ἐν ὄψει γυναικός, μηδὲ ἰδιάζετε μετὰ θηλείας ὑπάνδρου, μηδὲ περιεργάζεσθε πράξιν γυναικῶν. 11. εἰ μὴ γὰρ εἶδον ἐγὼ Βάλλαν λουομένην ἐν σκεπινῷ τόπῳ, οὐκ ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν τὴν μεγάλην. 12. συλλαβοῦσα γὰρ ἡ διάνοιά μου τὴν γυναικεῖαν γύμνωσιν, οὐκ εἶσέ με ὑπνώσαι ἕως οὗ ἔπραξα τὸ βδέλυγμα. 13. ἀπόντος γὰρ Ἰακώβ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν πρὸς Ἰσαὰκ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ὄντων ἡμῶν ἐν Γαδέρ, πλησίον Ἐφραθὰ οἴκου Βηθλεέμ, Βάλλα ἦν μεθύουσα καὶ κοιμωμένη ἀκάλυφος κατέκειτο ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι. 14. κἀγὼ εἰσελθὼν καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν γύμνωσιν αὐτῆς, ἔπραξα τὴν ἀσέβειαν, καὶ καταλπὼν αὐτὴν κοιμωμένην, ἐξῆλθον. 15. καὶ εὐθέως ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκάλυψε τῷ πατρί μου Ἰακώβ περὶ τῆς ἀσεβείας μου· καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐπένθει ἐπ' ἐμοί, μηκέτι ἀψάμενος αὐτῆς.

3.9. And now, children, love the truth and it will keep you safe. This is my advice to you. Listen to your father Reuben. 10. Pay no attention to a woman's face, and never be alone with another man's wife, nor be too inquisitive about women's affairs. 11. For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a secluded place I would not have fallen into so great a sin. 12. For my mind was obsessed by the thought of her woman's nakedness and would not let me sleep until I had done the abominable thing. 13. For while our father Jacob was away on a visit to his father Isaac, when we were in Eder, near the house of Ephrath (that is Bethlehem), Bilhah had been drinking and she was lying asleep in her bedroom with nothing over her: 14. And I went in and saw her nakedness and did the wicked deed; and I left her still asleep and went away. 15. And immediately an angel of God told my father Jacob about my wickedness; and he came and mourned over me. And as for Bilhah, he had no further relations with her.

T. Reu. 3.9–15

Here Reuben exhorts his sons to love the truth, thereby linking this section to the previous, which included a threefold exhortation towards truth, the law, and the teachings of the fathers (*T. Reu.* 3.9). This is followed by a triple warning against

women (*T. Reu.* 3.10). Reuben justifies his warning with a discussion of a biographical episode regarding his misdeed with Bilhah. He saw Bilhah bathing in a secluded place, and her nudity caused him to desire her (*T. Reu.* 3.11–12).¹²⁴ His mind, obsessed by the thought of her nudity, would not allow him to sleep (*T. Reu.* 3.12). When Jacob was away, he went into her chamber, where she lay drunk and asleep, and fornicated with her (*T. Reu.* 3.13–14).¹²⁵ Bilhah remained asleep, but an angel of God revealed this deed to Jacob (*T. Reu.* 3.14–15).

Reuben portrays Bilhah in a way that suggests she did not actively participate in this sin.¹²⁶ While she is a temptress—Reuben is tempted to sin by her nudity—

124. This narrative about a man who sees a woman bathing, and thereafter desires her is a common motif. Consider the narrative of David and Bathsheba in 2 Sam 11.2–4, of Susanna and the two elders in Sus 7–21, and of Hermas and Rhode in *Herm.* 1.1–2. Hollander and De Jonge claim that ‘the literary motif is universal’; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 99.

125. Drunkenness is a topic that is discussed in more detail in the *Testament of Judah*. The link between fornication and drunkenness is especially strong. Both of Judah’s most sinful acts, his marriage to Bathshua and his fornication with Tamar, are associated with wine and drunkenness. *T. Jud.* 14.1 associates drunkenness with deception of the mind, inflammation of lustful desires, and leading one into error. *T. Jud.* 14.2 goes so far as to claim that the spirit of fornication uses wine as his instrument. Finally, wine leads a person to disrespect the commandments of the Lord (*T. Jud.* 14.6). Clearly, Bilhah’s drunkenness was already a morally ambiguous state. Rosen-Zvi interprets this as follows: ‘*T. Reuben’s* narration of this episode leaves room to see Bilhah’s nakedness and drunkenness as an open invitation to iniquity’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 70.

126. Authors are divided on the exact wording. Hollander and De Jonge summarise this episode with the words ‘Bilhah behaves modestly, Reuben does not’; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 99. Kugel analyses Bilhah’s role, claiming ‘it is apparently necessary here to have Bilhah drunk in order to make clear that she is not even conscious of the sin in which she is involved—not when it happens and not afterwards’; Kugel, “Reuben’s Sin,” p. 534. These three authors, then, claim that Bilhah is innocent and Reuben is to blame. This is a subtle position to maintain considering the exhortation in the *Testament of Reuben*, which makes women complicit in sexual sin. Bilhah is innocent of any wrongdoing, yet still dangerous due to her feminine nature. Kugel’s claim that the author goes out of his way to exonerate Bilhah from blame hardly agrees with statements such as ‘women are evil’ in *T. Reu.* 5.1. Rosen-Zvi takes issue with both of the quotes above. ‘Hollander and de Jonge thus give a wrong impression [...] In the same manner, it is hard to accept Kugel’s reading of Bilhah’s innocence.’ His explanation is that ‘Bilhah does not become a temptress because she is being deliberately incriminated or in order to lessen Reuben’s responsibility. [...] *T. Reuben’s* [...] narration transforms both Bilhah and Reuben, making them conform to their respective roles’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 74. Indeed, Bilhah’s role is explicated as follows: ‘drunk and naked, Bilhah becomes herself a temptress, even while

she can fulfil this role despite not playing an active part in the narrative.¹²⁷ Her nakedness, seemingly non-sinful and appropriate, mentioned four times in as many verses, plays a large role in the temptation.¹²⁸ This peculiarity should be noted, as further on in the testament it is expanded on. Women are dangerous, not only because of what they *do*, but because of what they *are*:

4.1. Μὴ οὖν προσέχετε κάλλος γυναικῶν μηδὲ ἐννοεῖσθε τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε ἐν ἀπλότητι καρδίας, ἐν φόβῳ κυρίου καὶ μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις, καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποιμνίοις ὑμῶν, ἕως οὗ ὁ κύριος δώῃ ὑμῖν σύζυγον ἣν αὐτὸς θέλει, ἵνα μὴ πάθῃτε ὡς ἐγώ. 2. ἀχρὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν οὐκ εἶχον παρρησίαν ἀτενίσαι εἰς πρόσωπον Ἰακώβ ἢ λαλήσαι τι τῶν ἀδελφῶν, διὰ τοὺς ὄνειδισμούς. 3. καὶ ἕως νῦν ἡ συνειδήσίς μου συνέχει με περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας μου. 4. καί γε παρεκάλεσέ με ὁ πατήρ μου, ὅτι ἠῤῥατο περὶ ἐμοῦ πρὸς κύριον ἵνα παρέλθῃ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου, καθὼς ἔδειξέ μοι κύριος. Ἀπὸ τότε μετανοῶν παρεφυλαξάμην, καὶ οὐχ ἥμαρτον. 5. διὰ τοῦτο, τέκνα μου, φυλάξασθε πάντα ὅσα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἁμαρτήσῃτε.

4.1 Pay no attention, therefore, to women's beauty, neither bother your minds about their affairs; but live in simplicity of heart and in the fear of the Lord, persevering in your labours and devoting yourselves to learning and the tending of your flocks, until the Lord gives you the wife he has chosen for you, so that you do not suffer as I did. 2. Until my father's death I had not the courage to look Jacob in the face, nor to speak to any of my brothers because of their reproaches. 3. And even now my conscience smites me because of my sin. 4. However, my father encouraged me, for he prayed to the Lord for me, that the Lord's anger might pass me by, even as the Lord showed me. And from then on I repented and I have been very careful and have not sinned. 5. So, my children, observe all the commands I give you and you will not sin.

T. Reu. 4.1–5

The biographical interlude is followed by this direct exhortation. Reuben reminds his sons to pay no heed to the beauty of women, which refers back to the previous chapter, and also tells them not to set their minds on the affairs of women (*T. Reu.*

sleeping'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 73. Bilhah's role as temptress has nothing to do with behaviour, but revolves around her nature, that is her role as a woman.

127. Menn claims that Bilhah 'plays no active role in seducing Reuben'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 171.

128. Rosen-Zvi claims, '*T. Reuben* focuses the narrative repeatedly on the fact of Bilhah's nakedness'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 71.

4.1). This second part of this exhortation is a foreshadowing of the overall theme of the *Testament of Reuben*: the mind.

Continuing with his exhortation, Reuben's sons are told to seek simplicity of heart, to fear the Lord, and to do good deeds, as well as studying and taking care of their flocks. They must do this until the Lord gives them a wife, so that they do not suffer like Reuben. His conscience did not allow him to look Jacob in the face, or to speak to his brothers (*T. Reu.* 4.1–2). Sin damages the honour of the sinner and humbles him and his relatives. Fortunately, Jacob prayed for him, and Reuben repented. Since then Reuben has been on his guard and has not sinned (*T. Reu.*

4.4). In the same way, Reuben's sons should refrain from sinning, instead keeping Reuben's commandments (*T. Reu.* 4.5).

After this exposition on his life, Reuben discusses the nature of fornication:

4.6. ὁλεθρος γὰρ ψυχῆς ἐστὶν ἡ πορνεία, χωρίζουσα θεοῦ καὶ προσεγγίζουσα τοῖς εἰδώλοις, ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶ πλανῶσα τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ καταγείνεα νεανίσκους εἰς ᾄδην οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν. 7. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς ἀπώλεσεν ἡ πορνεία· ὅτι κἂν ἢ τις γέρων, ἢ εὐγενής, ὄνειδος αὐτὸν ποιεῖ καὶ γέλωτα παρὰ τῷ Βελιάρ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων. 8. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐφύλαξεν ἑαυτὸν Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ πάσης γυναικός καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας ἐκαθαίρυσεν ἀπὸ πάσης πορνείας, εὗρε χάριν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἀνθρώπων. 9. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, καὶ μάγους παρεκάλεσε, καὶ φάρμακα αὐτῷ προσήνεγκεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὸ διαβούλιον τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν πονηράν. 10. διὰ τοῦτο ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων μου ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἀπὸ παντὸς ὁρατοῦ καὶ κεκρυμμένου θανάτου. 11. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ κατισχύσῃ ἡ πορνεία τὴν ἐννοιαν, οὐδὲ Βελιάρ κατισχύσει ὑμῶν.

4.6. Fornication is the ruination of the mind, separating one from God and leading to idolatry. It deceives the mind and the intellect, leading youth to Hades before their time. 7. Fornication has ruined many. Even if he is an old or well-born man, he is made disgraceful and laughable with both Beliar and his fellow man. 8. For when Joseph guarded himself from every woman, and cleansed his mind from all fornication, he found honour among the Lord and among men. 9. For the Egyptian woman did many things to him, even summoning magicians and bringing potions, but the inclination of his mind did not accept an evil desire. 10. For this reason, the God of my fathers rescued him from every visible and hidden death. 11. For if fornication does not overwhelm your mind, then Beliar cannot overwhelm you. *T. Reu.* 4.6–11

As this passage explains, fornication is an indirect destruction of the mind, separating the soul from God and leading to idolatry (*T. Reu.* 4.6).¹²⁹ Clearly, the spirit of fornication is very dangerous for mankind. The spirit of fornication leads a person further from God, putting him in danger. The meta-narrative of the controversy between God and his opponent colours the understanding of the dangers posed by the spirit of fornication. The choices that a person makes are vitally important within that struggle, and the spirit of fornication leads one to destruction by leading one to make the wrong choices. The spirit of fornication deceives the mind, and brings young men down to Hades. It has destroyed many people, even the old and noble, and made them into an object of reproach and laughter before the opponent and the sons of men (*T. Reu.* 4.6–7).

Reuben has now moved the discourse from a discussion of the act of fornication to a discussion of the mind. The spirit of fornication is dangerous because it deceives the mind and the understanding. It causes a person to enter into a struggle that he cannot win.¹³⁰ This admonition is reminiscent of the exhortation that immediately followed the listing of the spirits (*T. Reu.* 3.8). In the *Testament of Reuben* deceit and fantasy are the methods that the spirits use to lead a person astray. This is especially true of the eighth, the spirit of sleep. Deceit and fantasy cause the darkening of the mind to truth, and neglectfulness of the law.

To illustrate this, Reuben points to Joseph as a good example, following the theme started in the discussion of the mind. Not only did Joseph guard himself from every woman, he purged his thoughts from any fornication. In this he found favour with the Lord, and with men. The Egyptian woman, Potiphar's wife, even tried magic, but the disposition of Joseph's mind did not admit an evil desire. For this reason God delivered him from all visible and hidden death, that is from physical

129. See also the discussion of the last verse of this passage above, on page 125.

130. Rosen-Zvi points to the same fact, '*T. Reuben* presents Reuben as a figure struggling with inner desire and as one who cannot resist his inclinations'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 74. Considering the treatise on mankind's inclinations in the *Testament of Asher*, Reuben would have both good and evil inclinations (or more correctly a single inclination towards both good and evil). Reuben, then, cannot resist the inclination *towards evil*; more correctly, his mind cannot resist the temptations of the spirit of fornication.

and spiritual enemies (*T. Reu.* 4.8–10). Joseph is not praised for withstanding the temptations of the Egyptian woman, however. Instead, he is praised for the disposition of his mind, which did not allow for such a desire.¹³¹

The mind is of the utmost importance for mankind on the battlefield between good and evil.¹³² A person must use his mind to distinguish between good and evil and to choose between the two. A good disposition, like the one Joseph had, helps to protect a person by keeping his mind away from the influences of the spirits of deceit. As the *Testament of Reuben* summarises: if fornication does not overcome the mind, then Beliar will not overcome you (*T. Reu.* 4.11). If a person can keep his mind clear of the spirits, in this case specifically the spirit of fornication, then his mind remains capable of choosing between the two paths. Mankind, constantly caught between the two camps, must evade the spirit of fornication so that his mind will remain uninfluenced. This allows him to remain in the Lord.

Continuing the exhortation on the dangers of fornication, the *Testament of Reuben* shows another way in which fornication can take control of the mind. Warning against the wiles of women, it reads:

-
131. Rosen-Zvi makes a similar claim: ‘rather than praising Joseph for his abstention from committing a forbidden act, *T. Reuben* celebrates his ability to guard his mind from the forbidden desire.’ He then takes this analysis to mean ‘*Porneia* is, first and foremost, a matter of mind, not deed’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 78. This is true for all vices. Other testaments, discussing other vices, also appear to link these vices to the mind. Consider *T. Dan* 4.7 which states ‘anger with lying is a two-headed evil. They incite one another to agitate the mind. When the mind is continually agitated, the Lord retreats from it and Beliar rules over it.’ Here, anger and lying are also considered to be issues of the mind. Sin starts in the mind, and only then proceeds into the deeds. The general ethics of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* appear to go beyond simple abstinence from certain deeds. The basis for the ethics is the war between God and the opponent. Rosen-Zvi shows an understanding of the meta-narrative of struggle as basis for the ethics, claiming that ‘since, moreover, the war against *porneia* plays a crucial role in man’s choice between God and his Beliar, the struggle against women is in fact the ultimate struggle against Beliar and his authority’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 87. This claim would also appear to be true for all vices and virtues in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. It is possible that Rosen-Zvi’s focus on sexuality narrowed the subject matter, thereby obscuring the wide-ranging application of his conclusions regarding fornication.
132. Cf. *T. Ash.* 1.6–7, ‘so if the mind desires good, all of a person’s deeds are righteous, and if he sins he repents immediately. For speaking justly and renouncing evil, he immediately refutes evil and uproots sin.’ Clearly, the correct disposition is a safeguard from the influences of the forces of evil. The correct disposition allows the mind to make the correct choices.

5.1. Πονηραί εἰσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, τέκνα μου, ὅτι μὴ ἔχουσαι ἐξουσίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, δολιεύονται ἐν σχήμασι, πῶς αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐπισπᾶσονται· 2. καὶ ὃν διὰ δυνάμεως οὐκ ἰσχύει καταγωνίσασθαι, τοῦτον δι' ἀπάτης καταγωνίζεται. 3. ὅτι καί γε περὶ αὐτῶν εἶπέ μοι ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἐδίδαξέ με ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες ἡττώνται τῷ πνεύματι τῆς πορνείας ὑπὲρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ μηχανῶνται κατὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ τῆς κοσμήσεως πλανῶσιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον τὰς διανοίας, καὶ διὰ τοῦ βλέμματος τὸν ἰὸν ἐνσπείρουσι, καὶ τότε τῷ ἔργῳ αἰχμαλωτίζουν· 4. οὐ γὰρ δύναται γυνὴ ἄνθρωπον βιάσασθαι. 5. Φεύγετε οὖν τὴν πορνείαν, τέκνα μου, καὶ προστάσσετε ταῖς γυναιξὶν ὑμῶν καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἵνα μὴ κοσμώνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν, ὅτι πᾶσα γυνὴ δολιευομένη ἐν τούτοις εἰς κόλασιν τοῦ αἰῶνος τετήρηται. 6. οὕτως γὰρ ἔθελξαν τοὺς ἐγγρηγόρους πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ· κάκεῖνοι συνεχῶς ὀρῶντες αὐτὰς ἐγένοντο ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἀλλήλων, καὶ συνέλαβον τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν πράξιν καὶ μετεσχηματίζοντο εἰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν συνεφαίνοντο αὐταῖς· 7. κάκεῖναι ἐπιθυμοῦσαι τῇ διανοίᾳ τὰς φαντασίας αὐτῶν ἔτεκον γίγαντας. Ἐφαίνοντο γὰρ αὐταῖς οἱ ἐγγρηγοροὶ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φθάνοντες.

5.1. Women are evil, my children: because they have no power or strength to stand up against man, they use wiles and try to ensnare him by their charms; 2. and man, whom woman cannot subdue by strength, she subdues by guile. 3. For, indeed, the angel of God told me about them and taught me that women yield to the spirit of fornication more easily than a man does, and they lay plots in their hearts against men: by the way they adorn themselves they first lead their minds astray, and by a look they instil the poison, and then in the act itself they take them captive 4. —for a woman cannot overcome a man by force. 5. So shun fornication, my children, and command your wives and daughters not to adorn their heads and faces, for every woman that uses wiles of this kind has been reserved for eternal punishment. 6. It was thus that they allured the Watchers before the flood; for, as a result of seeing them continually, the Watchers lusted after one another, and they conceived the act in their minds and changed themselves into the shape of men and appeared to the women when they were having intercourse with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their phantom forms, gave birth to giants (for the Watchers seemed to them tall enough to touch the sky).

T. Reu. 5.1–7

This pericope claims that women have no physical power over men, and so use their wiles to win them over.¹³³ For this reason they are evil (*T. Reu.* 5.1–2). This clearly links back to the episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife in the previous section. Based

133. That women are physically weaker is a motif seen in other ancient writings. Consider Jer 51.30, 1 Pet 3.7, 4 Ezra 15.51, LAB 31.1, Jos. Asen. 24.7, and Philo's *Mos.* 18.

on the narrative of Bilhah, women did not appear to be evil, and were certainly not active aggressors, but now the portrayal has progressed. While the beautiful and attractive nature of women makes them dangerous by definition,¹³⁴ Reuben expands on this idea by telling his children how women are more easily overcome by the spirit of fornication than men. The nature of women is such that it leads men towards sin,¹³⁵ but women, who are more easily overcome by the spirit of fornication, carry out plots against men. Influenced by the forces of darkness, women use adornment to deceive male minds and later capture men for themselves through the act of fornication (*T. Reu.* 5.3).

The topic of fornication and the mind was already discussed in the previous section, but here Reuben extends the portrayal of fornication by claiming that the mind is deceived first (*T. Reu.* 5.3).¹³⁶ Reuben commands his children to flee from fornication and to tell their women not to adorn their heads and faces (*T. Reu.* 5.5). The first part of this exhortation is a general summary of the theme of the testament,

134. Rosen-Zvi maintains, 'thus, these texts do not make a specific judgment about the particular female figures of Bilhah or the daughters of men. Rather, they make a general statement about women qua women. Bilhah's passivity, even her righteousness [...] cannot prevent her from acting like a woman'; Rosen-Zvi, "Bilhah the Temptress," p. 76. Indeed, one must wonder if women themselves are evil, or if it is the temptation that occurs in man upon seeing them. Women present a temptation, and are thus a possible instrument of the spirits of deceit. Women, then, are like wine; an evil in that they give more power to the spirits of deceit, especially to that of fornication.

135. This by no means implies that men are innocent. Clearly, Reuben committed a sin with Bilhah. The same is valid for the audience of the *Testament of Reuben*. The exhortation to the men is to attempt to avoid seeing women in a way that will raise lust. In Reuben's case, if he had not seen her bathing, he would not have fornicated with her. Ulrichsen seems to disagree. He claims that 'man kann sich dem Eindruck nicht entziehen, daß der Verfasser die Männer entlasten will. Sie seien nur Opfer ihrer sexuellen Lust, während die Frauen für deren Fall verantwortlich seien'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 293. This cannot be the case for two reasons. Firstly, a person is always directly responsible for his own choices, as evidenced by Reuben's punishment for his fornication. Secondly, men can and should resist women, as evidenced by the example of Joseph. Clearly, men's nature makes them susceptible to the spirit of fornication, but such is the nature of the spirits of deceit. They use mankind's nature against them.

136. This should not come as a surprise to the audience. The narrative of Reuben and Bilhah from the *Testament of Reuben* 3 already hinted that the mind is deceived first. Indeed, in the *Testament of Reuben* Reuben claims: 'for my *mind* was obsessed by the thought of her woman's nakedness and would not let me sleep until I had done the abominable thing' (*T. Reu.* 3.12).

whereas the second part is specific to the topic at hand. Reuben now puts strength behind his argument with the example of the Watchers.

The Watchers were bewitched by women. They looked at these women, and each group lusted after the other. The Watchers conceived the act of fornication in their minds, and appeared to the women in the shape of men, while the women were intimate with their husbands. Lusting after the Watchers in their minds, these women bore giants. Reuben explains that these children were so tall because they took after the Watchers, who appeared as though reaching to heaven (*T. Reu.* 5.6–7).

The tradition of the Watchers is common,¹³⁷ but some aspects of this retelling stand out. Firstly, in this retelling the women tempted the Watchers, which is not a common part of the tradition.¹³⁸ This alteration links the narrative to the theme of this pericope. The women used their wiles to tempt the Watchers, and without that act the narrative would be out of place. A second interesting feature of this retelling is that the women do not physically act on their lust. In fact, there is no physical act at all—the entire sin of fornication takes place in the mind.¹³⁹ The women lust after the Watchers while having sex with their husbands, and the giants are then born solely from the mind.¹⁴⁰ Naturally the author does not wish to tell his audience that

-
137. We see evidence of the Watchers narrative in many writings. Consider Genesis 6.1–4, Jude 6, 1 *Enoch* 1–36, 2 *Enoch* 18, *Jubilees* 4, 7, 8, 10. See also these recent publications the Watchers: Stuckenbruck, “Giant Demonology”; Reed, *Fallen Angels*; Wright, *Evil Spirits*.
138. Rosen-Zvi goes so far as to claim that this part is ‘unparalleled in any other known source’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 75. Kugel names three other sources that describe the fall of the Watchers as the fault of women: Ephraem, *Commentary on Genesis* 6.3; *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* Genesis 6.2; and *Pirke de R. Eliezer* 22. He summarises how ‘these texts all seem to blame “the daughters of men” for having seduced the “sons of God.” [...] The daughters of men must have set out to attract the attention of these heavenly beings, using cosmetics and their “wiles” in order to make them see and so arouse their interest—until they “continually beheld them,” Kugel, *Traditions*, p. 211.
139. Kirchhoff notes that ‘das Begehren genauso verwerflich ist wie die Tat selbst, weil es die gleiche Wirkung haben kann’; Kirchhoff, “Männliche Machtausübung,” p. 479. She claims, then, that the sins are equal as they had the same results (referring clearly to the birth of the giants). This alternate interpretation of the error of fornication in the mind appears to take the example too literally. It is not the physical result (offspring) that is fundamental, but the mental result (desire to sin).
140. This fact causes Rosen-Zvi to conclude that ‘the internal, mental quality of sin [...] is, in fact, an essential element in *T. Reuben’s* conception of sin in general’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 76.

mental lust is an evil equal to physical fornication. He is simply emphasising the fact that evil thoughts can lead to physical sin.

This absence of physical fornication is the crux of the pericope. While the testament previously discussed the influence of the spirit of fornication on the mind and the implications of this influence in the grand struggle between God and the opponent, this pericope shows that fornication is not simply an act, but rather a mindset. In other words, the focus is not on the sinful deed itself, but rather on what takes place in a person's mind that ultimately leads to the sin. The Watchers and the women did not have physical intercourse, but their lust in itself was sufficient. Joseph, the ethical example from the previous chapter, remains the good example in this case, as his mind did not allow evil desires to emerge at all. It was impossible for him to commit the carnal act of fornication (*T. Reu.* 4.9). A person with a non-sinful mindset will not commit a sin, whereas someone with a sinful mindset will be unable to stop himself sinning.

Returning to direct exhortation, the *Testament of Reuben* then summarises the previous chapters in a final exhortatory section:

6.1. Φυλάσσεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας· καὶ εἰ θέλετε καθαρεύειν τῇ διανοίᾳ, φυλάσσετε τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἀπὸ πάσης θηλείας. 2. κἀκεῖναις δὲ ἐντείλασθε μὴ συνδυάζειν ἀνθρώποις, ἵνα καὶ αὐταὶ καθαρεύωσι τῇ διανοίᾳ. 3. αἱ γὰρ συνεχεῖς συντυχίαι, κἂν μὴ πραχθῇ τὸ ἀσέβημα, αὐταῖς μὲν ἐστὶ νόσος ἀνίατος, ἡμῖν δὲ ὄνειδος τοῦ Βελιάρ αἰώνιον. 4. ὅτι ἡ πορνεία οὔτε σύνεσιν οὔτε εὐσέβειαν ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ, καὶ πᾶς ζηλος κατοικεῖ ἐν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐτῆς. 5. διὰ τοῦτο ζηλώσατε τοὺς υἱοὺς Λευὶ, καὶ ζητήσετε ὑψωθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦς, ἀλλ' οὐ δυνήσεσθε.

6.1 Beware, then, of fornication; and if you would be pure in mind guard your senses against every woman. 2. And command the women too, not to make close friends of men, so that they also may be pure in mind. 3. For constant meetings, even though no sinful acts may be involved, are for women a disease for which there is no cure, and for us an eternal reproach of Beliar. 4. For indulgence in fornication allows no scope for

While Rosen-Zvi uses the word “sin” here, it is apparent that he is referring specifically to fornication. He repeatedly focusses on fornication as a *sui generis*. See for example: ‘it is evident that *porneia* does not appear simply as a vice [...] rather purifying one’s mind from *porneia*, thus allowing God to dwell in it, serves as the basic characteristic of the ultimate ethical ideal’; Rosen-Zvi, “Bilhah the Temptress,” p. 87.

either understanding or godliness and the lust that inspires it provides a home for every kind of jealousy. 5. And so you will be jealous of the sons of Levi and seek to be raised above them; but you will not succeed. *T. Reu. 6.1–5*

Here Reuben explains that his sons must guard their senses against women (*T. Reu. 6.1*). They must be wary of fornication, and women must not associate with men if they wish to be pure of mind (*T. Reu. 6.1–2*). Even if fornication is not acted out, it is still a disease, a disgrace caused by the opponent (*T. Reu. 6.3*). Reuben now moves on to connect fornication with jealousy, as jealousy dwells in desire (*T. Reu. 6.4*).

The testament now proceeds to discuss the future (*T. Reu. 6.5–12*). The relationship between jealousy, fornication, and Reuben's predictions of the future is tenuous: fornication is related to jealousy, and the sons of Reuben will be jealous of the sons of Levi. The rest of the passage on the future does not discuss fornication or sin in any way, instead discussing the role of Levi and Judah in Israel.

This passage emphasises the importance of a person's mind in the struggle between good and evil. While the deed of fornication is clearly evil, the thought alone is also vilified, and called a disease. The true danger of the spirit of fornication is that it poisons the mind, preying on a person's desires and leading a person into sin. The only true protection that mankind has in the struggle against the opponent is a pure and good mind.

In summary, according to the *Testament of Reuben* mankind is on a battlefield between God and his opponent. God gave man certain characteristics which the opponent can exploit through his spirits. The mind is key in this; mankind must keep their minds clear at all costs, otherwise the evil spirits can dull one's mind, and lead to the neglect of the law. In other words, the spirits can tempt a person to commit a certain deed, even if that person is fully aware that the deed is a sin. Maintaining an alert mind that is not influenced by the forces of evil is therefore essential, because a person's choices are determined by his mind.

The topic of the mind and the role it plays in mankind's choices, destruction and salvation is also discussed in other testaments. The *Testament of Judah 20.1–2* contains such a discussion:

20.1. Ἐπίγνωτε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ὅτι δύο πνεύματα σχολάζουσι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ τῆς πλάνης· 2. καὶ μέσον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς συνέσεως τοῦ νοός, οὗ ἂν θέλῃ κλῖναι.

20.1. Understand, my children, that two spirits attend to man, the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. 2. Between these is the spirit of the intelligent mind, that inclines us however it wills. *T. Jud.* 20.1–2

As this passage explains, two spirits attend on man: the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit (*T. Jud.* 20.1).¹⁴¹ The *Testament of Judah*, however, does not only mention the spirits of truth and deceit, but also a third spirit between these two, the spirit of rational understanding (τῆς συνέσεως τοῦ νοός), which determines mankind's decisions (*T. Jud.* 20.2).¹⁴² The spirit of rational understanding is the identity, the mind, the intellect and the psyche. This human spirit plays a predominant role in choosing between the two spirits that accompany each person. This rational, human spirit impels a person's inclination, and accordingly the person himself, towards good or evil. The great controversy between good and evil thus takes place inside each person.¹⁴³ Mankind possesses rational abilities, and must choose between the enticements of the spirits of truth and deceit. This is what the *Testament of Reuben*

-
141. Ulrichsen claims, regarding these two spirits, 'das ist eine ganz unmythologische Darstellung vom guten und vom bösen Trieb im Menschen'; Ulrichsen, *Grundschrift*, p. 230. Exactly why this not mythological is unclear, but Ulrichsen attempts to show that the spirits (in the exhortatory sections) are only present in a psychological manner, as opposed to a demonic manner. He thus argues that the good and evil inclination, and also spirits, are not influenced by God and the opponent, but simply by the (psychological) nature of mankind. That the spirits are external forces should be clear from the earlier discussion of the spirits. The spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit are, thus, clearly supernatural powers that influence mankind.
142. Cf. *T. Ash.* 1.5, 'there are two ways, of good and evil, and along with these are the two impulses in our breasts that make the distinctions between them.' As discussed and shown earlier, the two impulses should rather be understood to be a single disposition with two destinations. Thus the spirit of rational understanding evidenced in *T. Jud.* 20.2 is similar to the disposition in *T. Ash.* 1.5.
143. Spilly notes this same fact, based on observations by Nickelsburg, 'the judicial battle between them [good and evil] in *T. Jud.* 20 is internalized within the human person rather than in the cosmos at large'; Spilly, "Redactional Approach," p. 249. See also Nickelsburg, *Intertestamental Judaism*, p. 40. Menn shows the same understanding, claiming that 'a number of passages in the *Testament of Judah* explicitly describe some of the psychological and cosmological struggles centered in the soul'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 208.

refers to as the mind, and what the *Testament of Asher* refers to as the disposition. In the different testaments this rational ability of mankind is explicated in various ways, depending on the context. But the mind, the disposition, and the spirit of rational understanding are all one and the same, they are mankind's mind, his intellect, his psyche. Each person has this ability to think and reason, which he must use to choose between the ways of the Lord and the opponent. This ability is what we, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in general, refer to as "the mind."

The role of the mind is also discussed in the *Testament of Benjamin*, which has been given the subtitle "about the good mind" (περὶ διανοίας καθαρᾶς). In this testament, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the good person, and much of the exhortation revolves around this. Throughout the *Testament of Benjamin*, the good person is modelled after Joseph.¹⁴⁴ Joseph is held up as the model for the ethics of the good mind.¹⁴⁵ In these exhortatory pericopes, direct mention of the mind is made:

3.1. Καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀγαπήσατε κύριον τὸν θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ φυλάξατε ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ ὅσιον ἄνδρα Ἰωσήφ. 2. καὶ ἔστω ἡ διάνοια ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὡς καὶ ἐγώ οἶδατε. ὁ ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν ἀγαθὴν πάντα βλέπει ὀρθῶς.

3.1. So, my children, love the Lord (the God of heaven) and keep his commandments, imitating Joseph, the good and devout man. 2. Make your mind good, as mine is. He who has a good mind sees all things correctly. T. Ben. 3.1–2

ὁ ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἔχει σκοτεινὸν ὀφθαλμόν· ἐλεᾷ γὰρ πάντας, καὶ ὧσιν ἁμαρτωλοί.

A good man sees all things correctly. He has compassion for everyone, though they may be sinners. T. Ben. 4.2

6.5. Ἡ ἀγαθὴ διάνοια οὐκ ἔχει δύο γλώσσας, εὐλογίας καὶ κατάρας, ὕβρεως καὶ τιμῆς, λύπης καὶ χαρᾶς, ἡσυχίας καὶ ταραχῆς, ὑποκρίσεως καὶ ἀληθείας, πενίας καὶ πλοῦτου, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἔχει περὶ πάντας εἰλικρινῆ καθαρὰν διάθεσιν. 6. Οὐκ ἔχει ὄρασιν οὐδὲ ἀκοήν διπλὴν· πᾶν γάρ, ὃ ποιεῖ ἢ λαλεῖ ἢ ὀρεῖ, οἶδεν ὅτι κύριος ἐπισκέπτει ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ.

144. Cf. Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 65–92.

145. See also the discussion of Joseph as a good man in the *Testament of Benjamin*, on page 94 below.

6.5. A good mind does not allow double dealing: blessing and cursing, insult and complimenting, grief and joy, tranquility and upheaval, hypocrisy and truth, poverty and riches. It has a single pure and clean disposition towards everyone. 6. Neither does a good mind have double sight or double hearing. Such a person knows that whatever he does, says or sees, the Lord is examining his mind. *T. Ben. 6.5–6*

Clearly, a person whose mind is good sees all things correctly (*T. Ben. 3.2*). The deceptive and blinding power of the opponent is ineffective against a person with a good mind (*T. Ben. 4.2*). Furthermore, a person with a good mind does not have a dual nature that permits both good and evil actions (*T. Ben. 6.5–6*).¹⁴⁶ A good mind thus leads to a simple life. As mankind stands on the battlefield between good and evil, it is his mind that protects him from joining the side of evil. The mind makes the choices between both camps, and ensures that a person remains on the right side. A mind that is aligned with God will empower a person to make the correct choices, without the destructive influences of the opponent.

As evidenced in these pericopes, the mind plays an important role for mankind. The choices that each person makes have vital significance in determining his place in the struggle between God and the opponent. The forces of darkness attempt to deceive everyone and lead them to destruction, and an individual's only defence against these attacks is his mind, which is used in differentiating between good works and evil ones. Maintaining a good and pure mind is thus the best method of resisting the influences of the opponent.

(II) THE BLINDING OF A PERSON'S MIND

As the mind is the most important defence against the forces of the opponent, any attack on the mind's ability to make the correct decision is extremely dangerous. In many texts, we see that the forces of darkness attempt to blind a person.¹⁴⁷ An

146. Hollander explains this verse, saying that a good man 'is not "two-sided" [...] or "double-faced" [...] which means he is not a hypocrite'; Hollander, *Ethical Model*, p. 86. As discussed earlier (see page 108), doubleness is more fundamental than simply hypocrisy. Hypocrisy only applies to doing good deeds for evil reasons, whereas doubleness also includes doing evil deeds for good reasons. This duality in doubleness is vital to a correct understanding.

147. Consider *T. Reu. 2.9*, *T. Sim. 2.7*, *T. Levi 13.7*, *T. Jud. 11.1, 13.6, 18.3, 6, 19.4*, *T. Dan 2.2, 4*, *T. Gad 3.3*, *T. Jos. 7.5*, *T. Ben. 4.2*. We see a similar idea in *T. Jud. 14.3, 8*, where the warning is not against blinding, but against the disturbing of the mind.

extensive discussion of the opponent's blinding power can be found in the *Testament of Dan* 2.2–5, which reads as follows:

2.2. τύφλωσίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ θυμῷ, τέκνα μου, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τις ὁρῶν πρόσωπον ἐν ἀληθείᾳ· 3. ὅτι κἂν πατήρ, κἂν μήτηρ ἐστίν, ὡς πολεμίοις προσέχει ἑαυτοῖς· ἐὰν ᾖ ἀδελφός, οὐκ οἶδεν· ἐὰν προφήτης κυρίου, παρακούει· ἐὰν δίκαιος, οὐ βλέπει· φίλον οὐ γνωρίζει. 4. περιβάλλει γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θυμοῦ τὰ δίκτυα τῆς πλάνης καὶ τυφλοὶ τοὺς φυσικοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ, διὰ τοῦ ψεύδους σκοτοῖ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ὄρασιν παρέχει αὐτῷ. 5. ἐν τίνι δὲ περιβάλλει τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ; ἐν μίσει καρδίας, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ καρδίαν ἰδίαν κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ εἰς φθόνον.

2.2. Anger blinds a man, my children, and the angry man can see no one as he truly is. 3. For though it is his own father or mother, he treats them as enemies though it is his brother, he does not recognize him: though a prophet of the Lord, he disobeys him: though a righteous man, he takes no notice of him: though a friend, he does not acknowledge him. 4. For the spirit of anger wraps the nets of error round him and blinds his natural eyes: through falsehood it darkens his mind and gives him its own distorted vision. 5. And what does it blind his eyes with? With a bitter hatred; and it makes him like itself, so that he is envious of his brother. T. Dan 2.2–5

Here the *Testament of Dan* explains that anger, which is the particular vice of the *Testament of Dan*, blinds a person so that he cannot recognise anyone for what he truly is (T. Dan 2.2). In this case blindness is clearly a metaphor for the deceptive powers of anger. Someone blinded by the opponent would, for example, be unable to recognise a friend as a friend, but would rather see him as an enemy. The spirit of anger wraps nets of deceit around a person in order to blind that person's eyes, and to give him the vision of the spirit of anger (T. Dan 2.4). This refers back to Dan's biographical passage (T. Dan 1.4–9), where Dan was blinded by anger and attempted to kill Joseph.

Here, the blinding power of the opponent is clearly one that replaces a person's sight with the opponent's. In Dan's case the focus is on interpersonal relationships—a blinded person will not recognise other people.¹⁴⁸ The reference to the blinding of the patriarch's physical eyes in the *Testament of Dan* is clearly a metaphor for the blinding of his mind. This blinding should be understood as a dulling of his

148. We find this theme in other testaments as well, e.g. T. Sim. 2.7.

ability to make clear judgements. In Dan's case this concerns his judgement in recognising others that are close to him and treating them appropriately. In other testaments, however, we see that this blinding power goes further. It then becomes truly dangerous, as blinding is taken to a different level, when it is applied to the mind. The *Testament of Judah* 11.1 gives an example of this understanding:

Κάγὼ ᾔδειν ὅτι πονηρὸν τὸ γένος Χαναάν, ἀλλὰ τὸ διαβούλιον τῆς νεότητος ἐτύφλωσε τὴν καρδίαν μου.

I knew the Canaanites were evil, but the inclination of youth blinded my heart.

T. Jud. 11.1

Here we learn that a person's mind can be blinded, incapacitating his rational thinking. In the *Testament of Judah* 11.1 this blinding is attributed to youthful passion, and it is clear that the opponent and his spirits are the source of youthful errors (cf. *T. Reu.* 2.2). Throughout the *Testament of Judah* there are references to blinding, showing that the mind can be blinded by youth (*T. Jud.* 11.1), love of money (*T. Jud.* 17.6), wine (*T. Jud.* 11.2, 13.6), pleasure (*T. Jud.* 13.6), beauty (*T. Jud.* 12.3), and the opponent (*T. Jud.* 19.4). Once this has happened a person can no longer discern right from wrong.¹⁴⁹ This is very dangerous, as it is the mind that chooses between the way of the Lord and that of the opponent. Furthermore, in the *Testament of Gad* 3.2–3 the danger is shown to be very real. This passage reads as follows:

3.2. πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν ποιῇ ὁ μισῶν βδελύσσεται· ἐὰν ποιῇ νόμον κυρίου, τοῦτον οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ· ἐὰν φοβῆται κύριον καὶ θέλῃ δίκαια, τοῦτον οὐκ ἀγαπᾷ· 3. τὴν ἀλήθειαν ψέγει, τῷ κατ'ορθοῦντι φθονεῖ, καταλαλιὰν ἀσπάζεται, ὑπερηφανίαν ἀγαπᾷ· ὅτι τὸ μῖσος ἐτύφλωσε τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ, καθὼς καὶ ἐβλεπον ἐν τῷ Ἰωσήφ.

3.2. A man inspired by hatred takes exception to anything anyone does: if anyone keeps the law of the Lord he gets no praise: if anyone fears the Lord and strives for what is right, he is not loved. 3. A man inspired by hatred maligns the truth, envies the

149. Menn discusses sight and blinding, concluding that 'sight becomes a metaphor for the ability to discern correct moral decisions and blindness becomes a metaphor for the lack of this ability'; Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, p. 167. See Menn's discussions of blinding, Menn, *Judah and Tamar*, pp. 166–167, 207.

successful, welcomes backbiting, and loves arrogance; for hatred has blinded him. And this is how I regarded Joseph. *T. Gad* 3.2–3

Clearly, a blinded mind hates the truth, the law of the Lord, and fear of God, and the spirit of hatred's primary power is the blinding of mankind (*T. Gad* 3.2). Through this blinding, a person no longer makes the right choices, but rather follows the way of darkness. Such a person shuns what is right and embraces what is wrong. This allows the opponent to rule over these people who otherwise could have been righteous.

In conclusion, the opponent has the power to dull one's mind. Such a person is then unable to distinguish between good and evil, and is certain to go against the commandments of the Lord. The opponent can use mankind's nature and natural urges against him, making women, wine, food, and riches very dangerous. Furthermore, the opponent has the power to lead people astray, and a person who comes under the opponent's control is no longer righteous. Within the great controversy the powers of the opponent are extremely dangerous for mankind. A person's ultimate survival depends on the choices that he makes, and as the mind assists in those choices, anything that dulls it is perilous. The following section will consider mankind's ultimate choice and survival.

(III) THE ULTIMATE CHOICE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Looking at mankind's ultimate survival, we will consider how the author portrays the final events of history. In the battle between God and the opponent there is no doubt who will be the ultimate victor. God will send a saviour, who is known by many different epithets: "high priest," "salvation," "compassion of the Lord," "saviour," "light of righteousness," and "lamb."¹⁵⁰ This saviour will bring about the victory over the opponent. The exact manner in which this will occur is not systematically outlined, yet an analysis of the texts gives the reader quite a detailed, if slightly contradictory, understanding of how this is envisioned.

150. The saviour is called "high priest" (*T. Reu.* 6.8 and *T. Sim.* 7.2), "priest" (*T. Levi* 8.14, 18.2), "salvation" (*T. Sim.* 7.1, *T. Jud.* 22.2, *T. Dan* 5.10 and *T. Ben.* 3.8, 9.2), "compassion" (*T. Zeb.* 8.2 and *T. Naph.* 4.5), "saviour" (*T. Levi* 10.2, 14.2, *T. Dan* 6.8,9, *T. Gad* 8.2 and *T. Ben.* 9.2), "light of righteousness" (*T. Zeb.* 9.8), and "lamb" (*T. Jos.* 19.10 and *T. Ben.* 3.8).

The *Testament of Levi* 18 discusses the coming of a new priest. This priest is the saviour, and should be identified as Jesus Christ.¹⁵¹ The passage begins with historical events, including Jesus's baptism, but soon moves on to eschatological events. These eschatological events are outlined as follows:

18.8. αὐτὸς δώσει τὴν μεγαλυσύνην κυρίου τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· καὶ οὐκ ἔσται διαδοχὴ αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος. 9. καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔθνη πληθυνθήσονται ἐν γνώσει ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ φωτισθήσονται διὰ χάριτος κυρίου· ὁ δὲ Ἰσραὴλ ἐλαττωθήσεται ἐν ἀγνωσίᾳ καὶ σκοτισθήσεται ἐν πένθει· ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐκλείψει πᾶσα ἁμαρτία καὶ οἱ ἄνομοι καταπαύσουσιν εἰς κακά· οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι καταπαύσουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ. 10. καί γε αὐτὸς ἀνοίξει τὰς θύρας τοῦ παραδείσου, καὶ στήσει τὴν ἀπειλοῦσαν ῥομφαίαν κατὰ τοῦ Ἀδάμ, 11. καὶ δώσει τοῖς ἁγίοις φαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἔσται ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. 12. καὶ ὁ Βελιάρ δεθήσεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δώσει ἐξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα. 13. καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐδοκήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς αὐτοῦ ἕως τῶν αἰώνων. 14. τότε ἀγαλλιάσεται Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, κἀγὼ χαρήσομαι καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι ἐνδύσονται εὐφροσύνην.

18.8. He will give the majesty of the Lord to his sons in truth for all time. No one will succeed him through the ages, for all time. 9. During his priesthood the Gentiles will increase in the world, surrounded by knowledge, and due to the Lord's grace they will be enlightened. In ignorance Israel will be diminished, and in sorrow darkened. During his priesthood all sin will die out, and the lawless will no longer commit evil deeds. The righteous will rest in him. 10. He will open the gates of paradise, stand up to the sword that threatened Adam, 11. and allow the saints to eat from the tree of life. The spirit of holiness will be in him. 12. Beliar will be bound by him, and he will give his children the authority to tread on the evil spirits. 13. The Lord will rejoice on account of his children, and will be pleased on account of his loved ones for all times. 14. At that time Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob will be overjoyed, I will rejoice, and all the saints will be clothed in joy.

T. Levi 18.8–14

This pericope shows the outcome of the battle between the opponent and the Lord. Mankind, or more specifically the sons of God, will receive the majesty of the Lord

151. At this point it is useful to note that in this research we read the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as we have have it now. We treat the text in its own right, and as such we consider it a Christian writing. Therefore, any references to a saviour figure should foremost be understood as referring to Jesus Christ. See the in-depth discussion of the methodology of pseudepigrapha research beginning on 19 above, paying especial attention to the conclusions on page 25.

(*T. Levi* 18.8). During the new priest's ministry all sin will end, and the lawless will cease to do evil (*T. Levi* 18.9). This is indubitably the end of the great controversy between good and evil. Again, God promises salvation to mankind: the righteous will rest in him (*T. Levi* 18.9). Mankind will be allowed to live in paradise and will receive eternal life (*T. Levi* 18.10–11). The opponent will be bound (*T. Levi* 18.12), and mankind will no longer be influenced by the spirits, but will rather be empowered to tread on them (*T. Levi* 18.12). Then Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Levi will all rejoice, and all the righteous will be clothed in joy (*T. Levi* 18.14). While the world and mankind are currently a battlefield, this battle will eventually end. The Lord will be the victor, and the righteous, that is the people who made the right choices, will take part in the victory.

This passage shows two themes that are worthy of discussion. Firstly, we will analyse the fate of the forces of evil. Secondly, the judgement, reward, and punishment of mankind will be examined. Clearly, these are all part of the eschatological events, and are an important part of a correct understanding of the consequences of mankind's choices.¹⁵²

The Opponent

The Lord will judge mankind at the end of time, when the righteous will be saved and the wicked destroyed. A similar fate awaits the forces of darkness. The *Testament of Levi* 18 discusses many deeds of the new high priest. The *Testament of Levi* 18.12 is of specific interest in this discussion. It reads as follows:

καὶ ὁ Βελιάρ δεθήσεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δώσει ἐξουσίαν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα.

Beliar will be bound by him, and he will give his children the authority to tread on the evil spirits. *T. Levi* 18.12

152. Hultgård notes, 'le jugement suprême entraîne dans les *Testaments* en premier lieu la destruction du pouvoir de Béliar'; Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 263. It is somewhat doubtful whether this statement is correct. The judgement of mankind and the restoration of the saints are two other, equally important themes. Hultgård draws the connection to *I Enoch* and the writings found at Qumran in an effort to show the Jewishness of the work; this attempt may lead to the underemphasising of the other themes.

This passage explains how the high priest will bind the opponent. This motif is often found in other writings, where we commonly see the powers of evil bound and awaiting judgement.¹⁵³ Mankind will also be endowed with the power to tread on the spirits.¹⁵⁴ The binding of the opponent thus has severe consequences for the spirits,¹⁵⁵ giving the impression that the spirits are powerless without him. In the *Testament of Levi* 18 the opponent is bound, however any discussion of judgement is missing. Other texts discussing the opponent's future do not mention captivity or binding at all, only referring to his destruction.

For example, the *Testament of Dan* 5.10 discusses the coming of the Lord's salvation, at which time he will wage war against the opponent. The exact details of what will happen to the opponent are not apparent, but other texts do discuss the opponent's fate. The *Testament of Benjamin* 3.8 maintains that the lamb of God will destroy the opponent. In the *Testament of Asher* 7.3, God in the form of a man will break the head of the dragon with water. These two passages present the same theme, namely that Jesus Christ will annihilate the opponent. The *Testament of Dan* 6.4 claims that when Israel puts its faith in God, the enemy's kingdom will be brought to an end. In this case it is unmistakably before the end of time. As far as the *Testament of Judah* 25.1–3 is concerned, the destruction of the opponent only takes place after the resurrection.¹⁵⁶

A similar fate awaits the spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. They will no longer exist, as they will be cast into an eternal fire (*T. Jud.* 25.3).¹⁵⁷ In the

153. So also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 182. Cf. Isa 24.22, Jude 6, and Rev 20.2; also *1 En.* 13.1, 18.16, 21.3–6, and *2 Bar.* 56.13.

154. The treading of the spirits underfoot is a common theme: cf. *T. Sim.* 6.6, *T. Zeb.* 9.8.

155. So also Macky, 'the binding of Beliar is at the same time the binding of his evil spirits'; Macky, "Importance," p. 181.

156. These texts lead Macky to the conclusion that the binding and disempowerment of Beliar and his spirits is followed by their destruction, Macky, "Importance," 189–191. He outlines different instigators for the two stages: the high priest binds, and God destroys. He outlines which verses refer to God and which to a man (e.g. high priest). In our understanding, all those verses refer to God as man, i.e. Jesus Christ. This makes any differentiation moot.

157. In De Jonge's translation it is Beliar that is thrown in the fire, not the spirit. The Greek reads, *καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι πνεῦμα πλάνης τοῦ Βελιάρ, ὅτι ἐμβληθήσεται ἐν τῷ πυρὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. The subject

Testament of Benjamin 3.8 such an eradication of the spirits is mentioned, and a final passage regarding the destruction of the spirits is the *Testament of Levi* 4.1, which discusses the Lord's judgement, including the despoiling of Hades and the wasting away of the spirits.

From this we can conclude that the eschatological passages are clearly not meant to give a complete and comprehensive account of end-time events. The themes of binding and destruction (and also resurrection, restoration, redemption and sanctification) are all present, but are not outlined in a systematic way. In some texts it is clear that at some point in the future the opponent will be bound, whereas other texts discuss his destruction. The destruction and binding of the opponent do not appear to be two separate events, but should instead be understood as synonyms for the same phenomenon: the end of the opponent's power.

Reward and Punishment

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* it is clear that mankind's choices will have ultimate consequences. The opponent will be defeated, and people who are on the opponent's side will be vanquished. At some point mankind must be judged, and the concept of judgement is one that is found in several testaments.¹⁵⁸ In total six passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* pertain to this topic.¹⁵⁹ The first

of ἐμβληθήσεται is not specifically given, but most logically it would be the subject of the previous sentence: the spirit of the opponent. Hollander and De Jonge also understand the subject to be the spirit in this case. Cf. M. de Jonge, "Testaments (Sparks)," p. 550; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 229.

158. Hultgård claims that 'ce n'est que dans le *Testament de Lévi* qu'on trouve les termes "jugement"', Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 263. Hultgård notes that this is due to the '*Apocryphe de Lévi*,' which is the source of these passages in the *Testament of Levi*. He then points out that *T. Ben.* 10.8 is an exception, as it uses κρινεῖ to describe the judgement. *T. Jud.* 24.6 is another exception, unmentioned by Hultgård, which uses κρῖναι. The other testaments simply describe the judgement, without utilising the specific term "judgement"—usually discussing reward and punishment instead.
159. These are: *T. Levi* 3.2–4.1, 18.1–14, *T. Zeb.* 10.3, *T. Jud.* 24.5, 25.4–5, and *T. Ben.* 10.8–9. *T. Levi* 18.1–14 will not be discussed below, as it mentions the judgement but does not describe it. The *Testament of Levi* 17 contains a prophecy in seven jubilees regarding the Levitical priesthood. During each consecutive jubilee, the priests are more lawless than during the previous. Eventually the priesthood falls (*T. Levi* 18.1). The Lord raises up a new priest, who 'will execute true judgement on earth for many

is in the *Testament of Levi*, and is part of the description of a vision that Levi has of the seven heavens. The judgement is mentioned in the *Testament of Levi* 3.2,4.1. The *Testament of Levi* 3.2 reads:

ὁ δεύτερος ἔχει πῦρ, χιόνα, κρύσταλλον, ἔτοιμα εἰς ἡμέραν προστάγματος κυρίου ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρίσιᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσι πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων.

The second heaven contains fire, snow and ice. They are ready for the day the Lord decreed in his righteous judgement. In it are all the spirits of persecution for punishment of lawlessness. T. Levi 3.2

In this verse the second heaven is described as containing items of eschatological punishment.¹⁶⁰ This appears to be the judgement of wicked men rather than spirits, because the *Testament of Levi* 3.3 deals with the third heaven, where powers are arrayed for vengeance on the forces of darkness at the time of judgement. The men described in the *Testament of Levi* 3.2 are referred to as wicked. Clearly, these are the people who did not keep to the commandments of the Lord. The *Testament of Levi* 4.1 continues this theme:

Νῦν οὖν γινώσκετε, ὅτι ποιήσει κύριος κρίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι τῶν πετρῶν σχιζομένων, καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου σβεννυμένου, καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ξηραιομένων, καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς καταπτήσσοντος, καὶ πάσης κτίσεως κλονουμένης, καὶ τῶν ἀοράτων πνευμάτων τηκομένων, καὶ τοῦ ἄδου σκυλευομένου ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει τοῦ ὑψίστου, οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπιστοῦντες ἐπιμενοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις· διὰ τοῦτο ἐν κολάσει κριθήσονται.

But know that the Lord will execute judgement on men, because when the rocks are being rent, and the light of the sun extinguished, and the waters dried up, and fire losing its power, and all creation in confusion, and the unseen spirits wasting away and Hades despoiled through the suffering of the Most High, men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquities; and on this account will they be judged and punished.

T. Levi 4.1

days' (T. Levi 18.2). Curiously enough, this judgement is not explained. The passage continues to name other events, but does not link any of them to the judgement.

160. Hultgård claims that these items are found in other writings, 'mais sans être rattachés à la conception du jugement divin'; Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 254. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 137.

This passage is the first explicit mention of the judgement event, although in the *Testament of Levi* 3.9–10, terminology associated with judgement was also used.¹⁶¹ Here it is obvious that men are being judged. The wicked are unbelievers, persisting in iniquity. Apparently, in the *Testament of Levi* judgement simply entails the punishment of the wicked, as no mention is made of rewards or righteous men. The evil choices of the wicked, that is their undeviating persistence in iniquity, causes them to be judged and punished.

Another passage, from the *Testament of Zebulun*, outlines additional consequences of wickedness:

ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς ἐπάξει κύριος πῦρ αἰώνιον, καὶ ἀπολέσει αὐτοὺς ἕως γενεῶν.

The Lord will bring eternal fire on the ungodly and he will destroy them totally.

T. Zeb. 10.3

Although judgement is not discussed explicitly in this passage, the judging of the wicked is apparent. They are ungodly, and will be totally destroyed in an eternal fire.¹⁶²

Though the texts mentioned above do not discuss the fate of the righteous, there are other texts that do. The *Testament of Levi* 18, which was discussed above, promises rest, eternal life, and joy for the righteous. The *Testament of Judah* 24 discusses the judgement of mankind—a topic missing from the *Testament of Levi* 18—and also sheds some light on the fate of the righteous. The *Testament of Judah* 24.6 reads:

καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναβήσεται ῥάβδος δικαιοσύνης τοῖς ἔθνεσι, κρίναι καὶ σῶσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους κύριον.

A staff of righteousness will rise up to the Gentiles, to judge and save all who call upon the Lord.

T. Jud. 24.6

161. Hollander and De Jonge refer to it as terminology that is ‘traditionally connected with theophany and judgment’; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 139.

162. This end for the wicked is found in other ancient writings. Consider 4 Mac 12.12, Matt 18.8, 25.41, Jude 7, and Justin Martyr’s 1 *Apol.* 15.2, 16.21.

This passage, which reflects the *Testament of Levi* 18, does not give much information regarding the judgement of mankind. A descendant of Judah—Jesus Christ—will arise to save and judge mankind. Here judgement consists solely of the salvation of all those who call upon the Lord, ignoring the fate of the wicked.¹⁶³ The following chapter of the *Testament of Judah* continues this eschatological discussion. After describing the resurrection in the *Testament of Judah* 25.1–2 and other eschatological events in verse 3, the *Testament of Judah* 25.4–5 predicts:

25.4. καὶ οἱ ἐν λύπῃ τελευτήσαντες, ἀναστήσονται ἐν χαρᾷ, καὶ οἱ ἐν πτωχείᾳ διὰ κύριον πλουτισθήσονται, καὶ οἱ ἐν πενίᾳ χορτασθήσονται, καὶ οἱ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ισχύουσιν, καὶ οἱ διὰ κύριον ἀποθανόντες ἐξυπνισθήσονται ἐν ζωῇ. 5. καὶ οἱ ἔλαφοι Ἰακώβ δραμοῦνται ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει, καὶ οἱ αἰετοὶ Ἰσραὴλ πετασθήσονται ἐν χαρᾷ· οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς πενήθουσι, καὶ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ κλαύσονται, καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοὶ δοξάσουσι κύριον εἰς αἰῶνας.

25.4. And those who have died in grief will rise again in joy, And those who are in penury for the Lord's sake will be made rich, And those who are in want will eat their fill, And those who are weak will receive strength, And those who have been put to death for the Lord's sake will awake to life. 5. And the harts of Jacob will run with gladness, And the eagles of Israel will fly with joy (But the ungodly will mourn and sinners weep), And all the peoples will glorify the Lord for ever. *T. Jud.* 25.4–5

Again, this passage does not discuss the judgement explicitly. The *Testament of Judah* 25.4 describes the reversal of the fortunes of godly men. This is clearly a reward for the people of God, that is those that chose to remain near to the Lord. A less fortunate fate awaits those that chose differently. These people will mourn and weep (*T. Jud.* 25.5).¹⁶⁴

163. *T. Dan* 5.10–11 is another passage which only discusses the reward of good. The passage does not discuss judgement per se, and is therefore not included in this exploration. That particular pericope promises that the saviour 'will give to them that call on him eternal peace,' and the similarities are obvious.

164. The previously discussed passages split the judgement into the judging of the godly and of the wicked. In *T. Ben.* 10.8–9, the judgement is split between the Israelites and the Gentiles. First Israel is condemned for the unrighteousness done to the Jesus Christ. Then, the Gentiles are judged for the same reason. This is less applicable to the topic of mankind's ultimate choice, as racial heritage is not really a choice at all. The text, however, seems to incorporate belief in Jesus Christ as part of the

Obviously, the choices that a person makes have ultimate consequences. Both the wicked and the righteous will be judged, and the righteous, who made the correct choices in their lives, will receive rest, peace, resurrection, eternal life, and joy. The wicked, who made evil choices, face a far less pleasant fate, as they will be destroyed in unquenchable fire.

CONCLUSION

Mankind must constantly choose between good and evil. The great controversy takes place within each individual, defining every moment of his life. A person uses his mind to make these choices, and for this reason it is vital to keep the mind clear and pure. Any influence on the mind by the forces of darkness is a danger to an individual's salvation. The power that evil forces have to blind a person's mind is especially dangerous. A blinded mind cannot differentiate properly between good and evil, and will be led (unknowingly) into sin. A person whose deeds are evil faces the same fate as the opponent and his spirits: destruction. At the end of time the Lord will judge mankind and the forces of darkness. The wicked will be destroyed, and the righteous will be saved.

judgement, associating the Gentiles with belief and Israel with unbelief. The distinction is, therefore, not solely by national boundaries. So also Hultgård, 'la séparation entre justes et impies ne suit pas strictement l'opposition Israël-Gentils'; Hultgård, *Interprétation*, p. 233.

E CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the way the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* views the choices of each person in the great controversy between good and evil. The individual is the battlefield on which good and evil are present. Each person struggles against the forces of darkness by making choices between these two sides. Consistently making good choices allows a person to be righteous, whereas wicked choices lead to the opponent.

The forces of darkness strive to bring each person to destruction. It stands to reason, then, that the prince of darkness is mankind's opponent. The forces of darkness abuse a person's nature, causing him to commit deeds of iniquity. Not only do these forces consist of the opponent, but also the spirits of deceit, which the opponent commands. The opponent's influence is predominantly through these spirits, which deceive people towards sin. They use an individual's desires, senses and nature against him, especially where they are seen as the embodiment of the vices.

Each person always has a choice. His rational ability (his mind) allows him to choose between the two camps in the great controversy. The mind is the tool with which he makes these choices, and it is thus vital that the mind remain righteous. The opponent's forces can influence the mind, but a good disposition protects it. Additionally, the spirits can blind the mind, making it unable to differentiate right from wrong. A blinded person will thus choose evil without knowing it. A good disposition leads to closeness to the Lord, protecting the mind from the blinding influences of evil.

It is important for a person to make good choices, as these choices have ultimate consequences. At some stage God will be victorious in the cosmological battle, and the forces of evil will be destroyed. Mankind will also be judged, and depending on their choices, salvation or destruction awaits. It is evident that these choices are vitally important for each individual.

This analysis leads us to envision the anthropological world-view of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Mankind has a god-given nature. This nature is of

itself neither good nor bad. Mankind consists of two major parts: his mind and his body. Mankind's body has certain needs (such as hunger) which are natural. The mind is in control of the body, and as a rational being each person is responsible for the actions that follow from his thoughts.

Mankind, however, is not alone. In the air all around mankind are the invisible forces of darkness. These spirits of deceit can abuse mankind's nature. The natural needs of each person can be used by these spirits to make them evil desires. The spirits enter a people and enflame vices in them. This power can become so strong that a person is wholly under the spirit's control.

God has given mankind the tools to withstand these forces of darkness. The commandments and mankind's nature are enough. The commandments guide people towards righteousness, and mankind mind is strong enough to withstand the temptings of the spirits of deceit. The danger for mankind lies in the slippery slope of double-mindedness. Allowing even the smallest part of evil into one's mind allows the opponent to get some power. With every small step towards evil the opponent overcomes a person more and more. Thus someone can be wholly in the opponent's power without being conscious of the sins he commits.

The local struggle of mankind is reflected in a cosmological struggle between good and evil. God will not allow mankind's situation to remain indefinitely, and promises redemption and salvation. While the opponent's beginning might be unknown, his end is clear. God will destroy the forces of darkness, and offer salvation to all those that are righteous. Mankind will then be free from the promptings of the spirits of the opponent.

Now that we have thoroughly explored the world-view that is necessary for the exhortation in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we can use these findings to situate this text amongst other ancient writings. In the following chapter we will compare the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other Christian and Jewish writings from roughly the same period. For a fruitful comparison we will use several of the motifs present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. These regard the interaction between mankind and the forces of darkness, and follow from the analysis and conclusions of this chapter.

4 The Great Controversy Theme in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* As Compared To Other Documents

In the preceding chapters we have examined the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in great detail, and from this analysis we distilled the world-view of the author, which has a great focus on the opponent, and on the great controversy between good and evil. In this chapter we will extend this analysis, using the author's world-view to place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* among works that show evidence of a similar world-view.

In Chapter 1 we discussed previous attempts to place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in a setting, critiquing the methods most scholars have used in the past. Leaving behind literary criticism, we chose to utilise a different method. In Chapter 2 we outlined the element that constitutes the core of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*: admonition based in a world-view of a struggle between good and evil. In Chapter 3 we investigated what kind of world-view this exhortatory core requires. In this current chapter, we can finally examine other works that bear witness to a similar world-view, using the guidelines developed in the previous chapters in our discussion. This will allow us to locate the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* place among other works, based on internal criteria, and on the document's own terms.

The examination of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in the preceding chapters showed a number of motifs in that document regarding humanity and the

great controversy. These motifs are the building blocks of the world-view of whoever authored the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In Chapter 3 the following seven motifs were highlighted: the opponent's name and identity; the opponent's allegiance; the association between the unrighteous and the opponent; the opponent's modus operandi when attacking mankind; the source of the opponent's power over mankind; the opponent's underlings, and their origin; and the method of attack of the spirits. These motifs are essential to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Naturally, the motifs highlighted in Chapter 3 are not unique to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Many authors will portray these motifs in both very similar and very different ways. What we wish to locate are those authors who portray as many of these same motifs as possible, in a way as similar as possible. Having found a group of documents (including the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) with a common pool of motifs, we will have found a likely indication of where we can place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Jewish and Christian literature.

In Section A we will discuss the general motifs outlined in the previous chapters. These motifs are present in the writings of many authors, yet these authors portray the motifs in vastly differing ways. In order to correctly understand what is unique or distinctive in the way the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* portrays each motif, we will examine the variation in this portrayal among other authors. For example, *a priori* we might consider the tempting ways of the spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to be very distinctive, only to discover through analysis of their modus operandi among various authors, that it is widespread. An examination of the variation in portrayals of these motifs will thus allow us to properly compare the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other works based on these motifs.

In Section B we will compare the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with a single document that has many key motifs in common with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The *Rule of the Community* (1QS) is a document that readily shows evidence of a very similar perception of the forces of darkness. The analysis of the *Rule of the Community*, a clearly Jewish work, allows us to step outside the Jewish/Christian authorship debate, and to focus on the criteria of the texts them-

selves. We will show that the *Rule of the Community*, while very similar, has some vital differences with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that cannot be ignored. The most predominant single underlying feature fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* yet absent from the *Rule of the Community*, can most accurately be described as an emphasis on the individual. That this emphasis is absent from the *Rule of the Community* is mainly attributable to the differing goal of its author, and the very different questions that he attempts to deal with.

This absence of an emphasis on the individual in the *Rule of the Community* will allow us to further refine our motifs for comparison. We can make the motifs regarding the struggle between good and evil more distinctive, thus allowing a more selective and productive comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other documents. This in turn will allow a more stringent selection of works that share a similar world-view and context.

Having noticed the importance of the emphasis on the individual, we can select three collections of writings for further analysis. These three develop all motifs—both the general ones and those regarding the individual—in very similar ways. We will discuss these writings in turn, looking at the *Shepherd of Hermas* in Section C, the writings of Origen in Section D, and the works of Clement of Alexandria in Section E. . These three bodies of work have enough similarities where the motifs are concerned and emphasise the individual sufficiently to warrant an extensive examination of the great controversy theme in these documents.

Finally, in Section F, we can draw conclusions about the world-view as portrayed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and by comparing them to the documents that are the most similar with regard to these motifs we will identify works that share a similar world-view. In this case, the *Rule of the Community*, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the writings of Clement of Alexandria, and the writings of Origen are the most similar, and we can hypothesise on the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* based on these similarities. Ultimately, we will gain a better understanding of the possible era and context in which the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were written.

A GENERAL MOTIFS OF THE FORCES OF DARKNESS

In the previous chapters the interplay between God, the forces of darkness, and mankind according to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was extensively discussed. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the whole of mankind's existence is portrayed on the battlefield between good and evil. This battle takes place within an individual. The central point of this anthropological application of the battle between good and evil is therefore the struggle between a person and the forces of darkness, not between God and the opponent. From this discussion several motifs became evident. In this chapter, we will be using these motifs to compare the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other documents, in order to place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* among works attesting to a similar world-view. To fruitfully compare these motifs we will need to understand what kind of variation exists in their portrayal. In this section, we will discuss how other authors portray these general motifs, which will help us better understand what is distinctive and unique in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' development of these motifs.

(I) THE OPPONENT'S NAME AND IDENTITY

The existence of a supernatural entity whom we refer to as "the opponent" in this research, is a motif found in many Christian and Jewish writings. The identity and name of this entity is the first motif we will examine. The opponent is referred to by many names throughout the ages,¹ each name reflecting some aspect of his nature.

1. Consider, as an example, Russell's series of writings regarding the opponent through the ages, each with a different name for the opponent: Russell, *Devil*; Russell, *Satan*; Russell, *Lucifer*; Russell, *Mephistopheles*; Russell, *Prince of Darkness*.

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the names “Beliar,”² “Satan,”³ “devil,”⁴ “enemy,” and “prince of deceit” are present.⁵ These appellations are attested in many other writings, which also include even more names for the opponent: “adversary,”⁶ “angel of darkness,”⁷ “angel of enmity,”⁸ “Beelzebul,”⁹ “chief of spirits,”¹⁰ “evil one,”¹¹

2. The name “Beliar” or “Belial” occurs in scores of documents of both Christian and Jewish origin. The name originates from the Old Testament, where it ‘is used to denote wrongdoers’; Foerster, “Βελιαρ,” p. 607.
3. The name “Satan,” which occurs in many languages, is based on the Hebrew for “adversary,” “accuser” or “enemy.” While in Hebrew it could thus occur as a common noun for both supernatural and earthly enemies and a proper noun for the opponent, its occurrences in Greek, and thus the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, should all be seen as a proper noun. See also Kelly’s introduction and translation methodology outlined in Kelly, *Satan*, pp. 1–5.
4. “Devil” should be seen as the Greek translation of “Satan,” literally meaning “slanderer.” Considering the double usage of “Satan” as both a common and proper noun, “Devil” functions in the same way: it is both a “slanderer,” that is a human adversary, and the “Slanderer,” that is the opponent himself. See Kelly’s discussion of “devil” as proper and common noun in Kelly, *Satan*, pp. 1–5.
5. Consider the discussion of the names of the opponent on page 123 above.
6. “Adversary” occurs in a number of documents. Consider these documents *Apoc. Ab.* 24.5, *1 Clem.* 51, *2 En.* 70.6, *LAB* 45.6, *Lat. LAE* 33.3, *Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 11.19, *1 Pet* 5.8, *Ques. Bart.* 7, 10.
7. “Angel of darkness” is a well-known name for the leader of the sons of darkness in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS 3.20).
8. “Angel of enmity” occurs in the *War Scroll* in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1QM 8.1). A fragmentary copy of the *War Scroll* contains the same text, and thus also this same name (4Q378a 3.III.4).
9. The first occurrences of this name are in the synoptic gospels: Matt 10.24, 12.22–7, Mark 3.22, Luke 11.15–9. Later authors, usually quoting the passages from the gospels, also use this name, cf. Origen’s *Cels.* 2.9, 2.38, 8.25, Tertullian’s *Marc.* 26, 28, Hippolytus’s *Haer.* 4.28–29, Cyprian’s *Test.* 3.75. One work stands out, as it does not seem to reference the gospels, yet uses the name “Beelzebul”: *T. Sol.* 3.1–6, 4.2, 6.1–2, 6.9–10, 9.7, 16.3–4.
10. “Chief of spirits” is a rare name for the opponent, occurring in *Jubilees* (*Jub.* 10.7–8). A similar name occurs once in the *Testament of Solomon*, which is “ruler of spirits” (*T. Sol.* 16.3).
11. “Evil one” as a name for the opponent, occurs in hundreds of locations throughout Jewish and Christian writings. A few passages stand out. In *Jubilees* two passages describe an idyllic setting in which ‘there will be no Satan and no evil (one) who will destroy,’ and the land ‘will not have any Satan or any evil (one)’ (*Jub.* 23.29, 50.5). These references could be understood to place “evil one” as a separate description of certain supernatural figures besides “Satan,” the opponent. Alternatively, both “satan” and “evil one” could be understood as a description of generic supernatural opponents. See also Matt 5.37, 6.13, 13.19, 13.38, Eph 6.6, 2 Thess 3.3, 1 John 2.13, 3.12, 5.18, *Barn.* 21.3, *2 En.* 34.2, *Odes Sol.* 14.5, 33.4, 38.10, *Acts Pet.* 8, *Let. Jam.* 5.20, *Acts Thom.* 148.

“god of this world,”¹² “Melkiresha,”¹³ “Mastema,”¹⁴ “ruler of demons,”¹⁵ “ruler of this world,”¹⁶ and “dragon.”¹⁷ From this list, a general picture of the opponent emerges. He is the ultimate enemy, often identified as an evil angel, and can be considered to be the ruler of this world. He is also the ruler of spirits and demons, and is associated with deceit. Many of these aspects of the opponent are motifs in themselves, and various authors develop them in different ways: in one work the opponent is viewed principally as the supernatural adversary of mankind, and in another he is primarily the commander of evil human opponents. Inasmuch as they are applicable to this research, we will discuss these motifs regarding the nature of the opponent below.

First, we will focus on the opponent’s name. We will examine the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*’ choice of “Beliar” as the principal name for the opponent. When this name is found in writings, it is either written as “Beliar,” like

-
12. The first usage of “god of this world” to refer to the opponent is in 2 Corinthians, where Paul claims that the opponent has blinded many to the gospel (2 Cor 4.4). This name occurs frequently in the fathers of the church, generally based on this quote from the New Testament, c.f. Irenaeus’s *Against Heresies* (*Haer.* 3.7.1, 4.29.1), Tertullian’s *Against Marcion* (*Marc.* 5.9, 5.18), Origen’s *Commentary on Matthew* (*Com. Mat.* 11.14). One document stands out in this: the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, which refers twice to the “god of this world” without any reference or allusion to 2 Corinthians (*Mart. Ascen. Isa.* 9.14, 11.16).
 13. This name occurs twice in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In 4Q280 1.2 we read ‘accursed are you, Melki-resha’, in all the plans of your blameworthy inclination.’ In 4Q544 2.3 the name occurs, but without much context.
 14. Mastema, which simply means “enmity,” is the most common name for the opponent in *Jubilees*. The name occurs more than ten times, whereas other names occur twice or less (cf. *Jub.* 10.8, 11.5, 17.16, 18.9, 19.28, 48.2–15, 49.2). This name, however, occurs very seldom outside of *Jubilees*, cf. CD-A 16.5. See also the discussion in Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 27.
 15. “Ruler of demons” as a name for the opponent seems to originate from the synoptic gospels. This phrase occurs in four passages discussing an exorcism of Jesus, three times with the additional usage of the name Beelzebul (Matt 9.34, 12.24, Mark 3.22, Luke 11.15). As with the name Beelzebul, the name “ruler of demons” also occurs in the *Testament of Solomon*, but only once (*T. Sol.* 3.6). In another passage in the *Testament of Solomon* Beelzebul is called “ruler of spirits” (*T. Sol.* 16.3).
 16. The term “ruler of this world” is first found in John (John 12.31, 14.30, 16.11), the idea of the opponent as ruler of this world is quite common (Cf. *Haer.* 1.5.4, 1.25.4, *Strom.* 5.14, 1 *Apol.* 26, *T. Sol.* 8.2, 18.2). See also 2 Cor 4.4 where the opponent is called the “god of this world.”
 17. Cf. *Apoc. Dan.* 13.10–13, *Ques. Bart.* 46, Rev 12.3–17, 13.2–11, 16.13, 20.2, and possibly 3 *Bar.* 4.4, 5.2.

in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, or as “Belial.” While one might think that Beliar is a rare name for the opponent, it occurs throughout many eras in a number of documents.¹⁸ Consider these four works, for example. The first two are clearly Jewish, the second two are Christian. In each one the opponent is referred to as Beliar/Belial:

“O Lord, let your mercy be lifted up upon your people, and create for them an upright spirit. And do not let the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before you and ensnare them from every path of righteousness so that they might be destroyed from before your face.”¹⁹ *Jub.* 1.20

But you, O God, abhor every plan of Belial and your counsel remains, and the plan of your heart persists endlessly.²⁰ 1QH^a 12.12–13

What agreement does Christ have with Beliar? Or what does a believer share with an unbeliever?²¹ 2 Cor 6.15

And Michael sounded, and the earth shook, and Beliar came up, being held by six hundred and sixty angels and bound with fiery chains.²² *Ques. Bart.* 3.12

These four works, are not from a single era, nor do they share a common genre, yet all refer to the opponent as Beliar/Belial. The practice of referring to the opponent as Beliar must therefore be relatively widespread. Authors from many ages used Beliar to refer to the ultimate opponent. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* uses “Beliar,” which is not the most common name, yet is also not unique to a single document, era, genre, or religion. Ultimately, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*’ usage of “Beliar” does not help us locate it among other works. All in all there is much variation in the manner by which the opponent is named.

-
18. The name Beliar or Belial is used in various sources. The most evident is the more than eighty occurrences in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The name also occurs in the *Acts of Andrew and Matthias*, *Jubilees*, the *Lives of the Prophets*, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Questions of Bartholomew*, *Sibylline Oracles*, and the *Testament of Job*. Furthermore, it occurs in 2 Cor 6.15, whereupon many occurrences in the fathers of the church are based.
 19. The English translation of *Jubilees* was taken from Wintermute, “Jubilees.”
 20. The English translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls were drawn from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.
 21. All English translations of the Bible are from the NRSV translation.
 22. The English translation of the *Questions of Bartholomew* was taken from Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*.

(II) THE OPPONENT'S ALLEGIANCE

In various Jewish and Christian writings, we see that the opponent is presented as existing in one of two general states of being: the opponent can either be presented as a servant of God, or as an independent force in the universe.²³ The first can be recognised in works where the opponent assists God, performing seemingly evil deeds that are in fact for good. The opponent appears to function in this way in the portrayals in the Old Testament (e.g. Job 1–2, Zech 3, 1 Chr 21).²⁴

A good example of an instance where the opponent is depicted as an underling of God, outside of the Old Testament, can be found in the *Testament of Isaac*. In this work, the author describes how Isaac saw the opponent while touring the underworld. The author of the *Testament of Isaac* describes this part of Isaac's vision as follows:

I saw Abdemerouchos, who is in charge of the punishments, made all of fire, threatening the tormentors in hell saying, Beat them until they know that God is.²⁵

T. Isaac 9.7

Although the above portrayal of the overseer of the underworld may seem very similar to how God's opponent is generally portrayed, this figure from the *Testament of Isaac* is by no means an enemy of God (*T. Isaac* 9.7). The punishments in the underworld take place specifically so that those being punished will know the Lord (*T. Isaac* 9.7). This author, then, portrays the opponent as a subordinate of God, not

23. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the opponent is an independent, evil force who taints God's creation. This becomes clear from *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.8, consider the discussion of this passage on page 115 above.

24. So also Kelly, who maintains that 'biblical scholars in recent times have come to see that the satans of the OT [...] are not enemies but servants of God, like the Angel of Yahweh who functions as a satan in Num 22'; Kelly, *Demonology*, p. 136.

25. The English translation of the *Testament of Isaac* is from Kuhn, "Testament of Isaac." An alternative translation can be found in Stinespring, "Isaac," which is based on a different source text, and therefore is slightly different and has a different chapter and numbering scheme. The role of the overseer of hell, however, is unchanged. This passage is *T. Isaac* 5.28–29 in that edition.

God's opponent. According to the *Testament of Isaac* the opponent works directly for God's cause.²⁶

When considering examples of the second motif, that of the rebellious nature of the opponent, the book of Revelation is a useful instance, more specifically Revelation 12.²⁷ While this passage is clearly a combination of earlier mythological motifs,²⁸ the author incorporates these motifs in such a way as to identify the opponent as a rebel, and an enemy of both God and men. According to Revelation, John received a vision in which he saw the opponent being driven from heaven after an epic battle. Consider:

12.7. And war broke out in heaven; Michael and his angels fought against the dragon. The dragon and his angels fought back, 8. but they were defeated, and there was no longer any place for them in heaven. 9. The great dragon was thrown down, that ancient serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, the deceiver of the whole world—he was thrown down to the earth, and his angels were thrown down with him.

Rev 12.7-9

Revelation thus presents a vision in which the opponent made war against the archangel Michael, both sides assisted by their angels (Rev 12.7). Michael, fighting on the side of God, overcame the opponent (Rev 12.8). The opponent, together with his angels, was cast out of heaven upon the earth (Rev 12.9). The opponent rebelled against God to such an extent that war broke out. Once defeated, the opponent was not destroyed by God, but was given the earth to live on. There, he opposes mankind, making war on them (Rev 12.17).²⁹ As we can see, the author of Revelation clearly portrays the prince of darkness as the rebellious opponent of God.

-
26. In *Jubilees* the opponent, while not strictly a servant of God, is clearly subordinate to God (*Jub.* 10.5–9). So also VanderKam, who talks of 'Mastema's subordination to' God, and the opponent's recognition 'that God was in charge'; VanderKam, "Demons," p. 343. Interestingly enough, the same holds for the opponent's servants, 'that are ultimately subordinate to God'; VanderKam, "Demons," p. 362.
27. Alternative passages to consider include *Arab. Gos. Inf.* 14, 2 *En.* 7.3, 18.3, 2 *Pet* 2.4, and 11Q13.
28. Consider Lichtenberger's discussion as a starting point for reviewing these motifs; Lichtenberger, "Down-throw," p. 119. See also Lietaert Peerbolte's discussion, which focusses on the role of the opponent; Lietaert Peerbolte, *Antecedents*, pp. 135–7.
29. While there are many works that could be reviewed in the context of this passage (e.g. Busch, *Drache*; A.Y. Collins, *Combat*; Kalms, *Sturz des Gottesfeindes*), one article discusses this passage with an emphasis on various motifs, see Lichtenberger, "Down-throw."

As evidenced by these examples from the book of Revelation and the *Testament of Isaac*, various authors depict the opponent's allegiance in two very different ways. The opponent is invariably seen as attacking mankind, but different authors assign different reasons for this attack. On the one side we see instances where the opponent is portrayed as a servant of God, attacking mankind according to God's plan. On the other side authors describe the opponent's rebellion against God, and his subsequent attack of mankind. This basic portrayal of the opponent, defines many of the features assigned to him. For example, as we will see shortly in our discussion of the opponent's power, a different motivation behind the opponent's attacks on mankind also involves a different method of attack. Considering the portrayal of the opponent in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* it is very clear that the opponent works against God. Thus when identifying works that share the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs'* world-view it is important to select authors who identify the opponent as a rebel against God.

(III) THE OPPONENT'S MODUS OPERANDI

Like the opponent's position in relation to mankind, the acts of the opponent are generally described in two very different ways. As the representative of evil and wickedness, he obviously brings about unrighteousness, but the manner in which he brings about unrighteousness varies. Many authors choose to describe the opponent as causing physical harm and suffering. Other texts, such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, maintain that the opponent only attacks spiritually, i.e. with guile, temptation, prompting, and seduction.³⁰ It seems like ancient authors aligned the opponent's means of functioning to his loyalty.³¹ As we will see, an author that describes the opponent as attacking physically usually considers the opponent to be a servant of God, whereas an author that talks of spiritual attacks usually views the opponent as having rebelled against God.

The *Testament of Job* provides a useful example of the opponent's physical attacks on mankind. In this work the opponent does not battle God, but is instead

30. This is very clear in both the actions of the opponent (consider page 127 above) and those of the spirits (consider page 131 above).

31. The opponent's loyalty and allegiance was discussed above, see page 188.

under God's authority (*T. Job* 8.1–3, 16.2, 16.4, 20.2–3).³² The author of the *Testament of Job* builds on the canonical book of Job, and shows the opponent attempting to induce Job to renounce God, who allows the opponent to test Job's faith. In this test the opponent fights directly with Job, but loses due to Job's perseverance (*T. Job* 27.2–5).³³ Here the opponent's power is usually portrayed as being physical, in cases such as the destruction of cattle, the slaying of Job's children, and the plaguing of Job (*T. Job* 16.3, 17.6, 20.6). However, mankind can also be deceived by the opponent (*T. Job* 3.3), who can assume many disguises for this purpose (e.g. *T. Job* 6.4, 7.1). Consider this passage as an example of the opponent's deceptive powers:

1. Then the devil, when he had come to know my heart, laid a plot against me.
 2. Disguising himself as the king of the Persians, he stood in my city gathering together all the rogues in it. 3. And with a boast he spoke to them saying, "This man Jobab is the one who destroyed all the good things of the earth and left nothing—the one who distributed to the beggars, to the blind, and to the lame— 4. yet the one who destroyed the temple of the great god and leveled the place of drink offerings. Therefore, I also shall repay him according to what he did against the house of god. Come along then and gather spoils for yourselves of all his animals and whatever he has left on the earth."³⁴
- T. Job* 17.1–4

The opponent deceives a group of people so that they will physically attack Job (*T. Job* 17.3–4). Elsewhere, the opponent does the same thing (*T. Job* 17.1–3, 41.56). In the mind of the author the opponent is a servant of God, thus any deception on the part of the opponent must be for good. The opponent's deceptive powers are understood as a way of adding strength to his physical attacks against Job.

When considering the opponent to be rebellious against God, other authors see the opponent's spiritual attacks in a different light. These spiritual attacks focus on deception and on leading a person to sin. The *Acts of Peter* contains a section in which the apostle Peter is depicted as retelling his renunciation of Christ, and the text uses that example as a discussion of the power of the opponent. Consider:

-
32. So also Haas, 'Satan is not the anti-divine power who takes action against Job on his own authority, but a servant of God who begs his permission to do this'; Haas, "Perseverance," p. 131.
 33. So also Haas, "Perseverance," p. 134.
 34. The English translation of the *Testament of Job* has been copied from Spittler, "Testament of Job."

Dearest brethren, I denied our Lord Jesus Christ, not once, but thrice; for those who ensnared me were wicked dogs, just as the prophet of the Lord said. But the Lord did not lay it to my charge; he turned to me and had mercy on the weakness of my flesh, so that I wept bitterly; and I mourned for my little faith, having been deceived by the devil and disobeyed the word of my Lord. And now I tell you, men and brethren, who are convened in the name of Jesus Christ, Satan the deceiver sends his arrows upon you too, to make you leave the way.³⁵ *Acts Pet. 7*

According to this passage, Peter was deceived by the opponent, and for this reason he disobeyed the Lord. The opponent did not physically attack Peter in any way, but rather tempted Peter spiritually towards evil. Peter is not the only person who is tempted—Peter's audience are similarly under attack. The ultimate goal of the opponent, as envisioned by this author, becomes even clearer in a later section of the *Acts of Peter*, which also hints at the opponent's function. Consider these two passages:

What do you think will happen to you, who have just become converted? Do you imagine that he will not subvert you to make you enemies of the Kingdom of God and to bring you by the worst error into perdition? *Acts Pet. 7*

Oh, the manifold arts and temptations of the devil! Oh, the cunning and devices of the evil one, treasuring up to himself the great fire in the day of wrath, destruction of simple men, a ravening wolf devouring and destroying eternal life! *Acts Pet. 8*

These passages claim that the opponent subverts people, using various skills and temptations, cunning and devices (*Acts Pet. 8*), so that people will become enemies of the kingdom of God (*Acts Pet. 7*). An opponent who serves as a testing servant of God, as seen in the *Testament of Job*, would not wish to make a person an enemy of God. Instead, he would wish to test that person's faith. The author of the *Acts of Peter* does not portray the opponent as an opponent to God per se: the focus is on his opposition of mankind (*Acts Pet. 8*). In the mind of this author, the opponent has an altogether fouler plan: enmity between a person and God.

The author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* places much emphasis on the deceptive power of the opponent. Physical discomfort, while possibly caused by

35. The English translation of the *Acts of Peter* has been taken from Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*.

sin, is not attributed to the opponent in any meaningful way. Therefore, as we look for works that bear witness to a similar world-view to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we should look for authors who choose to emphasise the opponent's spiritual powers. We will include authors who describe the opponent's attempt to deceive people, leading them to sin and enmity with God.

(IV) THE OPPONENT AS RULER OF THE UNRIGHTEOUS

Many ancient authors associate the opponent with wicked people, referring to him as the ruler of the unrighteous.³⁶ This association of the wicked with the opponent is one of identity and nature. In other words, the deeds of the unrighteous are evil—in fact, the unrighteous themselves are evil, and are thus ruled by the opponent. In the minds of these authors, the dominion of the opponent has a terrible consequence: someone ruled by the opponent is destined for destruction. Evidence for this motif of the general connection between the unrighteous and the opponent can be found in several documents. A useful example of this motif comes from the *War Scroll* (1QM), in which a war between the forces of good and the forces of evil is described. In the very first sentence the association between the opponent and the unrighteous becomes clear:

1.1. For the Ins[tructor: The Rule of] the War. The first attack by the sons of light will be launched against the lot of the sons of darkness, against the army of Belial, against the band of Edom and of Moab and of the sons of Ammon 2. and [...] Philistia, and against the bands of the Kittim of Ashur, who are being helped by the violators of the covenant.

1QM 1.1–2

A few lines further down the time of this war is also identified:

[And th]is is a time of salvation for the nation of God and a period of rule for all the men of his lot, and of everlasting destruction for all the lot of Belial.

1QM 1.5

In the mind of the author of the *War Scroll*, the unrighteous are clearly associated with the opponent. The unrighteous are evil, and are thus on the side of the

36. This is the predominant, explicit role of the opponent in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Consider the discussion of this power of the opponent on page 124 above.

opponent, standing opposite the righteous (1QM 1.1). They are the “lot” of the opponent—his army—and are ruled by him (1QM 1.5).

Some authors consider the association between the unrighteous and their ruler to be even stronger. They claim that the opponent rules over some of mankind specifically so that he can lead them astray. We can see this in *Jubilees*. According to that author, the opponent is an angelic being who goes against God’s good order, though he still defers to God.³⁷ This writing contains a passage where Moses is said to pray and intercede with God on behalf of the Israelite nation. Moses’ prayer contains these pleas:

“O Lord, let your mercy be lifted up upon your people, and create for them an upright spirit. And do not let the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before you and ensnare them from every path of righteousness so that they might be destroyed from before your face.” *Jub.* 1.20

Here we read that Moses interceded so that the spirit of the opponent would not rule over the Israelites. Moses was fearful that the Israelites would be ruled by the forces of darkness, because it would have severe consequences: they would be accused before God, and they would be led astray. According to this passage, the opponent leads the Israelites towards evil and ultimately destruction. The author of *Jubilees* associates evil with the opponent, and when a person is led astray, this is also attributed to the opponent.

A number of authors make the link between the unrighteous and the opponent more absolute. In the view of these authors, the opponent is naturally associated with the unrighteous, but he is not only their ruler. He is even called their father. Consider these two passages:

You are from your father the devil, and you choose to do your father’s desires. He was a murderer from the beginning and does not stand in the truth, because there is no truth

37. The deferent nature of the opponent is clear when he intercedes with God to allow him to keep spirits to tempt mankind (*Jub.* 10.7–9). Wintermute also sees the opponent’s rebellious nature, claiming that ‘the author of *Jubilees* would teach us three things about evil: (1) It is superhuman; (2) but it is not caused by God; (3) therefore it comes from the angelic world, which has suffered a breach from God’s good order’; Wintermute, “*Jubilees*,” p. 47.

in him. When he lies, he speaks according to his own nature, for he is a liar and the father of lies. John 8.44

Everyone who commits sin is a child of the devil; for the devil has been sinning from the beginning. The Son of God was revealed for this purpose, to destroy the works of the devil. 1 John 3.8

In these two texts the unrighteous are directly associated with the opponent: he is their father. Their deeds are also associated with the opponent, in that the unrighteous choose to do what their father, the opponent, desires. In other texts, some authors make this association even stronger, as the father-child relationship is also the reason why people commit evil acts.

The author of *The Acts of Andrew*, for example, also attributes evil acts to the paternal influence of the opponent. In this work we find a narrative in which Andrew converts a woman by the name of Maximilla (*Acts Andr.* 1). Andrew exhorts her to maintain her chastity, and as a result she refuses sexual intercourse with her husband Aegeates (*Acts Andr.* 13–16). By means of a ruse, Aegeates is tricked into sleeping with Maximilla's maid for many months (*Acts Andr.* 17–19). After a certain amount of time, the other servants are instigated by the devil to betray Maximilla to Aegeates (*Acts Andr.* 21). This betrayal is described as follows:

Even though they solemnly swore themselves to silence about what they had seen, at the instigation of their father the devil they went to their master immediately, money in hand, and told him the whole story.³⁸ *Acts Andr.* 21

Not only are the servants associated with the opponent, but, according to this work, their betrayal is also caused by the opponent, in that the opponent prompts them towards disloyalty.³⁹ The author of the *Acts of Andrew* associates the unrighteous with the opponent, and thereby attributes the actions of the unrighteous to the opponent.

38. The English translation of the *Acts of Andrew* was taken from Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*.

39. This is not the only association of evil deeds and diabolical fatherhood in the *Acts of Andrew*. Elsewhere Aegeates is also said to have the devil as his father. As Aegeates will still wish to have intercourse with Maximilla, she must not fall for his seductions and the opponent's flatteries (*Acts Andr.* 40).

To summarise, we see that many different authors associate the unrighteous with the opponent. Some do so based solely on the level of identity and nature, where the unrighteous are evil just as their ruler the opponent is evil. Other authors prefer to see the opponent as the father of the unrighteous, showing a stronger bond between them. Finally, some authors explicitly attribute the evil actions of the unrighteous to their association with the opponent. This hints at a greater danger in the influence of the opponent—not only does the opponent represent evil, he can even tempt people towards unrighteousness. When we utilise the portrayal of this motif to locate the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* among works exhibiting a similar world-view, we will focus on authors that strongly associate unrighteousness with the opponent, especially those that, similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, maintain that people sin at the opponent's instigation. Now that we have touched on the relationship of the opponent to mankind, we can move on to a discussion of his *modus operandi*.

(V) THE SOURCE OF THE OPPONENT'S POWER

That the opponent has power over mankind is evident in many writings. Ancient authors generally choose to portray the opponent's power as physical or spiritual, as discussed in the previous section. Often this development of the opponent's power leads to the question of how the opponent obtained power over mankind. Considering that the opponent causes no physical harm to mankind in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we will focus on the opponent's spiritual power.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, a short treatment of the source of the opponent's physical power is also useful, as it will help us locate the specifics of portrayal of this motif in the broader range of variations.

As maintained above, in most documents where the authors portray the opponent as having physical power over mankind, the opponent is also portrayed as a servant of God. In these works, the opponent functions as a tester of faith, making

40. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the opponent's power is from his abuse of mankind's nature. See the discussion of the power of the various spirits beginning on page 131 above, especially the conclusions on page 148.

people sick, killing people, causing natural disasters, etc. He does this in order to test a person's commitment to the Lord. Naturally, in these cases the author understands the source of the opponent's power to be God.

The opponent's forces, the spirits, are generally depicted as having physical control over a person through possession.⁴¹ A person possessed by a demon is no longer in control of his body. In this case the spirit, inhabiting a person, overrides that person's spirit, causing him all manner of distress.⁴² Thus, the demon uses a person's own body against that person. A demoniac is attacked by his own body, driven to physical discomfort and pain.

When authors ascribe spiritual power to the opponent, they also describe the opponent as using an individual's nature against him.⁴³ In general the opponent is said to abuse that nature, exploiting mankind's natural needs and turning them into vices. This does not mean that humanity's nature is at fault, however. In the *Acts of John* a young man, regretting an act of fornication, dismembers his genitals (*Acts John* 53). Upon hearing of this, the apostle John admonishes the young man as follows:

‘The one who induced you, young man, to kill your father and to become the lover of another man's wife, has also made you cut off your genitals as if it were a righteous work. But you should not have destroyed your private parts for the temper which proved itself evil through the members. For your organs are not hurtful to man, but the hidden sources, by which every shameful inclination is stirred and becomes manifest.’⁴⁴

Acts John 54

In this reprimand, it is clear that the organs themselves are not to blame for the young man's fornication. The organs are neither evil nor wicked. It is the deceptive

41. This is similar to the portrayal of the opponent in many (anti-)gnostic writings; cf. Tromp, “Origen,” p. 332.

42. The corporeal distress caused by demon possession was discussed above, beginning on page 206.

43. This theme, that the opponent's power comes from mankind's nature, occurs in several documents. Consider Lactantius's *Divine Institutes* and *Workmanship of Good*, (*Inst.* 2.15, 6.22, *Opif.* 19), the *Acts of John* (*Acts John* 53–54), Justin Mary's *First Apology* (1 *Apol.* 10, 14), and Origen's *Commentary on Romans* and *First Principles* (*Com. Rom.* 1.18, *Princ.* 3.2.2). See also *Herm.* 34.1–4 and the discussion of this passage on page 242.

44. The English translation of the *Acts of John* is taken from Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*.

nature of the forces of darkness, referred to here as the hidden sources, that lead a person towards sin. In this passage, while there is a clear association between the nature of mankind and sin, it is not mankind's nature that is to blame. Rather, mankind's nature is the domain through which the opponent can lead people astray.

The portrayal of this motif correlates strongly to the portrayal of the opponent's nature, whether servant of God or rebel. An author who sees the opponent as a servant naturally attributes the opponent's power to God, whereas an author who considers the opponent to be working against God attributes that power to human nature. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we see that the opponent attempts to foil God's plans of salvation, meaning that the author also attributes the opponent's power to his subversion of human nature. In searching for the works that testify to a world-view similar to the one evident in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we will select authors who portray the opponent as abusing an individual's nature.

(VI) THE OPPONENT'S UNDERLINGS AND THEIR ORIGIN

Ancient authors generally assumed that the opponent does not work alone. Instead he has a seemingly unending army of subordinates who assist him.⁴⁵ These underlings were usually called spirits, demons, or angels,⁴⁶ generally with a modifier

45. Wright extensively discusses the origin of the motif of evil spirits. He argues that the idea of the spirits originates from the Watcher traditions beginning in Genesis 6, and that only later were they connected to a principle malevolent figure. He claims that 'the evil spirits develop as a group that operate under the leadership of a chief spirit who is known by the names of Belial, Beliar, and Mastema, and who is probably the "Satan" figure in later Christianity'; Wright, *Evil Spirits*, p. 222.

46. The usage of these terms is widely diverse. It is common to see all three of these terms used interchangeably. There is, however, a general trend. In the clearly Jewish writings we see that "spirit" is more popular. Consider these occurrences: *Jubilees*, demon (*Jub.* 7.27, 10.1), spirit (*Jub.* 1.20, 10.3, 10.13, 11.4, 12.20, 19.28); *1 Enoch*, demon (*1 En.* 19.1, 99.7), spirit (*1 En.* 15.8, 15.9, 99.7); *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, spirit (*LAB* 53.3, 53.4, 60.1, 60.3), demon does not occur. "Spirit" is used dozens of times in the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the only occurrence of "demon" in a non-biblical Dead Sea Scroll is in 11Q11, which is very fragmented. Tobit is the only Jewish writing that prefers "demon" to "spirit." Throughout the New Testament "demon" is much more common than "spirit," with a few usages of "angel." In later Christian writings "demon" and "angel" seem to be preferred, cf. the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah's* sole use of "angel," the *Shepherd of Hermas's* usage of all three

such as “evil” or “wicked” in order to differentiate them from godly angels and clean spirits.⁴⁷ These authors assumed that the spirits of the opponent helped the opponent further his work, and therefore the authors often make no clear differentiation between the actions of the spirits and those of the opponent.⁴⁸

Various authors give different explanations for the origin of the spirits. In some works the author claims that the spirits were specifically set on their path by the opponent, whereas in others the author sees their path as part of God’s original plan for creation.⁴⁹ Between these two extremes there are various shades of grey.⁵⁰ In order to understand the various ways authors can choose to discuss the origin of the spirits and their method of attacking mankind, we will examine several documents and discuss how they describe the spirits of the opponent.

The oldest passage describing how the spirits came into being can be found in *1 Enoch*. In this work, the author depicts how the Lord told Enoch about the angelic Watchers and their intercourse with human women (*1 En.* 15.1–7). The offspring of this mingling between corporeal and spiritual beings is described as follows:

8. But now the giants who were begotten by the spirits and flesh—they will call them evil spirits upon the earth, for their dwelling will be upon the earth. 9. The spirits that

terms, the *Life of Adam and Eve*’s preference for “angel,” the *Testament of Solomon*’s use of “demon.” “Spirit” still occurs regularly, however, cf. the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the *Acts of John*, and the *Acts of Thomas*.

47. The common modifiers can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there are those that associate the spirit with the opponent. Consider, “spirits of Mastema” (*Jub.* 19.28), “spirit of Belial” (4Q177 4.14), “spirit of the devil” (*Herm.* 39.11), “angel of Satan” (2 Cor 12.7). Secondly, modifiers can be used to show the nature of the spirits. Consider “evil spirit” (*Jub.* 7.27), “unclean spirit” (*1 En.* 99.7), “malevolent spirit” (*Jub.* 11.4), “spirit of deceit” (1QS 3.18), “wicked spirit” (Justin’s *Dial.* 39), and “spirit of injustice” (1QS 4.20).
48. Consider the discussion of the naming of the spirits on page 128 above, especially the discussion of the epithet “spirit of Beliar,” which argues that they are simply an extension of the opponent’s power.
49. At this juncture it is useful to note that a purely dualistic origin, i.e. that the evil spirits were created by the opponent, is hard to find. The closest is probably as given in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where the Lord created good spirits and the opponent tainted them towards evil. See the detailed discussion of *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.8, beginning on page 115 above.
50. See also Russell’s discussion of dualism and monism with respects to the opponent in Russell, *Satan*, pp. 32–3.

have gone forth from the body of their flesh are evil spirits, for from humans they came into being, and from the holy watchers was the origin of their creation. Evil spirits they will be on the earth, and evil spirits they will be called. 10. The spirits of heaven, in heaven is their dwelling; but the spirits begotten in the earth, on earth is their dwelling. 11. And the spirits of the giants <lead astray>, do violence, make desolate, and attack and wrestle and hurl upon the earth and <cause illnesses>. They eat nothing, but abstain from food and are thirsty and smite.⁵¹ 1 En. 15.8–11

According to this passage, the giants were the children of the angels and mankind (1 En. 15.8), and these giants were both of immortal spirit and mortal flesh (1 En. 15.8).⁵² When the mortal flesh passed away, the immortal spirit remained, outside a body (1 En. 15.9). The disembodied spirits that resulted are the evil spirits (1 En. 15.9),⁵³ who commit horrible deeds on earth and oppose mankind.⁵⁴ The author of 1 *Enoch* sees the underlings of the opponent as the disembodied offspring of fallen angels.⁵⁵ These underlings are depicted as the opponents of mankind, causing horrific evil among people.

-
51. The English translations of 1 *Enoch* 1–36, 81–108 are from Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 1.
 52. So also Nickelsburg, who explains that ‘because of their dual nature, the giants are both eradicable and immortal. On the one hand, the body of their flesh can die. On the other hand, their spirits have continued existence’; Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 1, p. 272.
 53. Nickelsburg understands that the spirits are evil due to the rebellious nature of their “fathers.” He discusses the spiritual substance (the “spirit”) of the Watchers, and claims that ‘the watchers have generated their substance into the world. Because this substance is spirit, it is immortal; however, the nature of its generation and the defiant attitude of the watchers who have spawned it have resulted in its malevolent character’; Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 1, pp. 272–3. Stuckenbruck appears to have a similar understanding, as he maintains that ‘since these spirits are ultimately products of a reprehensible union, they are irreversibly corrupt’; Stuckenbruck, “Giant Demonology,” p. 336.
 54. Stuckenbruck argues that their enmity towards mankind is based on jealousy ‘that humans, and not they, have escaped the destruction with their bodies intact’; Stuckenbruck, “Giant Demonology,” p. 336.
 55. Note that in 1 *Enoch* there is no clear-cut principle opponent. As 1 *Enoch* is a compound work, different works have different understandings, but there are also contradictions within a single work. In the *Book of the Watchers* (1–36) the fallen angels are commanded by Shemihazah, who is called their ruler (1 En. 6.7). But Asael is also considered the instigator of the fall of the angels (1 En. 8.1, 9.6, 10.4–8). In the *Similitudes of Enoch* (37–71) we note the usage of Azazel as the leader of the rebellious angels (1 En. 54.5, 55.5). See also Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 1, pp. 46–8.

According to this narrative, then, the rebellion was against nature.⁵⁶ The origin of the spirits is thus not an evil entity. As far as the author of *1 Enoch* is concerned, the origin of the evil spirits is attributable to the fact that they went against nature, that is that they corrupted of Gods order.⁵⁷

In *Jubilees*, we read that Noah is tired of being plagued by evil spirits and he prays to the Lord, asking the Lord to imprison them. The Lord agrees, but before the spirits can be imprisoned the opponent intercedes with the Lord as follows:

10.7,8. And the chief of the spirits, Mastema, came and he said, "O Lord, Creator, leave some of them before me, and let them obey my voice. And let them do everything which I tell them, because if some of them are not left for me, I will not be able to exercise the authority of my will among the children of men because they are (intended) to corrupt and lead astray before my judgment because the evil of the sons of men is great." 9. And he said, "Let a tenth of them remain before him, but let nine parts go down into the place of judgment." *Jub.* 10.7–9

This passage, which is one of the oldest to discuss the spirits,⁵⁸ shows how the author sees their function with regard to the opponent.⁵⁹ The opponent needs spirits to do

-
56. There is much dualism in *1 Enoch*, but not between good and evil. The dualism is between mortal and divine. See also Nickelsburg, *Commentary* 1, pp. 40–1. For a thorough discussion of the rebellion in *1 Enoch* consider Hanson, "Rebellion in Heaven"; Newsom, "Cosmology and Judgment."
57. This motif is also visible in later writings, cf. Jude 1.6 and *Jub.* 10.5. In *Jubilees* it is worth noting that regarding the evil spirits, the text 'does not claim that they emanated from the carcasses of the giants' as in *1 Enoch*. Instead the 'demons are emanations from the angels themselves'; VanderKam, "Demons," p. 349. The rebellion, however, is still against God's defined order. An interesting document in this case is the *Book of Giants*, which was identified among the Qumran fragments, including 1Q23, 1Q24, 2Q26, 4Q203, 4Q530–3, and 6Q8. For a complete list, see Stuckenbruck, "Giant Demonology," p. 318. This document sees the sexual union of the spirits with women 'as an act of defilement [...] which has violated the boundaries imposed by God upon the created order. Because of their reprehensible nature, the giants' punishment will involve a reconfiguration of their mode of being'; Stuckenbruck, "Giant Demonology," p. 335. Here too the origin of the spirits was in rebellion against nature, which in turn led to a different nature for the angels in question.
58. *Jubilees* can be dated to the second century BCE, cf. Wintermute, "Jubilees"; VanderKam, *Jubilees*; VanderKam, "Demons."
59. At this juncture it is valuable to note that the author of *Jubilees* has 'here departed dramatically from his source, the Book of the Watchers, which says nothing about limiting the number of demons or evil spirits'; VanderKam, "Demons," p. 344. See also VanderKam's analysis of the lack of this motif in ancient sources in VanderKam, "Demons," pp. 354–62.

his bidding (*Jub.* 10.7), spirits that will do all that the opponent commands (*Jub.* 10.7). Without them, the opponent will not be able to perform his allotted task properly (*Jub.* 10.8). The author of *Jubilees*, less concerned with the spirits' origin, discusses the relationship between the opponent and his underlings in more detail. In his view the spirits are clearly part of the opponent's influence on mankind, functioning as his tools in the world and assisting him in his actions. The opponent rules over the spirits⁶⁰ and commands them to do evil.

The author of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, who seems interested in understanding why the opponent tempted Eve, gives a different explanation for the origin of the evil forces. After God created Adam, all the angels were called to worship Adam, as he was the image and likeness of the Lord. Michael brought this command to the angels, and a number refused to worship Adam. They would not worship a creation that was created later than they were. The conversation between the two and implications thereof runs as follows:

15.2. And Michael asserted, 'Worship the image of God. But if now you will not worship, the LORD God will be wrathful with you.' 3. And I said, 'If he be wrathful with me, I will set my throne above the stars of heaven and will be like the Most High.'

16.1. And the LORD God was angry with me and sent me with my angels out from our glory; and because of you, we were expelled into this world from our dwellings and have been cast onto the earth.⁶¹

Lat. LAE 15.2-16.1

According to this text, the archangel Michael reminds the opponent that he will be punished if he does not listen to God (*Lat. LAE* 15.2). The opponent responds with arrogance, threatening to make himself equal to the Lord (*Lat. LAE* 15.3). God responds by expelling the opponent and other angels, casting them to the earth (*Lat. LAE* 16.1). Thus the forces of darkness roam the earth.⁶² Both the author of

60. While the opponent is often the ruler of spirits, he generally is not referred to as such. Only a few writings specifically call the opponent the ruler of the spirits. In the three synoptic gospels Jesus is said to cast out demons by Beelzebul, the ruler of demons (Matt 9.34, 12.24, Mark 3.22, Luke 11.15). See also Beelzebul ruler of demons/spirits in *T. Sol.* 3.6, 16.3. And naturally, in the passage above, the opponent is called the chief of spirits (*Jub.* 10.8).

61. The English translation of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* is from Johnson, "Life of Adam and Eve."

62. See, for a lengthier discussion of the nature and role of the opponent in the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, Piñero, "Angels and Demons."

1 *Enoch* and that of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* see the origin of the forces of darkness in rebellion. In the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* the rebellion is against God himself, or at least against worshipping a later creation even if God so commands it. Here, the origin of the evil forces is evil, going against God's express wishes. It is also defined by an opposition to mankind, as the entire rebellion is defined by antagonism towards mankind. This theme of rebellion against God himself occurs frequently.⁶³

The author of the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* describes the origin of the forces of deceit in a way close to that evident in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This explanation for their existence is present in a number of other writings too, which shows that it is a wide-spread, popular tradition. Originally, the spirits were created to be good, but through the influence of the opponent they were set against mankind. In both the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the opponent has thus blemished God's creation. We see then that the origin of the forces of darkness is generally understood as going against God's order, but in some works we see the opponent actively taking a part in leading others to forsake their nature.

The motif of the opponent's poisoning of creation, is also evident in the *Acts of Thomas* among others.⁶⁴ The *Acts of Thomas* details the activities of Thomas—who is described, strangely enough, as the twin brother of Christ (*Acts Thom.* 31, 39)—in India. There he ran into a man, who had just been bitten by a snake. In a monologue given by the snake, who is the offspring of the opponent, much information regarding the opponent is given (*Acts Thom.* 32).⁶⁵ The author depicts the snake,

63. Consider the battle in heaven in Rev 12.7, the rebellion in 2 *En.* 7.3, 18.3, and the description of the angels being cast from heaven in 2 Pet 2.4. See also *Arab. Gos. Inf.* 14, where Satan is called rebellious, and 11Q13 where Melchizedek wars against the opponent.

64. Consider the Greek *Life of Adam and Eve*, where the opponent's poison that it introduced to mankind is covetousness (*Gr. LAE* 19.3). Tromp maintains that the specification of the poison of the opponent as covetousness is a gloss; Tromp, *Adam and Eve*, p. 109. An interestingly similar motif can be found in Ignatius's *Letter to the Ephesians*, which speaks of the stench of the opponent that permeates thought and teachings (*Ign. Eph.* 17.1–2). See also Russell's discussion in Russell, *Satan*, pp. 34–5. There is some similarity between a polluting poison and the pervading toxicity of a terrible stench.

65. See Adamic, "The Serpent in the Acts of Thomas" for a discussion of the serpent's speech in greater detail.

which symbolises the forces of darkness collectively, as being responsible for many evils in a way similar to how the deceptive qualities of the spirits of deceit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are described.⁶⁶ The narrative then continues as follows:

When the serpent had spoken these things in the hearing of the multitude, the apostle lifted up his voice and said, 'Stop now, O you most shameless one, and be ashamed that you are wholly powerless. For your end, destruction, has come. And do not dare to say what you have done through your dependants. But I command you in the name of that Jesus who even until now contends with you for the sake of those who are his own, to suck out the poison which you put into this man, and to draw it forth and take it out of him!' And the serpent said, 'The time of our destruction has not yet come as you have said. Why do you force me to take out what I have put in him, and to die before the time? For my father shall also find his end when he draws forth and sucks out what he has put into the creation.'⁶⁷

Acts Thom. 33

In this passage an analogy is made between the poison of the serpent in a man, and the poison of the opponent in creation. Just as a snake can bite a person and inject poison into his body, so the opponent has poisoned God's creation. In the name of Jesus, Thomas forced the snake to remove his poison from the bitten man; the snake then perished from its own poison. In the same manner God will force the opponent to suck his poison from creation, thus causing the opponent to be destroyed (*Acts Thom.* 33). From this analogy it is clear that the author of the *Acts of Thomas* believed that the opponent has tarnished creation in some way. While the exact consequences of the opponent's poison are unclear, it is reasonable to assume that these are the deceptive influences of the opponent outlined in the serpent's monologue.⁶⁸ Even though the origin of the spirits is not discussed here

66. The snake drove Cain to kill his brother, caused thorns and thistles to grow, and cast down the angels, binding them through desire of women (*Acts Thom.* 32). The offspring of this union are the ones in which the snake's will is fulfilled. Furthermore, the snake hardened Pharaoh's heart, deceived the Israelites to create the golden calf, killed Herod, caused Caiaphas to make false accusations before Pilate, and led Judas to betray Jesus (*Acts Thom.* 32). These deeds, which focus on leading mankind astray, show some resemblance with the deeds of the spirits of deceit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

67. The English Translation of the *Acts of Thomas* is from Elliot, *Apocryphal New Testament*.

68. Consider also the poisonous influence of the spirits of deceit in *T. Sim.* 4.9 and *T. Ash.* 1.9. See the discussion on page 150.

(the author is clearly interested in other questions) the belief in the polluting nature of the opponent, and thus the creation of evil as a blemishing of God's creation, is apparent.

Not many authors specifically depict the origin of the spirits as a pollution of God's creation. It is more common for ancient authors to maintain that the spirits were not always evil, but were led astray through some instigation by the opponent.⁶⁹ In general, then, it seems that, when referring to the origin of the forces of darkness, authors attribute the origin of the spirits to one of two variations: either the spirits are part of God's cosmic plan and were set on their deceptive path by the Lord, as seen in the *Rule of the Community*, or the spirits started out as righteous creations, yet were led astray to go against their nature by the opponent, as seen in (amongst others) *1 Enoch*, the *Acts of Thomas*, the Latin *Life of Adam and Eve*, and the *Testament of Reuben*. In comparing works with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we will thus look for authors that portray the spirits as originally good and subsequently led astray.

(VII) THE MODUS OPERANDI OF THE SPIRITS OF DECEIT

As we have just seen, the opponent's servants are typically depicted as reflecting and extending the power of the opponent.⁷⁰ For this reason the distinction between those powers could be considered irrelevant. Yet, in some areas there is a clear distinction between the opponent's modus operandi and those of the spirits. For example, the opponent himself hardly ever possesses people. It seems that while the spirits and the opponent can share many tasks, certain are reserved for the opponent himself and certain for the spirits.

Portrayals of the power of the spirits vary in a way similar to portrayals of the opponent's power: there are two different ways in which the spirits are depicted as attacking mankind: physically and spiritually. While some authors, thus, describe

69. C.f., for example, Lactantius's opinion that the opponent enticed the angels to vices, thus causing them to fall (*Inst.* 2.15). See also the passages referred to in the discussion of the opponent as a rebel, where he usually is the leader of rebels, having deceived other angels to follow him, on page 202 above.

70. See also the discussion of this fact for the spirits of deceit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* on page 129 above.

the physical distress the spirits inflict on a person, others recount the spiritual attacks, where people are deceived and led astray.⁷¹

In the first case, authors describe demons who can bring about physical suffering. They maintain that when a spirit takes control of a person there are many external, physical consequences, and generally bystanders in these works have no doubt as to what force is behind these physical signs. The synoptic gospels contain useful depictions of the physical powers attributed to the underlings of the opponent. Consider these passages, for example:

Then they brought to him a demoniac who was blind and mute; and he cured him, so that the one who had been mute could speak and see. Matt 12.22

1.23. Just then there was in their synagogue a man with an unclean spirit, 24. and he cried out, "What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God." 25. But Jesus rebuked him, saying, "Be silent, and come out of him!" 26. And the unclean spirit, convulsing him and crying with a loud voice, came out of him. Mark 1.23–26

5.2. And when he had stepped out of the boat, immediately a man out of the tombs with an unclean spirit met him. 3. He lived among the tombs; and no one could restrain him any more, even with a chain; 4. for he had often been restrained with shackles and chains, but the chains he wrenched apart, and the shackles he broke in pieces; and no one had the strength to subdue him. Mark 5.2–4

As he stepped out on land, a man of the city who had demons met him. For a long time he had worn no clothes, and he did not live in a house but in the tombs. Luke 8.27

In these passages, the influence of spirits is clearly visible in the demoniacs. These people are abused by the spirits which cause them physical distress. These passages describe muteness (Matt 12.22), blindness (Matt 12.22),⁷² convulsions (Mark 1.26), uncontrollable speech (Mark 1.24–26), superhuman strength (Mark 5.3–4), and

-
71. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the spirits only attack a person spiritually. They lead a person astray, cause vices within a person, and blind a person to what is right. Consider the discussion of the influence of the spirits of deceit on page 128 above.
72. Note that this is physical blindness, not a spiritual blindness to the commandments of the Lord. Compare how spiritual blindness in *T. Dan* 2.3 would cause someone to treat his mother or father as an enemy; this is wholly different to a demoniac that is physically completely blind.

wildness (Luke 8.27). In such cases, demon possession leads to very severe physical defects. This physical influence of the spirits of the opponent is a common motif, and many more authors also ascribe physical deficiencies to demon possession.⁷³

Additionally, many authors attribute spiritual powers over mankind to the forces of darkness. In this they do not directly cause physical distress, but rather lead astray. These authors claim that the deceptive nature of the spirits can lead people both directly and indirectly to sin. Often the references to the spirits leading mankind astray are not very explicit, and their methods are described vaguely or generically. Consider this passage from 1 Timothy:

Now the Spirit expressly says that in later times some will renounce the faith by paying attention to deceitful spirits and teachings of demons. 1 Tim 4.1

According to this author, the spirits and demons are deceitful, and give false teaching to mankind (1 Tim 4.1).⁷⁴ Furthermore, paying attention to these servants of the opponent can cause a person to stray from the true path (1 Tim 4.1). Indeed, paying attention to the opponent's minions can lead one to renounce the faith (1 Tim 4.1). It remains slightly unclear how these spirits achieve this nefarious goal,

73. Consider also these physical influences of the spirits in several documents: blindness (*Bk. Mir.* 32); death (*Acts Thom.* 75, *Tob* 3.8); epilepsy (*Matt* 17.5, *Bk. Mir.* 34); generic harm and injury (*T. Adam* 1.1, 2.10); inability to wear clothes (*Arab. Gos. Inf.* 14); large-scale destruction (*T. Sol.* 6.4, 7.5); mad laughing (*Bk. Mir.* 29); self-mutilation (*Acts Andr.* 2); sickness (*Jub.* 15.11, *T. Sol.* 18.18); suicide (*Bk. Mir.* 14); starvation (*Acts Thom.* 73); teeth-gnashing (*Bk. Mir.* 29); unwarranted violence (*Bk. Mir.* 29); and wildness (*Arab. Gos. Inf.* 14, *Acts Andr.* 2).

74. Other texts might help understand what these false teachings could be. Tatian claims that the spirits of deceit convince mankind that when a person becomes sick it is because of their influence (*Orat. Graec.* 16). Thus, while they have no real power, they lead people to believe that they do. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, there is another explanation of false teachings. In this work, a spirit is said to have instructed the Jews in their false understanding of the law (*Barn.* 9.4). Thus the teachings are not intended to make the spirits seem more powerful, but simply to lead astray. The motif of false teachings might find its origins in 1 *Enoch*, where the fall of the angels is attributed to their teaching of forbidden knowledge to mankind (1 *En.* 8.1–4). The teachings of these angels, however, were not all inherently evil, rather they were simply not intended for mankind.

but one would imagine that this occurs in the same way as the opponent's spiritual attacks: through temptation, guile, prompting, and seduction.⁷⁵

Clearly, the power of the spirits of deceit is portrayed in different ways by various authors. All agree that the spirits have an evil influence. However, there is variation between authors who consider the power of the spirits to be physical and those that consider it to be spiritual. Some authors thus believe that the power of the spirits manifests through demon possession, and is therefore present in a variety of physical afflictions. Others understand the power of the spirits to be chiefly spiritual—the spirits tempt, deceive and seduce. In this second understanding, the spirits ultimately destroy individuals by leading them astray and causing them to sin. When we use the various developments of this motif in our comparison with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the most useful will be those authors that portray the power of the spirits of to be spiritual. As in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* these authors should maintain that spirits tempt and deceive, not maim and disable.

CONCLUSION

In summary, we have now seen how various authors chose to portray several common motifs concerning the opponent. We started with a discussion of the various names for the opponent, noting a great diversity of ways in which documents refer to the opponent and naming more than a dozen of the most common ones. When discussing “Beliar,” the most common epithet from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we concluded that it has been used in both Christian and Jewish writings for many centuries. Ultimately, the title used to refer to the opponent does not seem to be very useful for a comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other works.

75. The method in which the servants of the opponent spiritually attack mankind is quite clear in the Papyrus Texts of the *Acts of Andrew*. The papyrus focusses on a narrative of a magician wishing to persuade a young girl to have intercourse with him. He sends powers after her, and demons try to tempt and persuade her. In order to do this, they act like her brother (*P. Utr.* 10). The underlings, thus, use their possessive powers to deceive a person, and unwittingly gain a person's trust. Another method can be found in the writings of Tertullian. He talks of the dreams that come from the spirits, where they endeavour to tempt in sleep those who can withstand them while awake (*Test.* 46).

The second motif we discussed was how an author can portray the opponent's allegiance. Some authors see the opponent as a servant of God, but others consider him to be God's enemy. As God's underling, the opponent is under God's supervision, and is part of God's divine plan. As an enemy of God, or more precisely of mankind, he is free to act according to his own will. The author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is quite clear that the opponent is not aligned with God in any way. In selecting works that show evidence of a similar world-view, we should thus only consider those that portray the opponent as working counter to God's plan.

Thirdly, we considered how authors portray the way the opponent works. That the opponent has some direct or indirect power is a given, but the nature of that power is not. In some texts the opponent's *modus operandi* is physical, and in others spiritual. In other words, some authors attribute corporeal distress to the opponent, whereas others choose to focus on how the opponent leads a person astray. In leading a person astray, the opponent tempts a person to sin, and thus to enmity with God. As we saw in the previous chapters, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the opponent's power is always spiritual. As we select works displaying a similar world-view, we will need to focus on authors that emphasise the spiritual, deceiving power of the opponent over his physical power.

The fourth motif concerns how authors associate the opponent with unrighteous and wicked people. Authors often refer to the opponent as the ruler of the unrighteous, and in some works he is even called the father of the wicked. Various authors maintain that the unrighteous commit evil deeds of their own accord, but some authors claim that the unrighteous are tempted towards those deeds by the opponent. This association between unrighteousness and the opponent is strongly present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, even going so far as to maintain that a person sins at the opponent's instigation. Works revealing a similar world-view to the one found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* must thus include those where the author portrays sin as occurring at the opponent's prompting.

The fifth motif we examined revolved around the origins of the opponent's power over mankind. We noted that some authors equate this power over mankind to the power the opponent received from God, whereas other authors instead main-

tain that the opponent draws power by abusing mankind's nature. In the second case the opponent is able to change a person's natural needs into desires, causing that person's nature to lead him into sin. This latter explanation is also given in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and works sharing this explanation for the source of the opponent's power bear witness to a similar world-view.

The sixth motif concerned the opponent's underlings. Authors generally refer to these as (wicked) "spirits," "demons" or (evil) "angels." While many authors attribute the origins of these supernatural beings to the fall of divine angels, some authors explicitly link this fall to deception by the opponent. In our search for authors sharing a world-view with the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we will select those authors that credit the fall of these beings to the treacherous ways of the opponent, because that is also how their origins are portrayed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

The seventh and final motif we considered was the manner in which the opponent's underlings attack mankind. As was the case with the opponent, authors attribute both physical and spiritual power to these subordinate beings. Their physical powers are most evident in the discussions of demoniacs, where the spirits cause a variety of physical difficulties. As far as their spiritual power is concerned, authors maintain that the opponent's subordinates have the ability to lead people away from God's will. These spirits deceive people so that they will commit unrighteous deeds. We will focus on those authors that choose to portray the power of the spirits as primarily spiritual, and thus share a similar world-view to what we found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

All in all, it is clear that these seven motifs are present in many different documents from many eras. A single document, however, immediately stands out as presenting these motifs in the ways we are looking for. The *Rule of the Community* (1QS) has an understanding of these motifs that is remarkably similar to that of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Furthermore, considering that the *Rule of the Community* is clearly Jewish, and datable to the end of the first century BCE, it is a useful document to discuss in more detail. In the following section we will examine the *Rule of the Community*, focussing on the same topics as we discussed for the

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in previous chapters. As we will establish, the *Rule of the Community* is a remarkable document for comparison on this topic, and this discussion of the *Rule of the Community* will help us understand the motifs in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* more comprehensively.

B 1QS: THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY

In the *Rule of the Community*, one particular section discusses dualism and the forces of darkness in detail.⁷⁶ This section (1QS 3.13–4.26) is often called the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. There is no doubt that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* shows an understanding of a great controversy between good and evil.⁷⁷ It specifically discusses two spirits, one of light and one of darkness, as well as what these spirits represent and their influences on mankind, both individually and collectively.

The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* has formal markers to indicate that it is a separate section of the scroll.⁷⁸ While it is included in the *Rule of the Community* found in cave 1, it is absent in versions found in other caves, apparently it is an independent piece of tradition that was inserted into a version of the *Rule of the Community*.⁷⁹

The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* has a clear structure. The text begins with a summary (1QS 3.13–5) and an outline of mankind's dualistic existence (1QS 3.15–8). This is followed by an exposition of both spirits (1QS 3.18–4.1) and their influences (1QS 4.2–14). Finally, an explanation of the struggle between the spirits, and also between the people who follow one of the two spirits, is presented together with

-
76. That a single section in particular discusses dualism is evidenced by e.g. Duhaime, who in his discussion of dualism in the Dead Sea Scrolls, treats 1QS 3.13–4.26 extensively, without any reference to the rest of the *Rule of the Community*.
77. Consider, for example, Charlesworth, "Dualism in 1QS," pp. 76–83; Frey, "Different Patterns," pp. 294–6; Wright, *Evil Spirits*, pp. 168–70; Metso, *Serekh Texts*, pp. 8–9, 26; Hempel, "Literary History," pp. 110–3; Popović, "Light and Darkness," pp. 148–63. These and other authors discuss which type (e.g. cosmological, ethical) of dualism is present in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, but that discussion is not useful for this argument. In the earlier chapters, the dualism in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was not explicitly divided into types, and the dualism in the *Rule of the Community* will not be divided into types either. For a discussion of the different types of dualism, consider Wright, who claims that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* 'should be considered a multi-faceted dualistic document that contains three possible categories: cosmic, ethical, and psychological'; Wright, *Evil Spirits*, p. 168. Consider also Frey, "Different Patterns," pp. 290–4; Metso, *Serekh Texts*, pp. 8–9, 26.
78. Cf. Metso, *Serekh Texts*, pp. 8–9; Hempel, "Literary History," pp. 106–7.
79. See also Leonhardt-Baltzer, who maintains that 'the comparison with other text versions of the *Rule of the Community* shows that the *Treatise* was inserted into 1QS as an independent piece of tradition'; Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 128.

an outline of God's plan of ultimate intervention (1QS 4.15–26).⁸⁰ This structure shows a certain progression, beginning with a cosmological focus, and moving via an ethical focus to an anthropological one.⁸¹

In the following analysis, we will consider how the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* portrays the existence of mankind, and how they stand between the forces of good and evil. In order to discuss the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* productively, a general analysis of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* will first be given. After that, a comparison between the themes of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will be made.

Analysis

The discussion of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* will follow the text. When discussing the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, the structure of the argument in the scroll coincides sufficiently with the order of the topics discussed for the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* allowing us to simply follow the text of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* begins as follows:

3.13. The Instructor should instruct and teach all the sons of light about the nature of all the sons of man, 14. concerning all the ranks of their spirits, in accordance with their signs, concerning their deeds in their generations, and concerning the visitation of their punishments and 15. the times of their reward.

From the God of knowledge stems all there is and all there shall be. Before they existed he established their entire design. 16. And when they have come into being, at their appointed time, they will execute all their works according to his glorious design, without altering anything. In his hand are 17. the laws of all things and he supports them in all their affairs. He created man to rule 18. the world. 1QS 3.13–8

As we read, the teachings that follow will give an understanding of the nature of mankind (1QS 3.13). This anthropological discussion will focus on the topics of the

80. See also the outline given in Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 131. Popović has a slightly different outline, combining two sections and splitting another; Popović, "Light and Darkness," pp. 149–53. The outline given above should be understood to function as a simple guide to reading the text, not as a definitive structure of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. See also Popović's discussion of the different structures; Popović, "Light and Darkness," p. 150.

81. Consider the discussion in Frey, "Different Patterns," p. 290. See also Metso, *Serekh Texts*, p. 26.

spirits that are constantly present within mankind,⁸² the actions that are associated with each spirit, and the rewards and punishments that mankind will receive (1QS 3.14–5). It appears that the goal of these teachings is to show the nature of human action.⁸³ These teachings should be given by the Instructor who, as becomes clear from the rest of the *Rule of the Community*, functions as a teacher (1QS 9.12–4), a collector of the laws (1QS 9.13), and a judge (1QS 9.14) to the elect.⁸⁴

According to the *Rule of the Community*, God is in total control of all things, and the nature of the existence of mankind is according to his plan. Thus also, the existence of the spirits was predetermined by God (1QS 3.15). God's divine plan for mankind causes the actions of the spirits to proceed as they do (1QS 3.16–7), and mankind's place in this world is as a ruler (1QS 3.18). The anthropological exposition continues as follows:

3.18. [He] placed within him two spirits so that he would walk with them until the moment of his visitation: they are the spirits 19. of truth and of deceit. From the spring of light stem the generations of truth, and from the source of darkness the generations of deceit.

20. And in the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of 21. Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness.

From the Angel of Darkness stems the corruption of 22. all the sons of justice, and all their sins, their iniquities, their guilts and their offensive deeds are under his dominion 23. in compliance with the mysteries of God, until his moment; and all their afflictions and their periods of grief are caused by the dominion of his enmity; 24. and all the spirits of his lot cause the sons of light to fall.

However, the God of Israel and the angel of his truth assist all 25. the sons of light. He created the spirits of light and of darkness and on them established every deed, 26. [o]n their [path]s every labour «and on their paths [eve]ry [labo]ur». God loves

82. 1QS 3.18 makes it clear that mankind's spirits are not a person's soul or breath of life. These spirits as supernatural entities located within the individual. There, they influence mankind. These spirits should be understood as besieging mankind. Cf. the discussion of spirits in Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 133. Compare this to the two spirits that attend mankind in *T. Jud.* 20.1–2, see the discussion on page 164 above.

83. So also Tukasi, "Dualism," p. 177.

84. See also the discussion of the Instructor in Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," pp. 131–4.

one of them for all 4.1. eternal [a]ges and in all his deeds he takes pleasure for ever; the other one he detests, his counsel and all his paths he hates forever. 1QS 3.18–4.1

God not only appointed the ways of the two spirits, but he also placed them inside each person (1QS 3.18).⁸⁵ On the one side there is the spirit of truth (1QS 3.19), the “holy spirit” (1QS 3.7, 4.11),⁸⁶ the “angel of truth” (1QS 3.24), and the “prince of lights” (1QS 3.20).⁸⁷ On the other side is the spirit of deceit (1QS 3.19), and the “angel of darkness” (1QS 3.20–1).⁸⁸ Inside each person there is the aptitude for both good and evil. While this dualism exists inside each individual person, there is also dualism inside of mankind *in toto*. On the one side there are the sons of justice, ruled by the prince of lights (1QS 3.20). Later these righteous people are also called the sons of light (1QS 3.24).⁸⁹ On the other side there are the sons of deceit, ruled by the angel of darkness (1QS 3.20–1). The spirit of deceit, apparently has other spirits at its disposal (1QS 3.24),⁹⁰ whereas there is no evidence that the spirit of light has any such supernatural servants.⁹¹ The deceitful spirits cause the children of

-
85. Leonhardt-Balzer points out that, regarding the angel of darkness ‘repeatedly it is emphasized that he was created by God’; Leonhardt-Baltzer, “Dualism and Community,” p. 134. Popović claims that ‘the God of knowledge is presented as the ontological basis of everything and everyone’; Popović, “Light and Darkness,” p. 151.
86. “Holy” should be understood as defining the nature of this spirit, and thus refers to the spirit’s purity. By no means should this be seen as a proper name. See also Tukasi, *Determinism*, p. 41.
87. Consider the discussion of the identity of the prince of light in Tukasi, *Determinism*, p. 41. It is correct to conclude, as Tukasi does, that ‘the Prince of Light and the Angel of Truth are used synonymously to refer to that spirit which emanated from the realm of light’; Tukasi, *Determinism*, p. 41.
88. Tukasi notes that, although Belial is never identified as the “angel of darkness” there is a close association. He concludes ‘the era of Belial is characterized with terror, affliction, iniquities, transgressions and sins [...] These are the same expressions used to characterize the Angel of Darkness [...] This characterization is the author’s own way of projecting Belial as the same as the Angel of Darkness’; Tukasi, *Determinism*, p. 45. This conclusion seems a bit forceful, but there is clearly a strong association between Belial and his era on the one side, and the angel of darkness and iniquities on the other.
89. Popović also associates these two groups, claiming that ‘the sons of justice equal the Sons of Light’; Popović, “Light and Darkness,” p. 152.
90. Consider Tukasi’s discussion of these spirits in comparison to demons found in the Dead Sea Scrolls; Tukasi, *Determinism*, pp. 43–4. See also Mach’s discussion of demons in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the *Rule of the Community* in Mach, “Demons.”
91. While there is no mention of other spirits associated with the spirit of light, Popović seems to assume that there are multiple spirits on the side of light. He claims that ‘the division of mankind into two

light to stumble, thereby leading the righteous to sin, iniquity, and guilt (1QS 3.22–4).⁹² Additionally, they bring about physical affliction,⁹³ and also lead mankind to unrighteousness and ultimate destruction. In other words, even righteous people, living in this world under rulership of the opponent, are in danger of wrongdoing. The consequences of such a stumble is falling from light and ultimately destruction. As before, all of their influence is directly under God's control, according to his mysteries (1QS 3.22–3, 3.25–4.1),⁹⁴ although God has a strong preference for the spirit of truth (1QS 4.18).

The influences of the spirits are then discussed with regard to the actions to which they lead, and the outcomes of those deeds. Beginning with the side of righteousness, a list of virtues is given (1QS 4.2–6), followed by a list of blessings for the righteous:

4.6. [...] And the reward of all those who walk in it will be healing, 7. plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life, and a crown of glory 8. with majestic raiment in eternal light.

1QS 4.6–8

Those who keep to the way of righteousness will receive both current and future blessings. A long lifespan and many offspring await them in this life (1QS 4.6–7); clearly, both are present benefits to keeping to the way of righteousness. Additionally, in their afterlife they will receive endless joy and eternal life (1QS 4.7). Indeed, they will dwell in eternal light in glorious attire (1QS 4.8).

different groups is extended to the angelic world with groups of spirits belonging to light and darkness. This is clear when the text explains why the sons of justice sin; it says that all the spirits from the lot of the Angel of Darkness cause the Sons of Light to fall'; Popović, "Light and Darkness," pp. 151–2. His assumption seems to be that if there is something on the side of evil, it must be on the side of righteousness. Some authors see no evidence for many spirits on the side of light (e.g. Wright, *Evil Spirits*, p. 169; Tukasi, *Determinism*, p. 43) whereas others assume that they do exist (e.g. Frey, "Different Patterns," pp. 292–3).

92. This theme, that the angel of darkness has power over the righteous, is uncommon in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Leonhardt-Balzer sees the rarity of this statement, and even calls it 'unique in the Qumran Writings'; Leonhardt-Balzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 135.

93. As hinted at in 3.23, and discussed in more detail shortly, in 4.9–14.

94. So also Leonhardt-Balzer, who claims that 'the spirits, however, can never act outside God's plan'; Leonhardt-Balzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 133.

Many rewards thus await those who remain in the ways of the Lord, but the side of evil is also discussed. First the influences of the spirit of deceit are explained, and then the punishments of following these spirits:

4.9. However, to the spirit of deceit belong greed, sluggishness in the service of justice, wickedness, falsehood, pride, haughtiness of heart, dishonesty, trickery, cruelty, 10. much insincerity, impatience, much foolishness, impudent enthusiasm for appalling acts performed in a lustful passion, filthy paths in the service of impurity, 11. blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, hardness of hearing, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart in order to walk in all the paths of darkness and evil cunning.

And the visitation 12. of all those who walk in it will be for an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, for permanent terror and shame 13. without end with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions. And all the ages of their generations (they shall spend) in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until 14. their destruction, without there being a remnant or a survivor for them.

1QS 4.9–14

As we see, quite a number of vices are associated with the spirit of deceit (1QS 4.9–11). The vices listed are the ones typically expected in such a list.⁹⁵ Analogous to the consequences for the followers of the way of righteousness, the consequences of following the path of darkness are both present and eschatological. The followers of evil will receive afflictions from the angels of destruction, who can be understood to be the evil spirits (1QS 4.11–2). The forces of darkness thus cause physical distress. The future consequences of the evil deeds come from God, he will eventually totally destroy the children of darkness (1QS 4.12–14).⁹⁶

The idea of a split between good and evil that was introduced in the first parts of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is subsequently applied to mankind's situation.

95. Consider Hempel's cataloguing and discussion of similar lists; Hempel, "Literary History," pp. 135–6.

96. Leonhardt-Balzer claims that 'for their behaviour, the sons of deceit are punished through the 'angels of destruction'; Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 135. This is not entirely the case, as there is some punishment from the angels of destruction, namely 'an abundance of afflictions,' but the larger punishment comes from 'the scorching wrath of the God of revenges' (1QS 4.12). The eschatological punishment, which one would imagine applies to humans and spirits alike (cf. 1QS 4.21–6), comes from the hand of God.

These parts focussed on a divide between supernatural figures (1QS 3.18–4.1), between different sides of mankind (1QS 3.18–4.1), and between the different ways a person can follow and the consequences thereof (1QS 4.2–14). The focus now proceeds to a much more concrete discussion of the nature of this divide, which was hinted at in the *Rule of the Community* 3.18:

4.15. In these (lies) the history of all men; in their (two) divisions all their armies have a share for their generations; in their paths they walk; every deed 16. they do (falls) into their divisions, dependent on what might be the birthright of man, great or small, for all eternal times. For God has sorted them into equal parts until the 17. last time, and has put an everlasting loathing between /their/ divisions. Deeds of injustice are an abhorrence to truth and all the paths of truth are an abhorrence to injustice.

(There exists) a violent 18. conflict in respect of all their decrees since they can not walk together. God, in the mysteries of his knowledge and in the wisdom of his glory, has determined an end to the existence of injustice and on the appointed time 19. of the visitation he will obliterate it for ever. Then truth shall rise up forever (in) the world, for it has been defiled in paths of wickedness during the dominion of injustice until 20. the time appointed for the judgment decided. Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part 21. of his flesh, and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deed. He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like lustral water (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement 22. of the unclean spirit, in order to instruct the upright ones with knowledge of the Most High, and to make understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven to those of perfect behaviour. For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant 23. and to them shall belong all the glory of man.⁹⁷

There will be no more injustice and all the deeds of trickery will be a dishonour. Until now the spirits of truth and injustice feud in the heart of man: 24. they walk in wisdom or in folly. In agreement with man's inheritance in the truth, he shall be righteous and so abhor injustice; and according to his share in the lot of injustice, he shall act wickedly in it, and so 25. abhor the truth. For God has sorted them into equal parts until the appointed end and the new creation. He knows the result of their deeds for all times 26. [everlas]ting and has given them as a legacy to the sons of man so that

97. García Martínez and Tigchelaar chose to translate this as “the glory of Adam.” This implicitly introduces the Adam and Eve traditions, in a location where they may very well not belong. See, for a discussion of the Adam and Eve traditions, the articles collected in Anderson et al., *Literature on Adam and Eve*.

they know good [and evil ... and] to cast the lots of every living being according to his spirit in [... until the time of] the visitation. 1QS 4.15–26

There is divide within mankind (1QS 4.15), and a division between light and dark for hosts of generations, a division between the ways that are walked, and a division between the actions that are performed (1QS 4.15–6).⁹⁸ These topics were discussed earlier in the *Rule of the Community*. God has created this division and sorted mankind into two equally-sized groups (1QS 4.16–7, 25).⁹⁹ There is a temporary equilibrium in the world between light and darkness, between righteousness and evil. Both camps loathe one another and each other's actions (1QS 4.17–18). Similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the spirits of truth and injustice feud in the heart of man (1QS 4.23). In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* this is understood to implicate that a person will commit both good and evil deeds, but for this there is no evidence in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*.¹⁰⁰ A person either walks in wisdom, following the spirit of truth, or in folly, following the evil spirit (1QS 4.24). A person who has the spirit of truth in him will abhor the works of the spirit of deceit, and he will be righteous (1QS 4.24). The opposite is also valid—an evil person

-
98. Lietaert Peerbolte understands these two lines in a fundamentally different manner. He claims that 'the world is not divided into two separate divisions, one of which is good whereas the other is bad. Rather, each and every individual has constantly to choose between the two ways'; Lietaert Peerbolte, *Antecedents*, p. 264. This does not seem to be the best understanding of this passage, which includes many focussing on groups, not the individual: "all men," "divisions," "armies," "equal parts."
99. The fact that 'God sorted them into equal parts' (1QS 4.25) must surely refer to the division between the two sides in the whole of humanity. That both parts are equal cannot imply that each person has an equal amount of the spirit of light and of darkness within himself. Neither does it imply, as will be argued, that both spirits are continually present in a person.
100. Cf. Popović who maintains that 'the implication seems to be that both spirits exist within human beings, but that people act according to either one depending on the outcome of their fight'; Popović, "Light and Darkness," p. 153. Clearly statements such 'all people have different shares in good and evil,' and discussions of each 'person's respective portions in the realms of truth and injustice' are invalid; Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 136 and Metso, *Serekh Texts*, p. 26 respectively. Rather each person is either on the side of good or evil. See also Popović, who argues very strongly that any comparison with 4Q186, where the idea that parts of a person can be light or darkness comes from, is invalid, Popović, "Light and Darkness," pp. 155, 164. He thus renders many interpretations of this section invalid, such as Frey, "Different Patterns," p. 294; Duhaime, "Dualism," p. 216; Wright, *Evil Spirits*, pp. 168–9; Leonhardt-Baltzer, "Dualism and Community," p. 136.

hates righteousness (1QS 4.24–5).¹⁰¹ There is a considerable divide between the two sides present within mankind. The division that God created within mankind was done so that people would know good from evil (1QS 4.26). This need not be understood to mean that each person acts in both of the two ways, but rather that everyone experiences both actions in the world.

This divide will not last for ever. God will destroy evil, giving truth free rein (1QS 4.18–20). Each righteous person will then be purified from the loathing of deceit, through the use of the spirit of truth (1QS 4.20–22). Purification is an act that has personal consequences, whereas the destruction of evil has universal consequences. Through the removal of evil, the nature of mankind changes so that there is no evil spirit within humanity. The universal action of God, removing the evil spirit, ends the duality that is part of the world. Once this has happened, the righteous will be purified of all influences of wickedness. Thus they will be delivered from the wickedness that is part of this world.

Comparison

As we compare the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and as we examine the motifs regarding the forces of darkness from the previous chapters, we can notice several strong similarities, and it seems as though the greatest difference between the works can be understood to be variation in the portrayal of the role of the individual. Ultimately, the differences between the works can be attributed to their function and goal. We will first consider the role of the individual in both texts, and then we will move on to discuss other, less prominent points of difference.

Fundamentally, the world-view is very similar in both the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, especially with regard to a cosmological divide and the forces of darkness. In both works this divide is symbolised by two paths, the one associated with good deeds, the other with evil deeds. Each path is also related to certain supernatural beings. Though this world-view

101. This is similar to *T. Ash.* 4.1 where simple men (i.e. the righteous) are actually considered sinners by double-aspected men (i.e. the unrighteous).

regarding evil is similar in many ways, we can also see some important differences in how this divide is applied to the audience and their situation.

In the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, humanity is divided into two camps: righteous and evil. The focus here is clearly on the whole of humanity, not the individual person. Naturally, the opponent and his forces play a role in this battle, in that they lure people to the side of darkness. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, on the other hand, the dualism is within each individual person. In both works, each person who strives towards good is constantly under the influence of the forces of darkness: the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* place much emphasis on the choices that each person faces, whereas the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* focusses on the side to which a person belongs (i.e. which choices a person has made).¹⁰²

Despite that the world-view found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is similar, we can see that the anthropology is surprisingly different. The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* displays a cosmological and wide-scale anthropology, whereas the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is focussed on ethics and individual anthropology (which, naturally, also have eschatological and cosmological implications). The intended function of the document is the guiding forces behind this diverging application of the world-view. The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* functions as an informational and re-affirming work for those who feel that they have already chosen correctly, and whose lives are defined by a separationist ideology. Such an audience wishes to be affirmed in their past choices, and have less need for exhortation with regard to their current and future choices. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, on the other hand, appears to function as an exhortation for those who have chosen the side of the Lord, but now struggle to live according to his plan. Unlike the audience of the *Rule of the Community*, they need guidance and paraenetical support in their attempts to make righteous choices in their current and future situations.

102. So also Collins, who claims that ‘*Test. Asher* emphasizes the options with which humanity is confronted, rather than the metaphysical conflict of the Two Spirits, and it makes quite clear that the sons of Asher must choose to cleave to goodness and destroy the evil inclination by good works [...] On the other hand, 1QS 3:13-4:26 suggests that humanity is already divided between the lots of Light and Darkness’; J.J. Collins, “Testaments,” pp. 336–7.

Thus we see a fundamental difference between these works: the discussion of the individual. The author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* aligns all of his exhortation from the perspective of the individual, whereas the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* focusses on humanity as a whole.

The most striking difference between the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* concerns the role of the individual's mind. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, much emphasis is placed on the choices that each person must make, the manner in which the mind makes those choices, and the dangers posed by the opponent's ability to blind a person's mind. This entire theme is absent from the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, where there is no discussion of choices or the mind whatsoever. Clearly, in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the mind and the choices a person makes play a much more important role in the struggle between good and evil, than they do in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. This is attributable to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' emphasis on the importance of the individual. The author of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* seems much less interested in discussing the role of the individual in the struggle between good and evil, instead focussing his discussion on the role of the community; the sons of justice.

From this comparison of the many similarities and the one striking difference between the *Rule of the Community* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we can now identify two motifs that will help us greatly in our comparison of other documents with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. These specific motifs are the significance of each person's choices, and the importance of the mind. These motifs are distinctive of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and will help us find authors who share a world-view similar to the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Furthermore, the emphasis the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* places on the individual causes him to discuss and warn each individual in his audience about the influences of the spirits. The spirits are thus discussed very extensively in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, whereas the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* only makes a brief association between vices, the fall from light, and the

influences of the evil spirits. On the one hand, since the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is much shorter this is only to be expected, but on the other hand this also reflects the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*'s emphasis on a large-scale discussion of humanity's relationship with the opponent. The specifics are uninteresting to the author's discussion. Ultimately, however, we can see that an emphasis on the individual (as in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*) seems to strongly associate specific vices that are dangerous to the individual with the forces of darkness. These vice-related spirits are a motif that we will consider for comparison with other works.

Additionally, although both authors divide the world into good and evil, light and dark, their focus regarding the individual also leads to different exhortatory implications. According to the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* there are two ways that mankind can follow. There is the way of light and the way of darkness. This idea is very similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The application of this fundamental statement about human existence to daily human life, however, differs greatly between the two documents. Focussing on re-affirming the choices of this sectarian audience, the author of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, chooses to emphasise the simple division between light and dark, and concludes that there are people who do good things and are good, and those that commit wicked deeds and are wicked. The author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, discussing the plight of the individual struggling to live a righteous life in an ambiguous world rather than that of a member of a sectarian group, argues that good people can actually commit some evil deeds. There is no evidence of such a statement in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. Thus the division between the two paths, and between the followers of the paths, is much stronger in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. This leads us to identify a fourth specific motif, again based on the text's level of emphasis on the individual: the ambiguity of each person's actions.

Besides these fundamental differences surrounding the portrayal of mankind and the individual, we can also see hints of other minor differences. While we have demonstrated that in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the opponent is rebellious against God and is the cause of the spirits of deceit's attack on mankind, in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* it seems that God himself instigated these spirits, and

that the opponent has received his power according to God's plan. The *Treatise of the Two Spirits* is not explicit in this case. We also noted that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* hints at physical suffering brought about by the opponent, mentioning afflictions and grief. The author of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* does not seem interested in this topic, and it is unclear whether or not the spirits actively bring about these afflictions.

All in all, we can conclude that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* share a substantially similar world-view on the forces of darkness. As we compare how these two authors develop this world-view in their works, however, we do notice a fundamental divide. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* places a substantial amount of emphasis on the role of the individual in the struggle between good and evil, whereas the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* focusses on a large-scale struggle involving the whole of humanity. This contrast can be attributed to differences in the settings and goals of the authors.

We can thus conclude that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are formally similar, especially considering how they portray the forces of darkness. However, as the individual is vital to the core message of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, on that count we do have to conclude that the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do not share a similar world-view. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are unimaginable without the emphasis on the individual's struggle against the opponent, and as such we must continue our search for other documents that are more similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* than the *Rule of the Community*.

In the following section we will continue our comparison of works that share a common pool of motifs with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In doing so we will take what we have learned from this comparison with the *Rule of the Community* and place additional emphasis on the role of the individual in the struggle between good and evil. This motif sets the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* apart from the *Rule of the Community*, and is thus a distinctive feature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The first text we will compare with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

C THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS

In the first section of this chapter we examined several motifs that relate to the forces of darkness and the author's perception of mankind. We examined how various ancient authors developed these motifs, and in doing so it became clear how the portrayal of these motifs can be used in comparing the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with other works. After this preparation, we put our motifs in use and compared the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with the *Rule of the Community*. We were thus successful in locating this discussion outside of the Jewish-Christian authorship debate, focussing on the internal criteria in the texts themselves.

We concluded that the world-view evidenced in the *Rule of the Community* strongly resembles that of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Formally, the two works are very similar, especially in how the forces of darkness are portrayed. However, the focus on the individual, which is the fundamental core of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, is absent of the *Rule of the Community*. This leads us to conclude that this focus is distinct to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and that we need to focus on the role of the individual in addition to the motifs from Section A in our search for documents sharing the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' world-view. The second document for comparison in our search is the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

In much of *The Shepherd of Hermas*, a Christian text, "the shepherd," who is understood to be an angel, is in discussion with a former slave named Hermas. It can be dated to the first half of the second century.¹⁰³ In all probability, it was

103. Consider Klijn, *Apostolische Vaders* 2, pp. 126–7; Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 23–5; Körtner and Leutzsch, *Hermas*, pp. 135–7; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 19; Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers II*, p. 168. The exact dating is confused by three somewhat contradictory factors. Firstly, Origen considered Hermas to be the person referred to in Romans 16.14. Secondly, the *Shepherd of Hermas* refers to a person named Clement, who is often considered to be author of *1 Clement*, which was probably composed in the 90s of the first century. Thirdly, the *Muratorian Canon* can be used to date the *Shepherd of Hermas* to the fourth decade of the second century. Multiple arguments exist against all three factors, leading to the conclusion that 'the best assignment of date is an expanded duration of time beginning perhaps from the very last years of the first century, but stretching through most of the first half of the second century'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 20.

written in Rome¹⁰⁴ by a single hand.¹⁰⁵ The key theme of the document is μετάνοια (repentance, conversion),¹⁰⁶ and most of its teachings revolve around this.¹⁰⁷ Two major motifs, double-mindedness and the two ways, influence these teachings on repentance.¹⁰⁸ The forces of darkness play a role in the exhortation influenced by these motifs.¹⁰⁹ The *Shepherd of Hermas* consists of three sections: the Visions, of which there are five; the Mandates, of which there are twelve; and the Parables, again twelve in number.¹¹⁰

-
104. Osiek maintains that ‘there can be little doubt that the geographical origin of *Hermas* is central Italy and probably Rome’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 19. Cf. Brox, *Hermas*, p. 22; Körtner and Leutzsch, *Hermas*, pp. 135–7.
 105. There is some debate regarding this, due to the seemingly composite character of the work. Consider Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 25–33; Körtner and Leutzsch, *Hermas*, pp. 130–2; Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 24–9; Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers II*, pp. 166–7. The general consensus seems to be ‘the notion of a solitary author’; Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers II*, p. 166.
 106. Osiek claims that “conversion” is the more applicable translation, as opposed to the traditional “repentance,” because “repentance” ‘does not convey the profound change of heart envisioned and pleaded for by Hermas. It is not a question of ritual or repeated action, not a discipline or an expectation, but personal and corporate transformation through the power of the good spirit, which necessitates new commitments for the future, not only the eschatological future, but the immediate historical future as well’; Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 29–30. Lipsett agrees, see Lipsett, *Desiring Conversion*, pp. 19–20. Haas points out that the call for μετάνοια in the *Shepherd of Hermas* is not aimed at unbelievers, and appears to be more of a revival or a reformation than a conversion; Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” pp. 18–9. Verheyden argues that ‘too sharp a distinction is made between the (psychological) process of converting and the formal-procedural (“canonical”) one of returning into the community after submitting oneself to an act of repentance’; Verheyden, “Hermas,” p. 399. He maintains that it is hard to differentiate between conversion and repentance, thus he renders the argument moot. Bearing these difficulties in mind, in this study the preference for the translation as “repentance” will be maintained.
 107. Consider Osiek, who maintains that ‘most scholars conclude that μετάνοια is the major theme or concern in *Hermas*’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 28. See also Lipsett, *Desiring Conversion*, pp. 19–20.
 108. See the discussion below, and also Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 30–4.
 109. Concerning the forces of darkness and the struggle between good and evil, Brox notes that ‘die Beschreibung des großen Themas vom Kampf zwischen Gut und Böse im Menschen’ is central to the exhortation and world-view of the *Shepherd of Hermas*; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 545.
 110. Traditionally, citations of the *Shepherd of Hermas* were made by referring to the section (Visions, Mandates, or Parables) followed by chapter and verse within each section. In Whittaker’s critical edition the chapters are simply enumerated, and that enumeration will be followed in this work; Whittaker, *Hermas*. See also; Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers II*, pp. 170–1 who follows Whittaker, and Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. xx–xxi who does not.

This discussion of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and its comparability to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* will focus on three main topics. These topics are the same as those previously examined in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Firstly, the way in which the dual nature of mankind's existence is portrayed in the *Shepherd of Hermas* will be explored, and compared and contrasted with that in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Secondly, the struggle that each individual wages against the forces of the opponent, according to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, will be examined. This topic will also be compared to what was found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Finally, the choices that each person must make according to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, as well as the role of the heart and mind in that choice, will be considered. These findings will also be examined in light of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

(I) THE TWO ASPECTS OF MANKIND'S EXISTENCE

The *Shepherd of Hermas* shows evidence of an underlying understanding of the world, and of the existence of mankind, in which most things exist in good and evil forms.¹¹¹ The sixth mandate (*Herm.* 35–36) discusses this two-way theology.¹¹² Chapter 35, the first part of the sixth mandate, introduces three ethical topics that will be discussed in some detail in the subsequent mandates: faith (πίστις), fear (φόβος) and abstinence (ἐγκράτεια) (*Herm.* 35.1). These three virtues are discussed in a two-way theological system in the following chapters, in which there are two objects of faith (*Herm.* 36), two objects of fear (*Herm.* 37) and two objects of abstinence (*Herm.* 38).¹¹³ The dual nature of these virtues is demonstrated by means of an analogy of two paths that a person can take. The shepherd outlines these two paths: the straight (ὀρθός) way and the crooked (στρεβλός) way (*Herm.* 35.2). The straight

111. Cf. Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 31–4; Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 545–6; Körtner and Leutzsch, *Hermas*, pp. 140–1.

112. So also Osiek, who maintains that the sixth mandate introduces 'explicitly the "two-way" theology'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 123.

113. Osiek maintains the same outline: 'the three principal virtues will be contextualized within the two-way theological system: two kinds of faith; two kinds of fear; two kinds of restraint'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 123. So also Brox, who claims 'es gibt zwei Wege, zwei Geister, je zweierlei Glaube, Furcht und Enthaltbarkeit'; Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 223–4.

path is easy to walk and is the path of the Lord; the crooked path is hardly a road, littered with stumbling blocks, thorns and impassable places (*Herm.* 35.2–4).¹¹⁴

Hermas replies that he will remain on the straight path (*Herm.* 35.5).

Following this treatment of the paths that a person can follow, the shepherd discusses faith by means of the two angels that shadow a person:¹¹⁵

36.1. Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, περὶ τῆς πίστεως. δύο εἰσὶν ἄγγελοι μετὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἷς τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ εἷς τῆς πονηρίας. 2. πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, γινώσκει τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφοτέροι ἀγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ συνιείς αὐτάς. ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστι καὶ αἰσχυνητὸς καὶ πραὺς καὶ ἡσυχίος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἀγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος καὶ περὶ αὐταρκειᾶς καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γίνωσκε ὅτι ὁ ἄγγελος τῆς δικαιοσύνης μετὰ σοῦ ἐστι. ταῦτα οὖν ἐστι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης. τούτῳ οὖν πίστευε καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. 4. ὅρα νῦν καὶ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας τὰ ἔργα. πρῶτον πάντων ὀξύχολός ἐστι, καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων, καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά, καταστρέφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῇ, γινώθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.¹¹⁶

36.1. 'Hear now,' he said, 'about faith. With each person are two angels, one of righteousness and one of evil.' 2. 'How then, Lord,' I asked, 'will I know how they operate, since both angels live within me?' 3. 'Listen,' he answered, 'and you will understand them. The angel of righteousness is sensitive, modest, gentle, and calm. Whenever that angel wells up in your heart, he immediately speaks to you about righteousness, purity, piety, moderation, and every righteous action and exceptional virtue. When all these well up in your heart, know that the angel of righteousness is with you. As these are the

114. Osiek notes that 'what is unusual here (but shared with the *Letter of Barnabas* 20.1, though not as developed there) is that the wrong way is the harder one, beset with obstacles to the traveler (v. 3), whereas ordinarily if the two ways are described in physical or imaginative, rather than only moral terms, the wrong way seems more attractive'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 123. The reversal of the usual descriptions of the pathways would seem to shift the focus on the outcome of the paths, rather than the difficulty in keeping to the path. Cf. Joly, *Pasteur*, pp. 170–1. So also Gokey, who sees this to be evidence that reward and punishment are part of this life; Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 170. See also the discussion on ultimate choice on page 249 below.

115. The progression from two ways to two spirits is logical, but by no means necessary. Osiek claims that 'the Two Ways moral tradition does not necessitate a teaching on two spirits'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 32. She points to Matthew 7.13–14 and the *Didache* 1–6 as examples.

116. This Greek and all subsequent texts from the *Shepherd of Hermas* is taken from Whittaker, *Hermas*.

actions of the angel of righteousness, you should trust him and his works. 4. See also the actions of the angel of evil. Firstly, he is utterly short-tempered, spiteful and stupid. His actions are evil, destroying the servants of God: so when this angel wells up in your heart, know him by his works.’¹¹⁷ *Herm.* 36.1–4

Each person has two angels (*Herm.* 36.1).¹¹⁸ Elsewhere, these angels are portrayed as “spirits” (e.g. *Herm.* 33.1–2), or even as “desires” caused by these spirits (e.g. *Herm.* 44.1–3).¹¹⁹ These two angels dwell with a person (*Herm.* 36.2) and enter his heart (*Herm.* 36.4).¹²⁰ They are then indwelling spirits.¹²¹ Each spirit is very different from the other. The righteous spirit, dwelling in a person’s heart, continually demonstrates virtues to that person (*Herm.* 36.3). Likewise, the evil spirit introduces vices into a person’s heart (*Herm.* 36.4–5). A person acting according to these virtues is proof that the spirit of righteousness is with that person and vice versa a person with evil actions is proof that the spirit of evil is present.¹²² This understanding is further nuanced in 36.6–9, which discusses the consequences of the influence of the spirits:

36.6. σὺ οὖν ἐπιγνοὺς τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἀπόστα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ πιστεῦε, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά εἰσι καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔχεις οὖν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀγγέλων τὰς ἐνεργείας· σύνιε αὐτὰς καὶ πιστεῦε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης· 7. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἐστὶ παντὶ

-
117. All English translations of the *Shepherd of Hermas* are the author’s. For English translations of the *Shepherd of Hermas* consider Ehrman, *Apostolic Fathers II* and Osiek, *Commentary*.
118. Osiek claims ‘the distinction between spirits and angels in this context is a fine one, if it exists at all’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 33. Brox maintains that the usage of angel here is ‘nicht ganz korrekt’ and that this is clearly ‘Zwei-Geister-Lehre’; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 544.
119. So also Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 32.
120. So also Brox, who maintains that ‘hier [sind] beider Engel gleichzeitig im Innern des Menschen’; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 544.
121. Cf. *Herm.* 33.3, 34.5 where the two spirits clearly dwell inside of a person. See also Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 119; Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 553–45; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 124.
122. So also Osiek, who maintains that ‘this good spirit “speaks” in the human heart of desirable qualities in the form of a catalog of virtues [...] It is not that, having recognized the presence of the angel of right, one will then behave in this way, but rather that, when a person acts according to these qualities, that behavior is the sign of the presence of the good angel, who is therefore to be trusted. This is the whole point of the tradition of discernment of spirits: the spirits are known by their effects’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 124.

ἔργω· ἐὰν γὰρ ἢ τις πιστότατος ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἡ ἐνθύμησις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξαμαρτῆσαι τι. 8. ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν πονηρότατός τις ἢ ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, καὶ ἀναβῇ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι. 9. βλέπεις οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκολουθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς πονηρίας ἀποτάσσθαι.

36.6. 'Since you know his actions, avoid him and do not trust him at all. Indeed, his works are evil and useless to the servants of God. Know, therefore, how both angels operate: understand them and trust the angel of righteousness, 7. but avoid the angel of evil, because his teachings regarding all actions are evil. Even if a man is completely faithful, should the angel's thinking well up in his heart, that man or women will inevitably sin. 8. Alternatively, should the actions of the angel of righteousness well up in the heart of a completely evil man or woman, that person will inevitably do something good. 9. Therefore,' he said, 'you see that it is good to follow the angel of righteousness, and to be done with the angel of evil.'

Herm. 36.6–9

As we can see, the *Shepherd of Hermas* exhorts the reader to stay away from the evil spirit (*Herm.* 36.6). Distance is clearly the preferred defence against the influences of evil (*Herm.* 36.7). Distance should be understood as keeping clear of evil thoughts and deeds.¹²³ A person does this through the choices that he makes. If a good person allows the influences of the evil spirit to enter his heart he will sin (*Herm.* 36.7). Similarly, if an evil person adheres to the advice of the good spirit he will do good (*Herm.* 36.8).¹²⁴

The choice that each person must make is whether or not to give the evil spirit room to influence him towards evil. Each person, then, stands between these two spirits and these two ways, and must continuously choose between good and evil.¹²⁵ The influences of the spirits are internal, indeed, the spirits enter into a person's heart. Each person must be aware of the influences of the evil spirit, and ensure that

123. So also Osiek, who claims that 'the distance that the believer should keep from the power of this spirit (v. 6) is accomplished by separation from its effects, or actions and attitudes'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 124.

124. Cf. Brox, who maintains that 'die Anwesenheit des jeweiligen Engels auf den Menschen zum Bösen oder zum Guten wirkt'; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 228.

125. Consider also Brox's 'Beschreibung des Kampfes zwischen Gut und Böse im Menschen'; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 217. Cf. *Herm.* 34.2–7, 40.2–6, 41.1–6, 42.1–2.

he does not act under its influence. In this, it is specifically people, and not the forces of good, that struggle against the forces of evil.¹²⁶

In summary, according to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, there is a battle between the forces of God and those of the opponent in the life of every person. Two spirits accompany every individual, each fighting for control, and in this the evil spirit does most of the fighting. The choice that a person makes in this struggle influences his salvation. As in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, a battle takes place inside of an individual. Each person is constantly influenced by the evil forces that lead to sin, and ultimately to destruction. He must take precautions to ensure that these evil influences are minimised.

The next section will consider the power of the forces of evil. Each person is influenced by the opponent, and the nature of that influence will be discussed. Furthermore, the understanding of the spirits and their effect on people, as found in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, will be examined.

(II) MANKIND VERSUS THE FORCES OF EVIL

According to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, every person is involved in the great controversy between God and the opponent. The individual stands between these two forces and is influenced by them, as both struggle for control of that individual. While the forces of evil constantly attempt to lead a person astray, the forces of good are present, representing good, but not actively taking part. Thus, in actuality, it is the person himself who continually battles the opponent and his forces. This section will consider two topics that underlie this struggle. Firstly, the opponent (at times both powerful and powerless) and his influence will be discussed. Secondly, the spirits of the opponent will be examined. These spirits are primarily identified as vices, and the spirit known as “short temper” will be considered in detail, as an example of the understanding of the vices as spirits in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

126. Cf. *Herm.* 69.6, where salvation is specifically promised to those who, through great suffering, have wrestled and defeated the opponent. This should primarily be understood as a reference to martyrs, yet the image of struggle could apply to all of humanity. Martyrs are discussed elsewhere in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (cf. *Herm.* 9.9, 13.2, 105.2). See also Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 204.

The Opponent: Powerful and Powerless

While the forces of darkness play a prominent role in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the opponent himself figures less strongly than one might imagine. As will be discussed shortly, this allows for the spirits to play a greater role. There is only one name used to refer to the ultimate opponent, and that is “devil” (διάβολος), which occurs more than twenty times.¹²⁷ Even though the opponent and his spirits would commonly be considered to have direct power over people, a few passages in the *Shepherd of Hermas* focus on pointing out that he (and his spirits) has no power, especially over those who have repented.¹²⁸ Consider:

τὸν δὲ διάβολον μὴ φοβηθῆς· φοβούμενος γὰρ τὸν κύριον κατακυριεύσεις τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι δύναμις ἐν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔστιν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ φόβος· ἐν ᾧ δὲ δύναμις ἢ ἔνδοξος, καὶ φόβος ἐν αὐτῷ. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ δύναμιν ἔχων φόβον ἔχει· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἔχων δύναμιν ὑπὸ πάντων καταφρονεῖται.

Do not fear the devil, for in fearing the Lord you gain dominion over him. There is no power in the devil, and he who has no power, does not instil fear. On the other hand, he who has great power deserves fear. For all those with power are feared, and all those without power are held in contempt. *Herm.* 37.2

σὺ δὲ πίστευε τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἐρχομένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἔχοντι δύναμιν· τῷ δὲ πνεύματι τῷ ἐπιγείῳ καὶ κενῷ μηδὲν πίστευε, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμις οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου γὰρ ἔρχεται.

You should trust in the God-given spirit, which has power. By no means should you trust the earthly, empty spirit, for there is no power in him, as he comes from the devil.

Herm. 43.17

The opponent has no power, and is worthy of scorn, not of fear.¹²⁹ Similarly, his earthly and empty spirits also lack power.¹³⁰ All this seems to be a contradiction,

127. Common epithets in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* such as “Beliar,” “Satan,” “enemy” and the “prince of deceit” are missing.

128. Consider, besides the two texts discussed below, *Herm.* 39.11, 47.6, 48.2. See also *Herm.* 49.4, which attributes power to the opponent, but claims that he is easily overpowered; he thus has little real power.

129. Cf. Brox, who maintains that ‘wegen seiner Ohnmacht muß der Teufel nicht gefürchtet werden’; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 229.

130. Earthly (ἐπίγειος) is used frequently in the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Osiek claims that in the *Shepherd of Hermas* a contrast is set up ‘between the power of God and the impotence of the devil, now as ἄνωθεν

as the opponent surely has some power. This description of the opponent and his spirits' power shows a subtle understanding of evil. Clearly the opponent is evil, and can bring harm to people. Consider, for example:

31.4. τοῖς οὖν κληθεῖσι πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔθηκεν ὁ κύριος μετάνοιαν. καρδιο-
γνώστης γὰρ ὢν ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντα προγινώσκων ἔγνω τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
καὶ τὴν πολυπλοκίαν τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ποιήσει τι κακὸν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ
πονηρεύσεται εἰς αὐτούς. [...] 6. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ σοι λέγω, φησί· μετὰ τὴν κλήσιν ἐκείνην
τὴν μεγάλην καὶ σεμνὴν ἐάν τις ἐκπειρασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀμαρτήσῃ, μίαν μετά-
νοιαν ἔχει· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἀμαρτάνῃ καὶ μετανοήσῃ, ἀσύμφορόν ἐστι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ
τῷ τοιοῦτῳ· δυσκόλως γὰρ ζήσεται.

31.4. 'Therefore, the Lord established an opportunity to repent for those called before these days. As he knows the heart and has foreknowledge of all things, the Lord also knew of human weakness, and of the devil's cunning—that the devil would abuse the servants of God and treat them maliciously. [...] 6. But let me tell you this,' he said, 'if someone, following his great and holy calling, is tempted by the devil and sins, he only has one opportunity to repent. Repeatedly sinning and repenting is useless. Such a person lives with difficulty.'

Herm. 31.4, 31.6

It is understood that the opponent is able to abuse an individual (*Herm.* 31.4). This harm should not be understood as being physical, but should generally be seen as temptation towards sin, double-mindedness, or one of many vices. This power over humanity is not absolute. For example, the opponent cannot force people to sin; a person can resist this temptation (*Herm.* 33.2, 37.1–2). In this the two types of spirit play a role. If a person is ruled by the good spirit, that is, if the person keeps God's commandments, temptation will not prevail and possibly not even arise (*Herm.* 33.2, 37.1–2, 42.2). The opponent is, thus, powerless against someone filled with the holy spirit (*Herm.* 48.2).

The opponent clearly has power, but is powerless against a person who has truly repented. His power against people manifests in a number of ways. The opponent

('above') versus ἐπιγείων ('earthly'); Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 134. By means of a series of parables *Herm.* 43.18–21 continues to explain why earthly spirits are powerless as compared to heavenly ones. The last shows the understanding best: 'A hailstone is very small, but were one to fall on a person's head, it causes great pain. Otherwise, consider a drop of water that falls from a roof to the ground, it can make a hole in stone. So you see, even the smallest things falling from above to earth have great power,' (*Herm.* 43.20–21).

has power both directly, and through his spirits. His power is diverse, causing temptation (*Herm.* 31.6), short temper (*Herm.* 33.4, 36.4), gluttony (*Herm.* 34.2, 36.5, 45.1), anger (*Herm.* 34.4), lust (*Herm.* 34.4, 36.5, 45.1), bitterness (*Herm.* 36.4), arrogance (*Herm.* 36.5), pride (*Herm.* 36.5), double-mindedness (*Herm.* 39.11), sadness (*Herm.* 40.2), and desire (*Herm.* 45.2). Besides these influences, there are vices identified as spirits, which will be discussed shortly. Each of these naturally bring about its specific vice in an individual.

Regarding the opponent's apparent lack of power against the truly converted in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, it is notable that this same theme occurs in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In several texts the opponent and his forces are powerless against those who follow the commandments of the Lord.¹³¹ The best example occurs in the *Testament of Issachar*, where the simple person is described. The simple person is the exhortatory and ethical ideal of the *Testament of Issachar*, and most of that testament focusses on Issachar as an example of the simple person, the simple life in general, and exhortation towards being simple.¹³² In discussing the benefits of a simple life, the testament maintains that 'the spirits of deceit will have no power over' the simple person (*T. Iss.* 4.4). In the final exhortation, the testament summarises Issachar's simple life, and then once again shows the benefits of a simple life with the words, 'act likewise, my children, and every spirit of Beliar will flee' (*T. Iss.* 7.7). People who follow the exhortation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are protected from the forces of the opponent. In this regard the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* closely resemble one another.

The way the opponent's power is portrayed in the *Shepherd of Hermas* resembles the portrayal found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Both works focus on spiritual power rather than physical, which is quite notable. The opponent does not bring about any physical harm, but focusses his attempts on leading people astray from the Lord and a righteous life. The emphatic focus on specific vices is also similar.¹³³ The *Shepherd of Hermas* has a larger focus on the tempting power of the

131. Cf. *T. Iss.* 4.4, 7.7, *T. Dan* 5.1, *T. Ben.* 6.1–3.

132. See also the discussion of the simple life in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* on page 55 below.

133. The emphasised vices differ slightly between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Whereas there is a large emphasis on fornication in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*,

opponent, while in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the focus is more on the opponent's power to blind the mind.¹³⁴

The Opponent's Spirits

As far as the spirits of the opponent's are concerned, there are two topics regarding their nomenclature worth examining. Firstly, they are referred to with various nouns: "spirit" (πνεῦμα, 15 times), angel (ἄγγελος, 5 times), or demon (δαμόνιον, 3 times). There is a preference for the term "spirit," but the other nouns are also used. All three of these terms appear to refer to the same entities, the servants of the opponent, without any intended differentiation. Secondly, if the spirits are referred to by "angel" or "spirit" an adjective or genitival construction is generally added to differentiate the supernatural servants of God from those of the opponent. The most common adjectives are "evil" (πονηρός, 11 times), "earthly" (ἐπίγειος, 4 times), "of the devil" (παρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, 3 times), and "vain" (κενός, 2 times).¹³⁵ These supplemental words give us an understanding of the aspects that differentiate the servants of God, as compared to those of the opponent. The evil spirits are evil and associated with the devil. Furthermore, they are earthly, as opposed to heavenly, and also vain. This last descriptor shows that they can be considered empty or, in other words, powerless.

The most remarkable feature of the nomenclature of the spirits from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*¹³⁶ — the linking of vices to spirits—is also present

in the *Shepherd of Hermas* the emphasis lies more on economical sins such as greed, the love of money, and unfair distribution of wealth. Consider how 'scattered scenes with images of erotic desire are spread across the three sections of The Shepherd (Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes) and invite close analysis. Yet erotic sins or dangers seem less important than others, particularly economic sins, in the ethical register of this text'; Lipsett, *Desiring Conversion*, p. 19.

134. See the section on mankind's choice and the heart, beginning on page 244 below.

135. In comparison with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we note that the most common label, "spirit of deceit," is absent, and that "angel" is used more frequently.

136. In his discussion of the vice-related spirits in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Haas's analysis of the spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* disagrees with our assessment. He argues that in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the language only shows a close relationship between the vice and the spirits, and not an identification as in the *Shepherd of Hermas*. In other words, he claims that in the

in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.¹³⁷ For example, “slander” (καταλαλιά, *Herm.* 27.3), “insolence” (αὐθάδεια, *Herm.* 99.3), and “empty confidence” (κενή πεποίθησις, *Herm.* 99.3) are all referred to as demons, and “short temper” (ὀξύχολία, *Herm.* 34.8), “grief” (λύπη, *Herm.* 40.2), and “double-mindedness” (διψυχία, *Herm.* 39.11) are called spirits.¹³⁸

Parable 9 of the *Shepherd of Hermas* (78–110) tells of a tower that is being built, which should be understood to be the church. Stones, which symbolise people, are considered, before either being added or rejected for this tower. Furthermore, some stones are later removed, all depending on their quality. There are two sets of twelve women who add and remove the stones.¹³⁹ On the one side there

Shepherd of Hermas the vices are actually these spirits, whereas in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the vices are simply associated with the spirits. He does admit that in practice, this distinction is impossible to maintain; Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” p. 239. This shows that the identification of vices as spirits is very clear in the *Shepherd of Hermas*. As far as his analysis of the vice-related spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* goes, his admission that the distinction is hard to maintain shows the difficulty of supporting that distinction.

137. So also Gokey, who claims that ‘one of the most typical and distinctive traits of the *Shepherd* is the author’s conception of the virtues and vices as personal beings whom he calls δαιμόνια or πνεύματα’; Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 125. Further, he concludes that ‘the concept of vices as demons which is so characteristic of the demonology of the *Shepherd* is not found in the other Apostolic Fathers’; Gokey, *Terminology*, 127. Kelly discusses where the vice-related spirits, or as he calls them “Sin-Demons” come from. He notes that there might be two references in the Old Testament (specifically the spirit of whoredom in Hos 4.12, 5.4, and the lying spirit in 1 Kgs 22.22), and states that ‘Sin-Demons abound in a pseudepigraph called the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* [...] Sin-Demons are also prominent in another second-century work called *The Shepherd*’; Kelly, *Satan*, p. 210.
138. Cf. Brox where a similar list is reproduced, with more extensive descriptions of each demon and spirit; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 544.
139. Gokey notes that the number twelve is strange in this case. Generally one would expect a list of seven spirits, as in *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.7. He attributes this to the *Corpus Hermeticum*, and claims that ‘there, as here, the twelve demons most likely correspond to the demons of the Zodiac’; Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 127. In the parable there are two lists of women, good and evil. Both lists consist of four greater, and eight lesser women. The number of women is linked to the tower that is being built: the four greater are holding the corners, the eight lesser are two to each side. This seems to account for the number twelve. Consider also Vision 3 (*Herm.* 9–21), where there are seven women assisting mankind. Osiek claims that ‘both seven and twelve are cosmically and religiously significant numbers for both Judaism and Christianity, but no significance is assigned to their numbers in the text. It is impossible to specify exactly what the author had in mind by using these numbers’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 221. Clearly, we cannot put too much stow in the precise number.

are twelve virgins (παρθένοι), who are clearly good, and on the other side twelve black-garmented women (γυναῖκες).¹⁴⁰ People who are clothed in the garments of the twelve virgins are saved, whereas those who put on the black garments of the women await destruction. The virgins are said to be holy spirits (*Herm.* 90.2), and both lists should clearly be understood to be spirits.¹⁴¹ The virgins are spirits of the Lord, whereas the black-clad women are spirits of the opponent.¹⁴² Both of these sets of women have names, as becomes clear from 92.1–3:

92.1. Δήλωσόν μοι, φημί, κύριε, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ μέλανα ἱμάτια ἐνδεδυμένων. Ἄκουε, φησί, τῶν παρθένων τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἰσχυροτέρων, τῶν εἰς τὰς γωνίας σταθισῶν. 2. ἡ μὲν πρώτη Πίστις, ἡ δὲ δευτέρα Ἐγκράτεια, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Δύναμις, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Μακροθυμία· αἱ δὲ ἕτεραι ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων σταθεῖσαι ταῦτα ἔχουσι τὰ ὀνόματα· Ἀπλότης, Ἀκακία, Ἀγνεία, Ἰλαρότης, Ἀλήθεια, Σύνεσις, Ὁμόνοια, Ἀγάπη. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ δυνήσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσελθεῖν. 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν τὰ ἱμάτια μέλανα ἔχουσῶν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρές εἰσι δυνατώτεραι· ἡ πρώτη Ἀπιστία, ἡ δευτέρα Ἀκρασία, ἡ δὲ τρίτη Ἀπειθεια, ἡ δὲ τετάρτη Ἀπάτη. αἱ δὲ ἀκόλουθοι αὐτῶν καλοῦνται Λύπη, Πονηρία, Ἀσέλγεια, Ὁξυχολία, Ψεῦδος, Ἀφροσύνη, Καταλαλιά, Μίσος. ταῦτα τὰ ὀνόματα ὁ φορῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δοῦλος τὴν βασιλείαν μὲν ὄψεται τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται.

92.1 ‘Lord, please tell me the names of those virgins and black-clothed women,’ I said. ‘Listen,’ he answered. ‘These are the names of the stronger virgins who stood at the corners. 2. The first is Faith, the second Abstinence, the third Power, and the fourth Endurance. The others standing between them are called Simplicity, Innocence, Purity, Delight, Truth, Understanding, Unity, and Love. Anyone bearing these names and the name of the son of God will have the power to enter the kingdom of God.’ 3. ‘Listen,’ he

140. Earlier, in Vision 3 (*Herm.* 9–21), the seven good women were γυναῖκες, but now they are παρθένοι. The sole reason for this change would seem to be an easy differentiation between the two groups.

141. So also Osiek, who when discussing the differences between the tower in Vision 3 (*Herm.* 9–21) and in Parable 9 (*Herm.* 78–110), claims that ‘the now twelve young women are spirits of the Son of God [...] the twelve women in black garments are their opposites, not in a one-to-one correspondence, but as representatives of evil spirits’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 220. Cf. Brox who claims: ‘die zwölf schönen Frauen [...] in schwarzen, schulterfreien Kleidern [haben] dieselbe Funktion [...] wie die bösen Geister und sind ebenfalls die Gegenstücke [...] zu den “heiligen Geistern” [...] nämlich “böse Geister”’; Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 543–4.

142. See also *Herm.* 95.3, which refers to the women as evil spirits. Cf. Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” p. 237.

continued. ‘These are the names of the black-clothed women. Again, four of these are more powerful. The first is Unbelief, the second Indulgence, the third Disobedience, and the fourth Guile. The women who follow them are called Sorrow, Evil, Debauchery, Short Temper, Falsehood, Folly, Slander, and Hatred. Any servant of God who bears these names will see the kingdom of God, but he will not enter.’ *Herm.* 92.1–3

In this pericope, twelve virtues and twelve vices are personified, and we saw earlier that they are identified as good and evil spirits.¹⁴³ This list firstly shows that vices are strongly linked to the evil spirits, and secondly demonstrates that each individual must make choices between these two sets of spirits. In this it closely resembles the teachings of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where vices are portrayed as spirits and the individual as the battlefield between good and evil.

This list is particularly similar to *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.7, where seven good and natural spirits are listed opposite seven spirits of the opponent. There is a slight difference, in that the *Testament of Reuben* does not associate the good spirits with virtues, but rather with facets of mankind’s nature.¹⁴⁴ The opposition that is discussed in these two lists, however, is very similar. Clearly, on the one side there are the spirits associated with God, and on the other side are the enemies of mankind, the evil spirits that lead to destruction. The double list in the *Shepherd of Hermas* 92.1–3 should not be understood to be a complete listing of all the spirits of deceit.¹⁴⁵ Clearly, the spirits “insolence” (αὐθάδεια) and “empty confidence” (κενή πεποιθήσις)—the ones that will be introduced in this same vision (*Herm.* 99.3) — are missing here.¹⁴⁶ In this it is similar to the list in *T. Reu.* 2.1–3.7, which should not be understood to be complete either. As both of these lists do not attempt to make a complete listing of

143. Haas understands this passage in the same way; Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” p. 237.

144. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* there are almost no good spirits that assist people. The only good spirit in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that opposes an evil spirit occurs in *T. Gad* 4.7. In this verse the spirit of love counteracts the spirit of hate. The spirit of hatred works with Satan by means of discouragement, causing death. The spirit of love cooperates with the law of God by means of long-suffering, leading to the salvation of humanity. See also Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” pp. 238–9.

145. So also Gokey, who claims that the listing ‘is not all inclusive’; Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 127. See also Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 237.

146. Gokey also lists some missing vices. He claims that ‘presumption, vain confidence, doubt and wicked desire, which have been mentioned above, are not included in this list’; Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 127.

spirits of the opponents, a comparison of the contents of these lists is moot. Thus the differences between the contents of the lists are not to be emphasised too strongly.

In conclusion, all this shows that the identification, understanding and anthropological role of the spirits in the *Shepherd of Hermas* is very similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The understanding of the way spirits work is similarly comparable. In the following subsection, a discussion of short temper in the fifth mandate (*Herm.* 33–34) will show further likenesses between these two documents.¹⁴⁷

Short Temper, the ‘Most Wicked Spirit’

The fifth mandate in the *Shepherd of Hermas* discusses the dichotomy between “endurance” (μακροθυμία)¹⁴⁸ and “short temper” (ὀξυχολία).¹⁴⁹ The exhortation of the mandate begins as follows:

33.1. Μακρόθυμος, φησί, γίνου καὶ συνετός, καὶ πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων κατακυριεύσεις καὶ ἐργάσῃ πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. 2. ἐὰν γὰρ μακρόθυμος ᾖ, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ κατοικοῦν ἐν σοὶ καθαρὸν ἔσται, μὴ ἐπισκοτούμενον ὑπὸ ἑτέρου πονηροῦ πνεύματος, ἀλλ’ ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ κατοικοῦν ἀγαλλιάσεται καὶ εὐφρανθήσεται μετὰ τοῦ σκεύους ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ, καὶ λειτουργήσῃ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ἰλαρότητι πολλῇ, ἔχον τὴν εὐθηνίαν ἐν ἑαυτῷ. 3. ἐὰν δὲ ὀξυχολία τις προσέλθῃ, εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τρυφερὸν ὄν, στενοχωρεῖται, μὴ ἔχον τὸν τόπον καθαρὸν, καὶ ζητεῖ ἀποσπῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· πνίγεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, μὴ ἔχον τόπον λειτουργῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ καθὼς

147. Short temper is considered a specifically evil spirit. Cf. Brox, who claims that ‘ein besonders schlechter “Geist” oder Dämon [...] ist der Jähzorn’; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 544.

148. Osiek prefers to translate μακροθυμία as courage. She claims that ‘μακροθυμία carries the combined meaning of patient endurance or long-suffering, and magnanimity or greatheartedness. It is the ability to direct one’s desire consistently toward the good over the long haul. It is more than the passive endurance connoted by the English “long-suffering,” but implies as well the energy to embrace the good in the face of setbacks’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 118. Clearly, μακροθυμία has nuances that are less usually associated with “patience” or “long-suffering” in English, but courage does not seem to cover the meaning either. Ehrman chooses “patience,” which does not seem to cover the enduring aspect of μακροθυμία. In this work μακροθυμία will be translated as endurance, as it is translated in M. de Jonge, “Testaments (Sparks)”; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*.

149. The virtue “endurance” is a major theme in the *Testament of Joseph*. See the discussion of μακροθυμία and ὑπομονή in Hollander, *Ethical Model*, pp. 16–49; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, pp. 363–5; Kugler, *Testaments*, pp. 80–3.

βούλεται, μαινόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ὀξύχολίας. ἐν γὰρ τῇ μακροθυμίᾳ ὁ κύριος κατοικεῖ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὀξύχολίᾳ ὁ διάβολος.

33.1. ‘Endure and be understanding,’ he said, ‘and you will subdue all evil actions and do all that is righteous. 2. For if you endure, the holy spirit living in you will be pure, and unobscured by the other, evil spirit. Living spaciouly, it will rejoice and be cheerful about its dwelling. It will minister to God in much delight, abounding in itself. 3. But if short temper enters, the holy spirit, who is sensitive, immediately becomes anxious. There is no clean space for the spirit, and thus it seeks to flee. As the place is made unclean by short temper, the holy spirit has no place to worship the Lord as it wishes, and is strangled by the evil spirit. For the Lord lives in endurance, and the devil in short temper.’ *Herm.* 33.1–3

There are two types of indwelling spirits: a holy spirit and an evil spirit (*Herm.*

33.2).¹⁵⁰ These two spirits cannot coexist (*Herm.* 33.3). If there is any short temper in a person’s mind, the holy spirit feels cramped and becomes claustrophobic (*Herm.* 33.3).¹⁵¹ This understanding has an anthropological base. An individual is indeed the battlefield of the great controversy.¹⁵² The evil spirit enters a person, causing that person to be unclean, and the good spirit must leave to avoid contamination.¹⁵³ This good spirit leaves without putting up a fight,¹⁵⁴ which leaves the person under the sole control of the evil spirit.

150. The holy spirit should not be identified as the Holy Spirit from Christian tradition. Osiek claims that ‘in spite of the capitalizing of “holy spirit” in most translations, it is not clear that the one spoken of here is identifiable with the Holy Spirit as usually understood in Christian sources (in fact, 2.5 assumes a difference), though the whole attempt to distinguish one good spirit from another and from the “spirit of God” begs the question and would have been beside the point for Christian writers at this period’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 119. Haas maintains that the adjective “holy” shows the spirit’s divine heritage; Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” p. 81.

151. See also *Herm.* 41.6, where the spirit of God cannot stand grief or distress.

152. Consider Osiek, who claims that ‘the contest for power and honor, played out in the male social hierarchy of the culture, is projected as well into the cosmic realm, where divine and demonic power battle for control of human beings’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 126. How it is projected into the cosmic realm is unclear, as there is no usage of cosmological terminology, but the contest is certainly for control over each person.

153. See also Haas’s extended discussion of this process; Haas, “Geest Bewaren,” p. 84.

154. Osiek notes this, and maintains that ‘what is surprising and without adequate precedent is the lack of competitiveness on the part of the good spirit’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 119. This is interesting to note, because although the *Shepherd of Hermas* discusses the good spirit, this spirit does not take part in the

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* this same idea is present. The *Testament of Dan* explains how anger and lying stir up a person's mind (*T. Dan* 4.7). This causes the Lord to depart from that person, and the opponent to rule over him. Here, it is the spirits that inhabit the person, which naturally represent the leaders of both battling camps (cf. *Herm.* 33.3). In both works, it is the entrance of a spirit, identified as a vice, that causes the Lord to depart and leads a person towards destruction.

Returning to the discussion of the fifth mandate, the *Shepherd of Hermas* gives the example of a small bit of wormwood ruining a large part of honey, thereby showing the workings of short temper (*Herm.* 33.5–6). Hermas then asks to learn the way short temper operates (*Herm.* 33.7), which is explained to him as follows:

34.1. Ἄκουε νῦν, φησί, τὴν ἐνέργειαν τῆς ὀξυχολίας, πῶς πονηρά ἐστι, καὶ πῶς τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ καταστρέφει τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἐνεργείᾳ, καὶ πῶς ἀποπλανᾷ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. οὐκ ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς πλήρεις ὄντας ἐν τῇ πίστει, οὐδὲ ἐνεργῆσαι δύναται εἰς αὐτοὺς, ὅτι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν ἐστίν· ἀποπλανᾷ δὲ τοὺς ἀποκένους καὶ διψύχους ὄντας. 2. ὅταν γὰρ ἴδῃ τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἀνθρώπους εὐσταθοῦντας, παρεμβάλλει ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἢ γυνῆ ἢ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν πικρίᾳ γίνεται ἕνεκεν βιωτικῶν πραγμάτων, ἢ περὶ ἐδεσμάτων ἢ μικρολογίας τινος, ἢ περὶ φίλου τινος, ἢ περὶ δόσεως ἢ λήψεως, ἢ περὶ τοιούτων μωρῶν πραγμάτων.

ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μωρά ἐστι καὶ κενὰ καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ. 3. ἡ δὲ μακροθυμία μεγάλη ἐστὶ καὶ ὀχυρά, ἰσχυρὰν δύναμιν ἔχουσα καὶ στιβαρὰν καὶ εὐθηνουμένην ἐν πλατυσμῷ μεγάλῳ, ἰλαρά, ἀγαλλιωμένη, ἀμέριμνος οὖσα, δοξάζουσα τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχουσα πικρόν, παραμένουσα διαπαντὸς πραεὶα καὶ ἡσύχιος. αὕτη οὖν ἡ μακροθυμία κατοικεῖ μετὰ τῶν τὴν πίστιν ἔχόντων ὁλόκληρον. 4. ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία πρῶτον μὲν μωρά ἐστίν, ἐλαφρά τε καὶ ἄφρων. εἴτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μῆνις· εἴτα ἡ μῆνις αὕτη ἐκ τοσούτων κακῶν συνισταμένη γίνεται ἁμαρτία μεγάλη καὶ ἀνίατος.

34.1. 'Listen now,' he said, 'to the actions of short temper. Listen to how it is evil, how it destroys the servants of God with its actions, and how it leads away from righteousness. It does not mislead those who are full of faith, however, nor does it have

battle. For all intents and purposes, this makes the situation the same as that in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, where there is almost no mention of good spirits. See also the discussion of God's role in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* on page 112 above.

power to act against them. This is because the power of the Lord is with them; the spirit misleads those who are empty and double-minded. 2. For whenever it sees such a person thriving, it inserts itself into the heart of that person, and out of nowhere the man or woman becomes bitter about worldly affairs, or food, or about some minutiae, some friend, something given or taken, or some such foolish affair.

All these things are foolish, empty, meaningless, and useless to the servants of God, 3. but endurance is great and steadfast. It has a strong and sturdy power, flourishing in wide open spaces, delightfully rejoicing, being carefree, glorifying the Lord at all times, not being at all bitter, and always remaining mild and quiet. Endurance dwells in those who have full faith. 4. Short temper begins with something stupid, both shallow and foolish. Then from this folly comes bitterness, from bitterness anger, from anger wrath, and from wrath rage. Then this rage, encompassing so much evil, becomes a great and incurable sin. *Herm.* 34.1–4

Short temper, an evil spirit, is especially powerful against those who are without the power of God (*Herm.* 34.1). The Lord protects his servants against the workings of this spirit (*Herm.* 34.1),¹⁵⁵ but often it situates itself in a person's heart (*Herm.* 34.2). Once there it can do its work, and causes a person to become bitter about meaningless things (*Herm.* 34.2). Endurance, on the other hand, does not allow bitterness, and honours God in all things (*Herm.* 34.3). While short temper may begin with silly, meaningless things, it causes a person to be bitter about them, which ultimately leads to anger, wrath and rage (*Herm.* 34.4). Rage in particular is a great sin (*Herm.* 34.4).

The imagery given here is quite similar to the discussion of the power of the spirits of anger (*T. Dan* 4), of hatred (*T. Gad* 5–6), and of envy (*T. Sim.* 4.7–9) in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In these discussions the evil spirit gains leeway in a person, usually through mankind's nature, thereby stirring up a person's

155. Consider the discussion above of the opponent's apparent lack of power, on page 232. This motif is also present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. See *T. Iss.* 4.4 which describes a simple person, the ethical acme of that testament. Regarding a simple person, it claims that 'the spirits of deceit have no power over him.' Later the testament reads 'every spirit of Beliar will flee from you' (*T. Iss.* 7.7). Clearly, not only is the opponent powerless against true believers, but the opponent will also flee from them. See also *T. Ben.* 6.1–3, where the good man's impulses are not controlled by the spirits of the opponent, and *T. Dan* 5.1 which calls the children to keep the Lord's commandments so that Beliar may flee from them.

mind and soul, so that the person commits sins he would otherwise not commit. The person under the influence of a spirit can no longer think clearly.

Short temper works in a similar way in the *Shepherd of Hermas*. After having gained entrance to a person, short temper leads that person to become bitter about seemingly valid, yet ultimately meaningless affairs.¹⁵⁶ Bitterness escalates, moving through anger and wrath to rage, which causes the good spirit to leave (*Herm.* 34.5).¹⁵⁷ The person's situation is then described as follows:

εἴτα ὅταν ἀποστῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου οὗ κατοικεῖ, γίνεται ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκείνος κενὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πεπληρωμένος τοῖς πνεύμασι τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀκαταστατεῖ ἐν πάσῃ πράξει αὐτοῦ, περισπώμενος ὥδε κάκει ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυφλοῦται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς. οὕτως οὖν συμβαίνει πᾶσι τοῖς ὀξυχόλοις.

Then when it [the holy spirit] flees from the person in which it once dwelt, this person becomes empty of the righteous spirit, and filled with the evil spirits. These agitate him in his every action. He is hurled to and fro by the evil spirits, and completely blinded from any good thought. This is what happens to everyone who is short-tempered.

Herm. 34.7

The escalation of emotions and the departure of the good spirit leaves a person wholly at the mercy of the evil spirits (*Herm.* 34.7). Such a person is completely blind to any good thoughts, and unable to think clearly — just as in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.¹⁵⁸ Whereas in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the spirits abuse mankind's nature, in the *Shepherd of Hermas* they focus on a person's

156. Compare this to *T. Gad* 5.1 which reads 'Hatred is evil, for [...] it makes small things out to be great.'

157. Brox discusses this escalation, and claims that the spirit's 'psychologische Eskalation bis zur Wut als schwerer Sünde wird unvermittelt fortgesetzt mit der Rede von den Geistern als Bewohnern des Menschen'; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 221. Great sin, rage, is the natural consequences, by means of escalating sins, of the spirit's inhabitation of a person.

158. Haas lists a number of texts that consider the διάνοια as the guide to righteous action. The majority of these come from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*; Haas, "Geest Bewaren," p. 309. See also the discussion on the similarities between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* regarding the mind, thoughts and heart below, and the discussion of the role of the mind in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* beginning on page 153 above.

desires. In this it is not desire itself that is evil, rather the object of the desire.¹⁵⁹ Desire for holiness is good, whereas desiring money evil.¹⁶⁰

In the following section the choices that each person must make will be discussed. As everyone struggles against the opponent and his forces, the actual warfare takes place mainly through these choices. In this struggle, double-mindedness (that is uncertainty towards God) and the heart (that is the rational faculty of mankind) play a significant role. These topics will both be considered at length.

(III) AN INDIVIDUAL'S CHOICE, DOUBLE-MINDEDNESS AND THE HEART

According to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, each person takes part in a great controversy between God and the opponent, indeed the opponent is the enemy of mankind. As seen in the previous section, the forces of evil attempt to lead people astray. Each person must choose between the two ways. This section will examine the understanding of how a person makes these choices, focussing on the choice itself, on double-mindedness, and on the function of the heart and the mind. Additionally, the ultimate consequences, and thus an individual's ultimate choice, will be considered.

As discussed above, each person is accompanied by two spirits or angels: one of righteousness, one of evil (e.g. *Herm.* 36.1).¹⁶¹ Despite that these are referred to as two spirits, it seems more logical that these are two manifestations of a variety

-
159. Consider the twelfth mandate (*Herm.* 44–5), which sets out to discuss the two natures of desire. The mandate begins with the admonishment to avoid all evil desire, and maintain good and reverent desire (*Herm.* 45.1), and continues to explicate the nature of evil and good desire. Wudel states 'in an ethically dualistic world, one must not try to have things both ways. Yet there is at least one exception, one quality with respect to which Hermas and those he will instruct should have it both ways,' and goes on to explain that this quality is desire, concluding that 'for Hermas, there seems instead one form of *enkrateia* that maintains control and another that yields control'; Wudel, "Seduction," p. 43.
160. Consider, 'in the end, metanoia and manliness in *The Shepherd* involve not so much the suppression of desire as the choice of its proper object, and even manly abandonment to holy desires'; Lipsett, *Desiring Conversion*, p. 19.
161. Consider also the longer treatment of the two aspects of mankind's existence as described in the *Shepherd of Hermas* 36 on page 227 below.

of good and evil spirits (cf. *Herm.* 33.3 where the evil spirit is the spirit “short temper”). These spirits are portrayed in different manners, including indwelling spirits (*Herm.* 33.1–2), external angels (*Herm.* 36.2), and even desires caused by these spirits (*Herm.* 44.1–3).¹⁶² Both types of spirit cannot coexist in a single person: the evil spirit causes the good spirit to leave (*Herm.* 34.5–7). Every person can choose between these two angels, and their two ways.¹⁶³

The choices a person makes are vitally important. A large portion of the mandates—specifically the fifth, sixth, eleventh and twelfth—concern discernment between the two ways.¹⁶⁴ There is a difference between how the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* discuss the choices each person makes. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* there is much emphasis on each individual’s choices, whereas in the *Shepherd of Hermas* the emphasis is on how one would recognise the promptings and indwelling of the good and evil spirits. This difference does not appear to indicate a fundamentally different world-view, rather both texts have different exhortatory goals. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does not exhort the audience towards perfection, always maintaining an ambiguity inside of each person’s actions. Therefore, the exhortation focusses on making as many good choices as possible, bearing in mind that a person will make some bad choices too. The *Shepherd of Hermas*, on the other hand, exhorts the converted to avoid all sin, not allowing for a repeat forgiveness of sins. Therefore, the paraenesis is much stronger. Identifying the first promptings of the spirits, and then immediately avoiding the evil one, fits better into the starker exhortation of the *Shepherd of Hermas*.

In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the exhortation focusses on elucidating how one can tell the spirits apart. Generally, the best way to do this is by observing the actions which they bring about in a person.¹⁶⁵

162. See also Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 32.

163. See also the discussions in Russell, *Satan*, pp. 43–7; Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 31–4.

164. Cf. Brox, who refers to this as the ‘Unterscheidung der Geister,’ and lists more places where this is discussed in the *Shepherd of Hermas*; Brox, *Hermas*, p. 227.

165. Cf. Osiek, who claims that ‘this early Christian treatise on the discernment of spirits (Mandates 5–6

In all of this, double-mindedness (διψυχία),¹⁶⁶ which is referred to as a spirit of the opponent, plays a large role.¹⁶⁷ Double-mindedness in the *Shepherd of Hermas* is quite different to the two aspects of the *Testament of Asher*. Double-mindedness concerns doubt towards God, in that a double-minded person will live in uncertainty with regard to God, salvation and themselves (*Herm.* 39.1–9). A double-minded person does not choose evil, but neither does he choose good. Such a person instead waivers in doubt, caught between the two ways.¹⁶⁸ This influences the rest of his being, ultimately leading to deeds of iniquity.¹⁶⁹ The spirit of double-mindedness is an actual earthly spirit, i.e. an evil spirit, and is not a metaphor for the dualistic nature of an individual's existence (*Herm.* 39.11).¹⁷⁰ Instead, it plays a strong role in the choices a person makes, and invariably leads him astray.

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* maintaining a good mind is very important. This is because the mind makes the decisions, and a corrupted mind will make corrupt decisions. This state of a “blinded mind” is quite different to the state of double-mindedness. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the opponent and his forces attempt to deceive a person towards sin. Each person must make choices, and those with a good mind are resistant to the deceptions of the opponent, while others are more likely to be lead astray. Ultimately, however, a blinded person will not see that he commits unrighteous acts. In the *Shepherd of Hermas* double-mindedness is comparable, yet different. A double-minded person, as a blinded one,

especially) is one of the most concrete. The clearest sign of the presence of the good spirit is joy, and of the evil spirit, sadness or discouragement'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 33. Elsewhere she claims that actions are 'the whole point of the tradition of discernment of spirits: the spirits are known by their effects'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 124.

166. For more extensive discussions of double-mindedness in the *Shepherd of Hermas* consider Brox, *Hermas*, pp. 551–3; Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 30–1. See also the four articles that Seitz wrote in the 1940s and 50s: Seitz, “Hermas”; Seitz, “Antecedents”; Seitz, “Afterthoughts”; Seitz, “Two Spirits.”
167. Reiling claims that διψυχία is the exact opposite of ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας; Reiling, *Hermas*, p. 32.
168. So also Osiek, who claims that ‘doublemindedness is the fate of the person caught between the two spirits, not with a clear-cut distinction between good and evil, but in that the spirit at work in the doubleminded is a spirit of discouragement and doubt’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 31.
169. See also Reiling, *Hermas*, pp. 31–3; Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 30–1.
170. So also Reiling, who maintains that the spirit of double-mindedness ‘does not stand for the condition of man caught between the spirits [...] but is itself an earthly spirit’; Reiling, *Hermas*, p. 32.

will commit unrighteous acts, but a double-minded person will be aware that he sins, whereas a blinded person will not.

A factor, therefore, in the discernment between the two ways is that the double-minded are less able to make correct decisions.¹⁷¹ Similarly, in the fifth mandate, short temper cannot deceive those full of faith, but only those who are double-minded and empty (*Herm.* 34.1). Furthermore, in the tenth mandate, which concerns the spirit “sorrow,” that spirit enters the double-minded person’s heart and wears down the holy spirit (*Herm.* 41.1). Clearly, double-mindedness plays a significant role in defining which influence, God’s or the opponent’s, has the most power over a person. Double-mindedness, like a blinded mind, does not entail that the person is evil. It just means that he is much more likely to commit evil deeds.¹⁷²

In the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the good mind is also emphasised, albeit with different words. Maintaining a good mind, that is avoiding evil desires and thoughts, is of pivotal importance to Christians. Consider these two passages, the first from the twelfth mandate which discusses desire, the second from the first vision which analyses Hermas’s sorrow due to his (supposed) sin:

αὗται οὖν αἱ ἐπιθυμῖαι πονηραὶ εἰσι, θανατοῦσαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ τοῦ διαβόλου θυγάτηρ ἐστίν. ἀπέχεσθαι οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἵνα ἀποσχομένοι ζήσητε τῷ θεῷ.

These desires are thus evil, and kill the servants of God. This evil desire is the daughter of the devil, and it is therefore necessary to keep away from evil desires, so that by fleeing you may live in God. *Herm.* 45.2

ἡ δὲ ἔφη· Μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη περὶ αὐτῆς. ἔστιν μὲν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ τοιαύτη βουλή ἀμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσα· πονηρὰ γὰρ βουλή καὶ ἐκπληκτος εἰς πάνσεμνον πνεῦμα καὶ ἤδη

171. Consider Osiek, who maintains that the eleventh mandate develops ‘the theme of the discernment of spirits by contrasting true and false prophets, the latter effective only with the doubleminded’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 140.

172. Osiek maintains that ‘the doubleminded are drawn to the false prophet of Mandate 11 because they are kindred spirits: not demonic or evil, just earthly and empty’; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 31. Clearly, then, the double-minded person is more susceptible to the influences of the opponent, without necessarily being evil.

δεδοκιμασμένον, ἐὰν ἐπιθυμήσῃ πονηρὸν ἔργον, καὶ μάλιστα Ἑρμᾶς ὁ ἐγκρατὴς, ὁ ἀπεχόμενος πάσης ἐπιθυμίας πονηρᾶς καὶ πλήρης πάσης ἀπλότητος καὶ ἀκακίας μεγάλης.

‘This should never happen to a servant of God!’ she said, ‘but it most likely did enter your heart. Such an intent brings sin to the servants of God. Yearning for an evil action is an evil and shocking intention towards one’s wholly sacred spirit, which has already been tested. This is doubly true for Hermas the abstainer, who flees all evil desires and is filled with all manner of simplicity and great innocence.’ *Herm. 2.4*

In these two passages, keeping one’s heart and mind clear of unrighteous desires and thoughts is a crucial part of avoiding destruction. The spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* appear to be more closely associated with the mind than with the heart. But this does not mean that the spirits are not associated with the heart at all.¹⁷³ Indeed, in many passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the heart and the mind are synonymous.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, despite the difficulties in distinguishing between the function of the heart and the mind,¹⁷⁵ the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do discuss the heart in some pericopes, showing that a good heart is associated with good works.¹⁷⁶ All in all, in both documents it appears that the “heart” and the “mind” are simply two different anthropological interpretations of mankind’s rational faculty. Therefore, where the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* or the *Shepherd of Hermas* read “mind” one could usually just as easily have read “heart,” and vice versa.

173. *T. Iss.* 7.4, for example, maintains that deceit did not arise in his heart. Considering that deceit is clearly a vice propagated by the spirits of deceit, it could be maintained that this indicates that no spirits of deceit situated themselves in Issachar’s heart. The association of spirits with the heart is also found in *T. Dan* 2.5, where the spirit of anger covers a person’s eyes with hatred of heart, and gives a person the spirit’s own heart, which causes the person to act against his brother. In *T. Gad* 5.1 the spirit of hatred fills the heart with devilish poison, causing all manner of evil.

174. In *T. Jud.* 11.1 the heart is clearly synonymous with the mind, as Judah claims that his youthful disposition blinded his heart. Usually it is the mind that is blinded in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and this should be understood to be the meaning here as well. See also *T. Jud.* 13.6–8.

175. Cf. *T. Naph.* 2.8 where the heart is the organ of understanding

176. Consider *T. Sim.* 4.5, which dispenses the following advice: (1) to keep a simple soul, (2) to maintain a good heart, and (3) to keep Joseph in mind. This will lead to blessings. Consider also *T. Sim.* 5.2, where the children are called to make their hearts good before the Lord, and *T. Zeb.* 7.2.

Keeping one's heart clear of unrighteousness is analogous to what the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* calls "maintaining a good mind." Furthermore, according to the *Shepherd of Hermas*, avoiding desires leads one to receive life through God (*Herm.* 45.2). Similarly, the mere intention (βουλή) to sin is shocking and evil to one's holy spirit (*Herm.* 2.4).¹⁷⁷ As in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the emphasis here is not on actions but rather on what precedes actions. To avoid committing any sin, an individual must prevent even the hint of sin from entering his mind. It is the desires of the heart (as the *Shepherd of Hermas* puts it) which are most important in a person's struggle against the forces of the opponent.¹⁷⁸ This is very similar to the exhortation in *T. Reu.* 4.9, where Joseph, as the ethical ideal, has a disposition that does not allow any evil desire.

Considering the ultimate consequences of an individual's choices, we must note that despite the *Shepherd of Hermas*'s inclusion in the apocalyptic genre, it does not focus on typical apocalyptic themes such as other-worldly journeys and end-time events.¹⁷⁹ The ultimate fate of mankind is also not described in any detail, but is hinted at throughout the *Shepherd of Hermas*. The ungodly, that is those who have not converted, will not receive salvation (*Herm.* 6.5),¹⁸⁰ but the truly converted will

177. Consider also *Herm.* 1.8, and the references in Osiek, *Commentary*, pp. 44–5; Hollander and de Jonge, *Commentary*, p. 101.

178. So also Osiek, who claims, when discussing the first vision given to Hermas by Rhoda, that 'by contrast to external actions, Rhoda lays emphasis not on behavior but on the desires of the heart'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 44.

179. So also Osiek, who maintains that 'the book lacks, or plays down considerably, some of what are often considered essential elements of an apocalypse: detailed revelations about the world beyond and end-time catastrophes; historical speculations; pessimism about the outcome of this world; and pseudepigraphical character'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 11.

180. Cf. *Herm.* 14.1, 46.6, 60.2, 62.1, 75.4, 91.1–2 for the lack of salvation for the evil, and *Herm.* 39.6, 74.3, 75.4 for a hint at the difficulty of salvation for the double-minded. Leutzsch claims that Hermas's understanding of the future has a double close: 'ewige Verdammnis für die Heiden und Sünder, ewiges Leben für die Gerechten'; Körtner and Leutzsch, *Hermas*, p. 143. He refers to Vision 3 (*Herm.* 22–4) and Parable 3 (*Herm.* 61–65). The *Shepherd of Hermas* 24 does discuss the fate of the wicked, and also utilises a fire metaphor to discuss the destruction and purification of people. The people who are like gold will be purified in the fire, and will receive eternal life (*Herm.* 24.4–5). The others will be destroyed in the fire (*Herm.* 24.3). Parable 3 similarly talks of destruction and death, but not

be saved (*Herm.* 41.4).¹⁸¹ There is no discussion of a resurrection,¹⁸² a return to Eden or other themes which are present in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

The future and end of the opponent and his forces are hardly explored in the *Shepherd of Hermas*.¹⁸³ Although it lacks detailed discussion, it is always apparent that the opponent will lose,¹⁸⁴ and that God will be victorious.¹⁸⁵ The fate of the opponent can be distilled from the *Shepherd of Hermas*, despite the fact that the details of God's victory remain obscure.

CONCLUSION

This section discussed the struggle between good and evil in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, and compared the conclusions drawn from the presence of certain motifs in this text to the conclusions drawn regarding those motifs in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Specifically, three topics were discussed: the dual nature of an individual's existence, the struggle between each person and the forces of darkness, and the manner and consequences of each individual's choices.

eternal damnation. Indeed, the angel of punishment — who you would normally only expect in the underworld—punishes people in their current life (*Herm.* 63.2–4). Nickelsburg considers the fate of the wicked to be death; Nickelsburg, *Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, p. 198. Gokey claims that 'the author believed that punishment for vice [...] was something of this life'; Gokey, *Terminology*, p. 123.

181. Cf. *Herm.* 24.5. So also Nickelsburg who, when discussing the two ways, concludes that 'the results of the one is "death" [...] while the righteous will "live to God"'; Nickelsburg, *Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, p. 198.
182. Cf. Nickelsburg, who claims that 'there is no mention of a resurrection'; Nickelsburg, *Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, p. 199.
183. Leutzsch claims that 'Naherwartung spielt bei Hermas nur eine untergeordnete, nicht genau definierte Rolle'; Körtner and Leutzsch, *Hermas*, p. 143.
184. The best pericope for understanding the destruction of the opponent is *Herm.* 49.4, in which Hermas claims 'I know that you will shatter all the power of the devil, and that we will dominate him and prevail over all his works.' Clearly, the opponent will be destroyed, but the agent that brings about his destruction and the manner in which he is destroyed is not mentioned. See also Nickelsburg, *Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*, p. 198.
185. Cf. Osiek, who maintains that 'most of the discussion about that struggle thus far has been described in terms of good and evil spirits [...] the struggle for power is plainly between God and the devil, but with very uneven odds in favor of God'; Osiek, *Commentary*, p. 126.

An examination of the portrayal of the dual nature of mankind's existence in the *Shepherd of Hermas* showed many similarities with its portrayal in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Two spirits accompany each person, and both wish to be in control of that person's life. The evil spirit battles constantly to lead a person to sin, whereas the righteous spirit is not very active in the struggle. Each person must attempt to avoid the evil spirit at all costs, as their salvation hangs in the balance.

Concerning the interactions between mankind and the forces of darkness, the understanding found in the *Shepherd of Hermas* also closely resembles that in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The opponent inflicts little physical harm, instead focussing on leading people towards wickedness and sin. The opponent rules over those who make sinful choices, and is powerless against those who follow the way of the Lord. Each person is under the influence of two sets of spirits, virtues associated with God and vices associated with the opponent. The opponent's spirits, being identified with vices, attempt to lead each individual towards those specific vices. As an evil spirit gains greater control over a person, it will cause the good spirit to leave. Once a person is under the influence of a wicked spirit, that person will be led towards sinful deeds. The understanding is that the evil spirit utilises neutral anthropological traits, turning them against humanity and causing the individual to associate that trait with sin. In the example of short temper, the person will feel desire, which is not in itself evil, but in this case he will desire the wrong things, which is sinful.

According to the *Shepherd of Hermas* an individual constantly makes choices between good and evil spirits. Because it is the mind (often referred to as the heart) that chooses between the two ways, a person should avoid letting even a single evil thought or desire enter it. Unfortunately a person can be double-minded, which means that this person is under the illusion that he has more than one choice. In other words, he also sees the unrighteous choices that lead to destruction, and not only the righteous choices that lead to life. A double-minded person is naturally more likely to fall to the influences of the evil spirits. Each person must, therefore, maintain a good mind, so that he can make good decisions. The decisions that

people make have ultimate consequences: the righteous receive salvation and life, whereas the unrighteous receive death.

The similarities between the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* on these three topics are striking. Naturally there are some minor differences when we examine the details (such as the *Shepherd of Hermas*'s preference for the word "heart" and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' preference for the word "mind"), but when one considers the teachings about mankind's place in the battle between good and evil in these two texts, and the way in which the influences of the opponent's forces on mankind are portrayed, these two texts have a great deal in common.

We have found a work that appears to share the same world-view as the one identified in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Having outlined and discussed the motifs that form the core of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we find that the author of the *Shepherd of Hermas* develops the same motifs in a fundamentally similar way. These motifs describe the world-view of the author, and it should be clear that—as far as the theme of the great controversy is concerned—these two authors share the same perspective. We have thus identified a likely literary context for the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the following section we will examine with writings of Origen, comparing them to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

D ORIGEN

In our continuing search for works evidencing a similar world-view to the one found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we now move from a comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* to the *Rule of the Community* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, to a discussion of the works of Origen. Like the *Rule of the Community* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, Origen's writings have many similarities with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* when we consider the portrayal of the individual's struggle against the forces of darkness in these texts.

Origen lived from ca. 186 to ca. 255 CE. Origen was, in all probability, born and raised in Alexandria. He grew increasingly alienated with the church in Alexandria, and eventually moved to Palestine. Origen, while living in Alexandria, was probably influenced by the teachings of Clement.¹⁸⁶ He wrote many works, including critical texts, homilies, commentaries, apologetics and doctrinal treatises. Many works of Origen are lost, especially in the original Greek, with only Rufinus's Latin translation remaining.¹⁸⁷ We will look at Origen's understanding of the great controversy focussing on the specific motifs

(I) THE TWO ASPECTS OF AN INDIVIDUAL'S CHOICE

Origen agrees with the teachings found in the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Shepherd of Hermas* about the two ways. He defends the belief that each person's thoughts have two aspects, as follows:

Quod uero etiam per angelos uel bonos uel malos aliqua humanis cordibus suggerantur, designat uel Tobiam angelus comitatus uel prophetae sermo dicentis: 'et respondit angelus, qui loquebatur in me;' sed et Pastoris liber haec eadem declarat docens quod

-
186. Eusebius claims that Origen attended the school at Alexandria when it was headed by Clement. Pantaenus followed Clement, and Origen followed Pantaenus as head of the school. Recently Van den Broek has argued that this is completely false; Van den Broek, "Christian 'School,'" p. 41. He maintains that Origen would have never attended Clement's classes. Osborn, in discussing this topic and Van den Broek's comments, concludes that 'most scholars consider that the school of Alexandria finds historical ground in Pantaenus, the teacher of Clement,' Osborn, *Clement*, p. 21. Thus it is uncertain what the exact influence is between Clement and Origen, but there are strong links.
187. For a more extensive discussion of Origen's life and writings consider McGuckin, *Origen*, pp. 1–44.

bini angeli singulos quosque hominum comitentur, et si quando bonae cogitationes cor nostrum ascenderint, a bono angelo suggeri dicit, si quando uero contrariae, mali angeli esse dicit instinctum. Eadem quoque etiam Barnabas in epistola sua declarat, cum duas vias esse dicit, unam lucis, alteram tenebrarum, quibus etiam praeesse certos quosque angelos dicit: viae quidem lucis angelos dei, tenebrarum autem viae angelos Satanae.¹⁸⁸

That certain thoughts are suggested to men's hearts either by good or evil angels, is shown both by the angel that accompanied Tobias, and by the language of the prophet, where he says, 'And the angel who spoke to me answered.' The book of the Shepherd declares the same, saying that each individual is attended by two angels; that whenever good thoughts arise in our hearts, they are suggested by the good angel; but when of a contrary kind, they are the instigation of the evil angel. The same is declared by Barnabas in his Epistle, where he says there are two ways, one of light and one of darkness, over which he asserts that certain angels are placed—the angels of God over the way of light, the angels of Satan over the way of darkness.¹⁸⁹ *Princ. 3.2.4*

Drawing from a number of sources Origen claims that good and evil angels suggest thoughts to people. While he gives no explicit mention of deeds or actions in this passage, it is reasonable to assume that the ambiguity of thought implies an ambiguity of action. This ambiguity is not simply in the actions or thoughts of each person, but is also part of the nature of mankind. Origen argues this in his *Commentary on Romans*:

Sunt praeterea, sicut in multis scripturae locis invenimus, etiam utriusque partis vel utriusque viae fautores quidam et adiutores angeli. Nam carni concupiscenti adversus spiritum favet diabolus et angeli eius et omnes spiritales nequitiae in caelestibus cunctique, adversum quos hominibus luctamen est, principatus et potestates et mundi huius rectores tenebrarum. E contrario vero spiritui adversus carnem decertanti animamque humanam, quae media est, ad se revocare conanti favent et adjuvant angeli boni omnes.¹⁹⁰

Moreover, as we find in many scriptural passages, there are angels who are patrons and helpers for both sides, or rather for the two ways. For the devil and his angels and all the evil spirits in the heavenly regions together with all the principalities and powers

188. The Latin text of Origen's *De Principiis* 3–4 is taken from Crouzel and Simonetti, *Principes*.

189. The English translation can be found in Roberts et al., *ANF*:4.

190. The Latin quotes from Origen's *Commentary on Romans* are taken from Heither, *Romanos*.

and rulers of the infernal parts of this world against whom human beings must do battle support the flesh in its lust against the spirit. But on the other hand, all the good angels support the spirit as it struggles against the flesh and attempt to summon the human soul, which is intermediate, to itself.¹⁹¹ *Com. Rom. 1.18*

The dual groups of angels attributed to the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* are linked to distinct parts of a person's nature. The opponent and his spirits—to which, probably based on Ephesians 6.12, are added powers and principalities of the world — support a person's carnal nature. The good angels, on the other hand, assist the spirit. The ambiguity of human thought and actions are thus linked to the ambiguity of human nature: flesh versus spirit. The nature of mankind does not only consist of these two parts, however, but also of a third:

Frequenter in scripturis invenimus et a nobis saepe dissertum est, quod homo spiritus et corpus et anima esse dicatur. Verum cum dicitur, quia 'caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem,' media procul dubio ponitur anima.

We frequently find in the Scriptures, and we have often discussed this topic, that man may be said to be spirit, body and soul. And when it is said, 'The flesh desires contrary to the spirit, and the spirit desires contrary to the flesh,' the soul is undoubtedly placed in the middle. *Com. Rom. 1.18*

The soul is the third part of human nature. The soul, associated with neither good nor evil, stands between the flesh and the spirit. The flesh and the spirit influence the soul, and the soul must choose between these two inclinations. Good and evil powers further support the two inclinations, yet the choice itself remains vitally important. Origen discusses this as follows:

Sed ex utraque parte favoris disciplina servatur. Non enim vi res agitur neque necessitate in alteram partem anima declinatur.

But out of both sides' support, the duty of choice is preserved. For the matter is not done by force nor is the soul moved in either of the two directions by compulsion. *Com. Rom. 1.18*

191. The English translation of *Commentary on Romans* has been copied from Scheck, *Romans*.

A person is not forced one way or the other, but makes a choice between these two directions.¹⁹² Origen further elucidates this choice with an example. He tells a story of the soul living in a house with the body and spirit as counsellors. Outside are piety and virtues on the one side, and on the other ungodliness, excess and lust. The soul could listen to the spirit and invite in piety, or to the body and invite in ungodliness (*Com. Rom.* 1.18).¹⁹³

The choices of the soul according to Origen function in a way similar to the mind in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The soul must choose between virtues and vices, and the choices of each person are vitally important. The mind itself is not mentioned, but the similarities are still striking.¹⁹⁴

Each person therefore has a dual nature which is supported by two groups of supernatural beings. Mankind, individually wages a war against both his carnal nature and the forces of evil. As the forces of evil support a person's carnal nature, they have influence over a person. The influences of the evil forces on mankind will now be examined.

(II) MANKIND AND THE FORCES OF EVIL

Origen argues that each person is fighting a battle, both against the forces of darkness and his own flesh. He makes this assumption clear in the opening words of the fifteenth homily on Joshua:¹⁹⁵

Nisi bella ista carnalia figuram bellorum spiritalium gererent, numquam, opinor, Iudaicarum historiarum libri discipulis Christi [...] Unde denique sciens Apostolus nulla nobis iam ultra bella esse carnaliter peragenda, sed animae certamina contra spiritales adversarios desudanda, velut magister militiae praeceptum dat militibus Christi.¹⁹⁶

192. Russell refers to this choice as the 'discernment of spirits,' in that it is the ability to choose between an angel and a demon; Russell, *Satan*, p. 137.

193. That there is no compulsion is maintained elsewhere also, cf. *Princ.* 3.1.1-6, and Scheck, *Romans*, p. 95.

194. The heart is mentioned as playing a role in the struggle, but not in the same way as depicted in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, see the discussion of the role of the heart in the *Shepherd of Hermas* on page 244 below. Here the heart is simply the location that the opponent first strikes. See also *Hom. Jos.* 5.2, 14.1 and *Com. Num.* 6.3.

195. Jaubert claims that 'la doctrine du combat spirituel, [...] est au cœur des *Homélies sur Josué*'; Jaubert, *Josué*, p. 15.

196. The Latin text of Origen's *Homilies on Joshua* is taken from Jaubert, *Josué*.

Unless those physical wars bore the figure of spiritual wars, I do not think the books of Jewish history would ever have been handed down by the apostles to the disciples of Christ [...] In short, now we do not have to wage physical wars, but that the struggles of the soul have to be exerted against spiritual adversaries, the Apostle, just as a military leader gives an order to the soldiers of Christ.¹⁹⁷ *Hom. Jos. 15.1*

As far as Origen is concerned, the physical wars of the Old Testament are to be understood as prefiguring the current struggles in which each righteous person is involved. This topic is continued in the homily, and it soon becomes clear who the opponents in this struggle are, as follows:

Puto sane quia sancti quique repugnantes adversum istos incentores peccatorum spiritus et vincentes eos atque eorum unumquemque superantes imminuant exercitum daemonum et velut quam plurimos eorum interimant. Verbi causa ut, si qui caste pudiceque vivendo fornicationis spiritum superaverit, non ultra fas sit illum spiritum, qui ab illo sancto victus est, impugnare iterum alium hominem.

I think, by all means, that each saint fighting against those spirits who incite sin, conquering and overcoming each and every one of them, diminishes the army of demons, and kills as many of them as possible. For example, if anyone, by living purely and chastely, overcomes a spirit of fornication, that spirit—which is conquered by that saint—is no longer permitted to fight against another person. *Hom. Jos. 15.6*

Each righteous person constantly fights against the evil spirits or demons. The spirits cause physical trials in mankind, and they are appointed to this task by God (c.f. *Cels. 7.70, 8.31–2*).¹⁹⁸ The battle between people and the influences of the forces of darkness is a frequent topic of discussion in *Homilies on Joshua*.¹⁹⁹ These demons lead to sin, as will shortly be discussed in more detail. But—and this is where a person's struggle has cosmological implications — a demon that is defeated by a person's virtues is no longer able to attack other people either.²⁰⁰ In other words,

197. The English translation of *Homilies on Joshua* is copied from White, *Joshua*.

198. See also Russell, 'God gives license to evil angels to cause such ills for his own providential purposes'; Russell, *Satan*, p. 133.

199. Consider, for example, *Hom. Jos. 1.6, 5.2, 8.7, 11.2, 13.1, 14.1, 16.6*.

200. Concerning demons Bruce notes, that Origen 'usually emphasized that victories over them diminished their numbers'; White, *Joshua*, p. 148. Cf. *Hom. Jos. 8.7, Cels. 8.44*. Consider, however, *Hom. Jos. 14.1*, where Origen postulates that demons come back stronger and stronger with each defeat.

each person has the ability to disempower spirits of the opponent. The spirits themselves are defined and structured in some detail. Consider:

Unde mihi videtur esse infinitus quidam numerus contrariarum virtutum pro eo quod per singulos paene homines sunt spiritus aliqui, diversa in his peccatorum genera molientes. Verbi causa, est aliqui fornicationis spiritus, est et irae; spiritus alius est avaritiae, alius vero superbiae. Et si eveniat esse aliquem hominem, qui his omnibus malis aut etiam pluribus agitetur, omnes hos vel etiam plures in se habere inimicos putandus est spiritus. Unde et per singulos plures esse credendi sunt, quia non singula singuli homines habent vitia vel peccata committunt, sed plura ab unoquoque videntur admitti.

Et iterum non est putandum quod unus fornicationis spiritus seducat eum qui, verbi gratia, in Britannis fornicatur, et illum qui in India vel in aliis locis, neque unum esse irae spiritum qui diversis in locis diversos homines agitet; sed puto magis principem quidem fornicationis spiritum unum esse, innumeros vero esse, qui in hoc ei officio pareant. [...]

Esse tamen reor horum omnium principem, velut eminentiorem quendam in nequitia et in scelere celsiorem, qui totum mundum, quem isti ad peccata singuli quique per peccatorum species pro parte sollicitant, solus velut omnium principum dux et totius nefandae militiae magister exagitet.

Whence there seems to me to be, so to speak, an endless number of opposing powers, because for almost every human there are several spirits stirring up diverse kinds of sins in them. For example, there is one spirit of fornication, and there is another of wrath; there is a spirit of avarice, but another of arrogance. And if there happens to be some person who is driven by all these evils, or even by more, we should realize that he has all these spirits, or even more, within. From this, we should accept that there are several spirits for each person, because each human being does not have a single vice or commit a single sin, but very many seem to be admitted by every person.

And, again, we should not think that there is one spirit of fornication that seduces a person who, for example, commits fornication in Brittany, and another for the person who does so in India or in other places; nor that there is one spirit of wrath who prompts different persons in different places. Rather, I think there is indeed one chief spirit of fornication, but there are innumerable ones who submit to it in this capacity. [...]

Nevertheless, I believe that there is a leader of all these, more extreme, so to speak, in wickedness and more haughty in impiety, who, as sole leader of all the chiefs and as master of the whole abominable army, harasses the entire world, which those others, under a pretence of sins, for their part each individually incite to sins.

Hom. Jos. 15.5

In this rather extensive discussion of the spirits of the opponent, Origen attempts to give a logical analysis of them. Firstly, Origen points out that there are spirits which are strongly associated with specific sins — the vice-related spirits that were also found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.²⁰¹ Origen names quite a few vices, albeit less than the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do. The ones he names are the spirits of fornication (*Hom. Jos.* 8.6, 12.3, 15.5), avarice (*Hom. Jos.* 8.6, 12.3, 15.5), wrath (*Hom. Jos.* 12.3, 15.5), arrogance (*Hom. Jos.* 12.3, 15.5), anger (*Hom. Jos.* 1.6), rage (*Hom. Jos.* 1.6), greed (*Hom. Jos.* 8.6), envy (*Hom. Jos.* 8.6), slander (*Hom. Jos.* 8.6), and boasting (*Hom. Jos.* 12.3). Elsewhere, Origen also refers to these spirits as demons (*Hom. Jos.* 8.7, 12.3). Contrary to Clement of Alexandria, who argued very strongly against indwelling spirits,²⁰² Origen believes that a person, when sinning, has one or more of these spirits within him.²⁰³ There is thus a strong association between sins and the spirits of the opponent. This is very similar to what we saw in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Furthermore, Origen postulates that because many people commit the same sins in diverse locations, each vice must have many spirits. The singular spirit of each vice should be understood to be the chief spirit of that vice, who commands an unending army of lesser spirits. The chief spirits are commanded by a leader, who is called the ultimate wickedness, and represents the opponent himself.

The battle against the opponent and his minions is also a battle against one's own carnal nature. Earlier in this section, it became clear that Origen thinks that the opponent supports mankind's carnal nature, Origen expands on this thought in the following way:

An uero putandum est quod diabolus esuriendi uel sitiendi causa nobis existat? Ne-minem puto esse qui hoc audeat confirmare. Si ergo esuriendi et sitiendi non nobis ipse fit causa, quid illud, cum uniuscuiusque aetas ad uirilitatis tempus aduenerit et naturalis caloris incentiua suggesserit? Consequens sine dubio est ut, sicut esuriendi et

201. These vice-related spirits occur throughout *Homilies on Joshua*. Consider, for example, *Hom. Jos.* 1.6, 1.7, 8.6, 12.3.

202. See the discussion of Clement's thoughts on indwelling spirits on page 264 below.

203. So also Russell, *Satan*, p. 138.

sitiendi causa diabolus non est, ita ne eius quidem motus, qui adultae aetati naturaliter suggeritur, id est adpetendi coitus desiderium. Quam causam non utique semper a diabolo moueri certum est, ita ut putandum sit quia, si diabolus non esset, huiusmodi admixtionis desiderium corpora non haberent.

Tum deinde consideremus si, ut superius ostendimus, cibus hominibus non ex diabolo sed naturali quodam appetitur instinctu, utrum posset fieri ut, si diabolus non esset, humana experientia tanta in percipiendo cibo disciplina uteretur, ut numquam penitus excederet modum, id est ut uel aliter quam res posceret uel amplius quam ratio indulgeret acciperet, et numquam eueniret hominibus in seruando cibi modo mensuraque delinquere.

Must we indeed suppose that the devil is the cause of our feeling hunger or thirst? Nobody, I think, will venture to maintain that. If, then, he is not the cause of our feeling hunger and thirst, wherein lies the difference when each individual has attained the age of puberty, and that period has called forth the incentives of the natural heat? It will undoubtedly follow, that as the devil is not the cause of our feeling hunger and thirst, so neither is he the cause of that appetency which naturally arises at the time of maturity, viz., the desire of sexual intercourse. Now it is certain that this cause is not always so set in motion by the devil that we should be obliged to suppose that bodies would not possess a desire for intercourse of that kind if the devil did not exist.

Let us consider, in the next place, if, as we have already shown, food is desired by human beings, not from a suggestion of the devil, but by a kind of natural instinct, whether, if there were no devil, it were possible for human experience to exhibit such restraint in partaking of food as never to exceed the proper limits; i.e., that no one would either take otherwise than the case required, or more than reason would allow; and so it would result that men, observing due measure and moderation in the matter of eating, would never go wrong.

Princ. 3.2.2

Using the example of the relationship between food and gluttony, Origen maintains that mankind's nature is subject to hunger and thirst. Neither of these are caused by the opponent, but they can be utilised against a person. Hunger, a natural desire of the body, can be exploited by the opponent so much that it can lead to gluttony—an obvious sin. The same holds for sexual desires, which are natural, yet exploited by the opponent can lead to the sins of lust and fornication. Later in this passage, Origen argues that covetousness, anger, sorrow and indeed all vices work in a similar way (*Princ. 3.2.2*). The opponent abuses a person's nature so that he will

sin. This is very similar to what was seen in the *Testament of Reuben* 2–3 and the *Testament of Judah* 12.

CONCLUSION

As we can conclude, Origen portrays many motifs regarding the great controversy in ways similar to how the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does. We see very clearly, for example, that the forces of darkness use spiritual attacks to lead mankind astray, and that their power is grounded in an individual's nature. The way Origen portrays the role of the individual, is also very familiar. Origen also associates spirits with the vices they bring about in a person. He emphasises the constant war each individual wages against the forces of darkness, and he even speaks of the way the soul chooses between the way of righteousness and that of wickedness. Clearly, Origen develops many motifs that are fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in ways that are also very similar.

In our search for authors sharing a world-view with the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we can conclude that we have come very close. The choices that Origen makes are very similar to those that the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* makes, showing that they also share a very similar world-view. The most pronounced difference between the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the writings of Origen is that Origen seems to have structured these theological and anthropological issues in a more logical way. He has taken ideas from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (amongst others), and systematised them. Thus it stands to reason that Origen, knowing of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, proceeds from a world-view similar to that of the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Ultimately, the *Shepherd of Hermas* comes closer to the world-view of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* than the writings of Origen. In the following section we will consider a fourth author who also portrays the individual's role in the great controversy in a way similar to how this is portrayed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Clement of Alexandria is the final author that we will consider in our search.

E CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

In the previous chapter we demonstrated which motifs are fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the first section of this chapter we examined how various authors portray these motifs, discovering what was distinctive in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' development of them.

In the preceding sections we have been comparing the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with various ancient authors, attempting to find ones that chose to portray these motifs in ways similar to that of the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In this section we will thus continue our search by comparing the writings of Clement of Alexandria with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In Clement's works we can see a great deal of similarity with regards to the motifs from the first section, as well as the emphasis on the individual.

Born around 150 CE, in an unknown location, Clement of Alexandria became the head of the school in Alexandria. He passed away around 215 CE. He is best known for his three major works: the *Miscellanies* (*Stromata*), *Christ the Educator* (*Paedagogus*), and *Exhortation to the Greeks* (*Protrepticus*).

Clement of Alexandria claims that the opponent's only power is temptation, and that he is unable to compel. Consider this passage from *Miscellanies*:

πειράζει γὰρ ὁ διάβολος εἰδὼς μὲν ὃ ἔσμεν, οὐκ εἰδὼς δὲ εἰ ὑπομενοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ ἀποσεῖσαι τῆς πίστεως ἡμᾶς βουλόμενος καὶ ὑπάγεσθαι ἑαυτῷ πειράζει, ὅπερ καὶ μόνον ἐπιτέτραπται αὐτῷ διὰ τε τὸ ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν σώζεσθαι δεῖν, ἀφορμὰς παρὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς εἰληφότης.²⁰⁴

For the devil tempts, on the one hand knowing what we are, and on the other not knowing if we will endure. But wishing to dislodge us from faith, he tries to subject us to him. This is all that is allowed to him, for the necessity of saving us, who have grasped the opportunity to be away from the commandments, from ourselves.²⁰⁵

Strom. 4.12.85

204. The Greek text of Clement of Alexandria's *Stromata* 1-4 is taken from Früchtel and Stählin, *Stromata*.

205. The translation of *Miscellanies* Book 4 is the author's. For another English translation consider Roberts et al., *ANF*:2.

The opponent has the power to tempt people, which he does in order to make a person his own subject. He does not know if he will be successful in this temptation, but he is not allowed to do more than that. He clearly has no power to compel a person.²⁰⁶ The power of the forces of darkness is described in more detail elsewhere in *Miscellanies*:

Αἱ τοίνυν δυνάμεις, περὶ ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, κάλλη καὶ δόξας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ τοιαύτας τινὰς φαντασίας δελεαστικὰς προτείνουσι ταῖς εὐεπιφόροις ψυχαῖς, καθάπερ οἱ ἀπελαύνοντες τὰ θρέμματα θαλλοὺς προσείοντες, εἴτα, κατασοφισάμεναι τοὺς μὴ διακρίνειν δυνηθέντας τὴν ἀληθῆ ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ κηρὸν τε καὶ ἐφύβριστον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου κάλλους, ἄγουσιν δουλωσάμεναι. ἐκάστη δὲ ἀπάτη, συνεχῶς ἐναπεριδομένη τῇ ψυχῇ, τὴν φαντασίαν ἐν αὐτῇ τυποῦται. καὶ δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔλαθεν περιφέρουσα τοῦ πάθους ἢ ψυχῇ, τῆς αἰτίας ἀπὸ τε τοῦ δελέατος καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν συγκαταθέσεως γινομένης.

The powers of which we have been speaking offer souls readily disposed to that sort of thing spectacles of beauty, fancies, adulterous acts, pleasures, and similar seductive appearances, rather as drovers wave branches in front of their animals. They trick those who cannot distinguish true pleasure from false, or a beauty that is perishable and insolent from beauty of holiness; they enslave them and lead them on. Each decision, continually impressed on the soul, leaves an inner perception stamped upon it. And the soul, without knowing, is carrying around the image of the passion. The cause lies in the act of seduction and our assent to it.²⁰⁷ *Strom.* 2.20.111

The forces of darkness or demons, as Clement usually refers to them, use desirous visions and fantasies, playing on mankind's pleasure in order to deceive. This deception makes a person unable to distinguish between good and evil, thereby leading that person away from God. If a person is deceived enough times, that person becomes a copy of the spirits of the opponent.²⁰⁸ The deception affects that of the rational faculty of mankind, causing it to be unable to distinguish between good and evil. This is very similar to the deceptive and blinding power of the opponent in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Clearly, mankind has the power of his mind

206. See also Russell's discussion; Russell, *Satan*, pp. 113–4.

207. The translation of *Miscellanies* Book 1–3 has been copied from Ferguson, *Stromata* 1–3. For another English translation consider Roberts et al., *ANF*:2.

208. See also the more extensive discussions in Floyd, *Treatment*, pp. 68–70; Russell, *Satan*, p. 115.

with which to choose between God and the opponent. The opponent's power lies in his ability to deceive a person's mind. A person's choices play a vast role according to Clement. Clement clearly sees every person's evil acts as their own choice, going so far as to suggest that demon-possession is the consequence of a person's choices (*Strom.* 4, 12).²⁰⁹

Clement has clear knowledge of authors that associate sin with indwelling spirits (*Strom.* 2.20). In his argument that spirits do not dwell in everyone, he firstly discusses the arguments of Valentinus and Basilides, and then counters their understanding of the *Epistle of Barnabas* as follows:

ὅπως δ' ἡμεῖς τοῦ διαβόλου τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὰ πνεύματα τὰ ἀκάθαρτα εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ ψυχὴν ἐπισπείρειν φαμέν, οὐ μοι δεῖ πλείονων λόγων παραθεμένῳ μάρτυρι τὸν ἀποστολικὸν Βαρνάβαν (ὃ δὲ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα ἦν καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ Παύλου) κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγοντα· ἔπειτα τοῦ ἡμᾶς πιστεῦσαι τῷ θεῷ ἦν ἡμῶν τὸ οἰκητήριον τῆς καρδίας φθαρτὸν καὶ ἀσθενές, ἀληθῶς οἰκοδομητὸς ναὸς διὰ χειρός· ὅτι ἦν πλήρης μὲν εἰδωλολατρίας καὶ ἦν οἶκος δαιμόνων, διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν ὅσα ἦν ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ· τὰς ἐνεργείας οὖν τὰς τοῖς δαιμονίοις καταλλήλους ἐπιτελεῖν φησι τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς, οὐχὶ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ πνεύματα ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀπίστου κατοικεῖν ψυχῇ λέγει.

I do not need many words for how we describe the activities of the devil and the unpurified spirits flow into the sinner's soul. I need merely call as witness the apostolic figure of Barnabas (one of the Seventy and a collaborator of Paul) when he says something of the sort: "Before we believed in God, the habitation of our heart was weak and corruptible, in very truth a temple built with hands. For it was filled with idolatry and a home for evil spirits, through acting contrary to God." He is saying that sinners perform actions comparable to those of evil spirits; he is not saying that the actual spirits live in the soul of the man without faith. *Strom.* 2.20.116–7

Barnabas, according to Clement, says that sinners only commit deeds that are appropriate to the spirits of deceit, not that these spirits live inside the person. Thus, he takes great care to explain that the association is not a causal relationship, but that the deeds of sinners are the same as those of demons (*Strom.* 2.20, 4.12). A few

209. See also Floyd, *Treatment*, p. 71; Russell, *Satan*, p. 115.

sentences further, he even associates the doctrine of indwelling spirits with gnostic heresies (*Strom.* 2.20).²¹⁰

In comparison with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, then, it appears that Clement is reacting to teachings similar to those in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. He refers to authors who maintain that spirits can cause vices. In reaction to these sources, he refutes this understanding of the forces of darkness causing vices in an individual. Regarding the deceptive powers of the opponent, however, he maintains ideas similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that are rarely found elsewhere.

All in all, Clement's work clearly shares a number of motifs with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but many of our selected motifs regarding the forces of darkness and the individual are missing from his work. Furthermore, we must conclude that he is actually reacting *against* teachings such as those found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. This means that while Clement might appear to present a similar world-view, he does not count himself as a part of it. In our search for works showing a common world-view to that found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we can conclude that Origen and the *Shepherd of Hermas* are much closer to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Thus we have found a likely literary context for the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In the following section we will draw some conclusions about what this entails.

210. So also Kelly, 'Clement rejected the doctrine of indwelling sin demons as a gnostic aberration'; Kelly, *Baptism*, p. 53. See also Kelly's discussion of the diverse gnostic understandings referred to, and refuted by Clement; Kelly, *Baptism*, pp. 53–6.

F FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Having identified the fundamental role that the opponent and forces of darkness play in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in the previous chapters, and having outlined a series of motifs regarding the interplay between the forces of darkness and humanity, in this fourth and final chapter we set out to examine how these motifs appear in various writings. Authors choose how they wish to portray common motifs, and there is a great deal of variation between authors. Because of this we set out to identify a group of writings where these motifs are not only present, but are also developed in similar ways, giving us a clear indication of which authors envision mankind's existence in way similar to how the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does. In this way we can situate the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in a literary context without falling into the old (and ultimately unproductive) arguments of provenance.

In Section A we examined the diverse portrayal of motifs in various Jewish and Christian writings. These motifs, originally identified in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, encompassed the name and identity of the opponent, the opponent's allegiance, the opponent as ruler of the unrighteous, the opponent's general method of attack, the source of the opponent's power, the underlings of the opponent and their origin, and the *modus operandi* of these underlings. Noting that other authors develop these same motifs in vastly different ways, we then outlined what makes the way the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do so distinct.

In Section B we began our comparison of the motifs from the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* with those present in other works. The *Rule of the Community* is a Jewish text, and our discussion of how it relates to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* allowed us to step outside the centuries-old Jewish-Christian authorship debate, instead comparing these two works based on internal criteria. We found that while the world-view in the *Rule of the Community* is often quite similar to that found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the development of the world-view in these two works differ significantly. Ultimately, the anthropology is different in these two works, as the *Rule of the Community* has a cosmological view of the

struggle within mankind *in toto*, whereas the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* has an ethical view of a struggle within each individual person. The *Rule of the Community* displays a strong divide within mankind as a whole. A person is either wholly good or evil, and thus either belongs with the good people or with the evil ones. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does not see this sweeping divide, but rather focusses on a very nuanced internal ambiguity within each person. A person can be good but do evil deeds and vice versa. This idea does not fit into the world-view of the *Rule of the Community*.

The differences in the development of the great controversy between the *Rule of the Community* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* can partly be attributed to the different functions these texts would have had. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are an exhortatory text, which seems to have functioned in a community that was in constant contact with other communities. On the other hand, the *Rule of the Community* would have functioned to strengthen a sectarian community's understanding that they are an elect group. The scroll is not exhortatory, but informative. Ultimately, these differences in the development of the great controversy are also due to the world-view behind both texts: the exclusive ideology of a sectarian group necessarily creates a much stronger divide between "us" and "them." The fact that certain themes are developed in such different ways, despite their similarities, shows that the authors of these two works have fundamentally different ideas about the nature of mankind's existence. Ultimately, we must conclude that the authors of the *Rule of the Community* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do not share a fundamentally similar world-view, and that we should instead consider works that emphasise the choices and role of the individual in the great controversy when trying to place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in a literary context.

In Section C we discussed the *Shepherd of Hermas* in comparison with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* both see each person as constantly struggling against the spirits of deceit, and they both firmly associate vices with these spirits. Both describe the forces of darkness as using mankind's nature against individuals. Both also focus on the importance of the choices that each person makes, and on the role that the mind

plays in that choice. Considering the teachings on a person's situation within the great controversy between good and evil, as well as the influences of the opponent upon each person, it is very clear that the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* have a great deal in common. The solid similarities between these two documents argue strongly for a very similar interpretation of mankind's nature and existence.

In Section D we discussed the work of Origen. Origen sees each person as constantly having to choose between his carnal and his spiritual nature. This divide within each person is linked to supernatural beings and angels that support either side of a person's nature. Between these two sides there stands the soul, which is the part of mankind's nature that makes the actual choice between good and evil. Every righteous person constantly battles against the forces of darkness, claims Origen. The spirits are strongly associated with vices, and a person constantly fights against these vices, which would otherwise lead him to sin. The spirits use a person's nature against him, turning natural needs into infernal desires. This is clearly very similar to the ideas that can be found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Origen's world-view must be quite similar to that of the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

Finally, we discussed the works of Clement of Alexandria in comparison with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Section E. Clement writes about spirits that cause vices, and about spirits that can inhabit a person. He appears to be commenting on teachings that are similar to those found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In his context, therefore, people must be aware of these ideas, which suggests that he knows of other authors that share a similar world-view to that found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. On the one hand, Clement himself strongly disagrees with these teachings, even referring to them as heretical. On the other hand, he does maintain that the forces of darkness have deceptive powers similar to the ones they have in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Clement's world-view is close to the world-view of the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, though it still remains somewhat removed.

Ultimately, this comparison was useful in that we found very positive results in two bodies of work: the writings of Origen and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Origen, as evidenced by a reference to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, has knowledge of the teachings found in this work and generally agrees with their world-view. Origen's world-view is not the one evident in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but carries on the tradition to which the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are a witness. The *Shepherd of Hermas*, however, mirrors the fundamental motifs regarding the forces of darkness, their influence, the nature of mankind, and the choices that each person must make, as found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. These similarities with the *Shepherd of Hermas* and Origen help place the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in their literary context, and even give them a probable temporal context. The fact that there are no compelling similarities with any earlier writings argues that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* might have been authored roughly contemporaneously with the *Shepherd of Hermas*.²¹¹

Our exploration of the world-view of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in comparison to those found in other works has provided definitive results. Two works and authors strongly resemble the fundamental teachings of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* regarding the characteristics of mankind's existence, and the nature of mankind itself. Of these works, the most useful for placement is the

211. The similarities between the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were already hinted at in 1953 by M. de Jonge. He wrote 'the Testaments contain parallels with [...] especially the *Mandates of Hermas* [...] T. Jud. xx 1 speaks of the two 'spirits' which wait upon man: the spirit of truth and the spirit of deceit. This is reminiscent of *Hermas Mand. vi, 2, 1* which mentions two angels [...] Then in T.D. iv 6 we read the somewhat strange statement [...] implying that λυπη is something evil. The same idea is found in *Hermas Mand. x* [...] It seems certain, therefore, that the Testaments must be reckoned to the same group of early Christian writings as the *Didache*, *Epistle of Barnabas*, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*'; M. de Jonge, *Text, Composition and Origin*, pp. 119–20. Many years later he once again pointed this out, writing 'es gibt noch mehr übereinstimmende Züge zwischen dem Hirten des Hermas und den Testamenten der xii Patriarchen, aber es ist schwierig, daraus auf eine literarische Abhängigkeit oder einen historischen Zusammenhang zu schließen'; M. de Jonge, "Typisches Testament," p. 314 He also refers back to his 1953 thesis, but admits in brackets that it was 'ganz vorsichtig und gar nicht erschöpfend'; M. de Jonge, "Typisches Testament," p. 314. These similarities have not been examined elsewhere.

Shepherd of Hermas, and the strong similarities between it and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* argue for a similar literary context.

Now that we have found authors that can be said to share a similar world-view, we are properly equipped to respond to our discussion from Chapter 1 about method. One thing that is immediately apparent is that Clement, Origen and the *Shepherd of Hermas* are writings from the patristic era. Since it seems justifiable to conclude that these are the works that have the most in common with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, and that these works thus form a likely literary context for the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, we must wonder about the usefulness of categories such as the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.

In our comparison of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, usually counted among the so-called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, with the totality of the ancient Jewish and Christian writings (including the rest of the Pseudepigrapha, the Old Testament, the Deuterocanonical Books, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the New Testament, the Apocrypha of the New Testament, and writings from the patristic era), positive results were only found among the writings from the patristic era. In the writings of all the other collections, the authors develop their world-view of the great controversy in fundamentally different ways than the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does, even when discussing a person's choices and the influence of the opponent. This demonstrates how misleading these categories can be, and shows how they can actually be counter-productive, both points raised in Chapter 1.²¹² It would benefit research immensely if the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the other "pseudepigrapha" were freed from this spurious category.

While in this research we focussed on a work traditionally included in the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, our critique of this category can be taken further. What is valid for the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha can also be valid for the categories of the New Testament Apocrypha (a possibly even more diverse group) and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The external and very generic shared characteristics used to place these works in the same category in the past should not be allowed to overly influence

212. See the discussion on page 20 above.

interpretation of these works in the present. Interpretation should remain focussed on the specifics of each separate work.

5 Conclusion

This research set out to discuss the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, an exhortatory, admonishing document, on their own terms. Through this research, we discovered three things. Firstly, we identified the reasoning behind the admonishment in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Secondly, we established which understanding of mankind is fundamental to this admonishment. Finally, we discovered other works in which we find a similar understanding and development of mankind's nature. In other words, this research revealed what the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are essentially about, elucidating themes fundamental to the underlying world-view present in the document. We then made an analysis of these same themes in other works, identifying those that indicate a similar world-view.

In Chapter 2 we examined the nature of admonishment in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Because the exhortatory character of the work is fundamental, an examination of the admonishment provided the starting point for an effective interpretation of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The admonishment revolves around the commandments of the Lord, which according to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are twofold: to love or fear God and to love one's neighbour—the so-called “double commandment.” All three discourse styles in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (biography, future-oriented passages, and direct exhortation) play a role in exhorting the audience to keep the commandments of the Lord.

The direct exhortation, which often focusses on specific vices and virtues, is always interpreted in the wider context of keeping the double commandment. Finally, the exhortation is founded on a world-view where mankind's existence is defined by a battle between good and evil. This struggle between God and the opponent defines the context of the admonishment, and therefore the role of the commandments.

In the third chapter we examined how mankind's existence is portrayed in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, giving special consideration to the role the great controversy plays in the admonishment. The anthropology in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is individualistic. Each person always has two distinct choices, one good and one evil. While a person can only be wholly good or wholly evil, every choice that a person makes is not always purely good or evil. A person's disposition affects each deed, so that the deed will match the disposition. In other words, when evil people do what would normally be considered good things, their evil disposition makes their deeds evil, and vice versa.

Additionally, the forces of darkness have the power to poison a person's actions towards evil. Each person is attended by two (sets of) spirits—evil spirits and natural, neutral spirits from God. The origin of the evil spirits is understood as the opponent's tainting of each person's natural spirits. The forces of darkness thus abuse mankind's nature, causing people to do evil. To avoid this, each person must make a series of choices between good and evil, and has received a rational mind from God for the purpose of doing so correctly. A pure mind can invariably distinguish between good and evil, and will lead a person towards good choices. Unfortunately, the opponent also has the power to blind a person's mind. A person with a blinded mind will no longer be able to make the correct decisions between good and evil, and will invariably commit evil deeds. Each person must thus do all he can to remain close to the Lord, i.e. keep to the commandments, so that the opponent has no way to enter his mind. This decision-making process is vital because the choices that each person makes have ultimate consequences. Everyone will be judged, and will receive salvation or destruction depending on their choices.

Chapter 3 thus outlined several important motifs fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. These motifs revolve around the interaction between

the opponent and each person. In Chapter 4 we turned to other documents, looking for evidence of these same motifs. Ultimately we identified several works that testify to a similar world-view. We noted that ancient authors portray the motifs from Chapter 3 in a great variation of ways. We examined this variation, and outlined the distinctive way that the author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* chose to develop these motifs. The first document that we compared with the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* was the *Rule of the Community*. We noted that these two works have much in common, but the way the authors develop their common world-view differs greatly. While the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* focus on a great controversy taking place inside of each individual person, the *Rule of the Community* places this struggle inside of humanity as a whole. This argued for a fundamentally different perspective for each of these two authors, but did help us to note the importance of the individual in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

The additional focus on the role of individual helped us to select three bodies of work for further comparison: the writings of Clement of Alexandria, the writings of Origen, and the *Shepherd of Hermas*. Clement of Alexandria appears to react to teachings similar to those found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, affirming some and refuting others. Origen also appears to be building on similar ideas, systematising and structuring them in slightly different, though strikingly similar ways. The third work, the *Shepherd of Hermas*, is the most similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, sharing almost every motif and admonishing the audience in a very similar manner.

The exploration and analysis of the other documents in Chapter 4 led to several conclusions regarding the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Although they have much in common with the *Rule of the Community*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* cannot be understood in a sectarian, exclusive milieu. Indeed, they are best understood in a Christian setting, and have much more in common with the scholarly milieu of the fathers of the church than with the popular milieu of apocrypha and pseudepigrapha. Origen seems to bear witness to a continuation of the traditions as found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Shepherd of*

Hermas. The *Shepherd of Hermas* shares a fundamental world-view most similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.

All things considered, we can draw several fundamental conclusions about the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, early Christianity, ancient anthropology, and the Jewish and Christian understanding of the struggle between good and evil based on this research. Firstly, it is clear that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*' *raison d'être* is to admonish the audience to love/fear God and to love one's neighbour. All forms of discourse serve this goal—even the future-oriented passages. The fundamental role of the passages regarding the future is not in itself proof that interpolations are not present, but does suggest that these passages are an essential part of the work. The manner in which the passages regarding the future and the biographical passages emphasise the admonishment argues that these three forms belong together.

Secondly, we can also conclude that the great controversy is fundamental to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The entire admonishment is based on a perception of a struggle within mankind and within the cosmos. Admonishment is a vital part of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, therefore, as the admonishment in that work is based on the idea of this struggle, a version of this document without the opponent is hard to imagine. Analyses of, explorations in, and even attempts to date the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* must take this fundamental world-view into account.

Another conclusion we can draw is that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are a witness to an individualistic and ethical understanding of the great controversy. In such an understanding, even though this controversy is still a grand cosmological struggle, the emphasis is on the battle inside of each individual. It is not so much that God and the opponent struggle against each other to be ruler of the universe, but it is instead an internal struggle that decides who will rule each separate person. This shows both a reinterpretation and a reapplication of a more traditional cosmological dualism.

On the basis of this internal struggle between good and evil, we can come to a conclusion regarding the opponent's nature and identity in several Jewish and

Christian writings, including the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The opponent, while traditionally seen as God's opponent, is more correctly seen as each person's adversary. In other words, the forces of darkness are not at war with God, but rather with each individual person. The outcome of this struggle does not directly affect the cosmos, but does affect the salvation of the individual. The opponent attempts to lead as many individuals as possible to destruction.

Besides these conclusions about the nature of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, ancient anthropology, and the opponent, we can also draw conclusions regarding the usefulness of categories and *corpora*. On the one hand we have concluded that the documents closest to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were the *Shepherd of Hermas* (an apostolic father), Origen and Clement (patristic authors), and the *Rule of the Community* (a Dead Sea Scroll). On the other, we note that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* share very few fundamental similarities with the other Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. This shows how misleading and counter-productive categories such as the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha are. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the other Pseudepigrapha would benefit greatly if they were freed from this category.

The sixth and final conclusion we can draw is that the method used in this research appears to be a viable way of discussing and placing texts in general. Examining the fundamental goals of the text, identifying the presuppositions that were necessary to achieve these goals, and attempting to find them in a similar form in other writings has yielded very positive results. Not only has this method allowed fruitful comparison with documents that appear to be very similar yet are fundamentally different, it has also allowed identification and comparison with documents that, while not immediately similar, show remarkable similarities.

Samenvatting

In dit proefschrift heb ik, uitgaande van de tekst, het paraenetisch document de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* bestudeerd. Door dit onderzoek heb ik drie dingen ontdekt: ten eerste hoe de paraenese wordt onderbouwd, ten tweede welk begrip van de mens noodzakelijk is voor de paraenese en ten derde welke andere geschriften een vergelijkbare zienswijze bevatten. Met andere woorden, dit onderzoek laat zien wat de essentie is van de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* en welke onderwerpen het fundament zijn van het wereldbeeld zoals blijkt uit dit document. Daarna heb ik deze onderwerpen in andere geschriften geanalyseerd en zodoende documenten met een vergelijkbaar wereldbeeld geïdentificeerd.

Hoofdstuk 1 behandelt de literatuur over de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. Hieruit bleek dat dit document het onderwerp is geweest van een uitvoerig debat, dat zich vooral richtte op de herkomst van het geschrift. Zo probeerden sommige geleerden eerdere joodse versies van het werk te herleiden, terwijl anderen probeerden te overtuigen dat de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* een echt christelijk document is. Hierdoor zijn er weinig geleerden die het werk gericht exegetiseren of analyseren. Daarom zou dit onderzoek zich richten op de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* als coherent geheel, zich richtend op de rol dat dit werk zou hebben gespeeld in de context waarin het gecomponeerd en aanvankelijk doorgegeven is.

Hoofdstuk 2 beschrijft de rol van paraenese in de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. Het paraenetische karakter van het werk is essentieel, daarom zou dit het beginpunt zijn voor een nuttige interpretatie van de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. Dit karakter draait om de geboden van de Heer, bestaande uit twee delen: liefde/vrees voor God en liefde voor de naaste – het zogenaamde dubbelgebod. Hoewel de directe adviezen aan het gehoor zich vooral richten op specifieke deugden en ondeugden, wordt dit altijd beschreven vanuit de bredere context van het dubbelgebod. Uiteindelijk wordt alles gebaseerd op een wereldbeeld, waarin het bestaan van de mens gekenmerkt wordt door een bovennatuurlijke strijd tussen goed en kwaad. Deze grote strijd bepaalt de context van de paraenese en dus ook de rol van de geboden.

In Hoofdstuk 3 heb ik de beschrijving van het bestaan van de mens in de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* bestudeerd, vooral lettend op de rol van de grote strijd in de paraenese. Hieruit concludeer ik dat de antropologie heel individualistisch is. Elk persoon heeft twee keuzes: goed of kwaad. Een persoon kan helemaal goed of helemaal slecht zijn, maar niet iedere keuze zal goed of kwaad zijn. De aard van een persoon bepaalt iedere daad, zodat de daad past bij de aard. Oftewel: als een slecht persoon een daad doet die normaal gezien goed zou zijn, kan zijn aard die daad omzetten tot kwaad, en andersom.

Daarnaast kunnen de machten van het kwaad iemands daden vergiftigen tot het kwaad. Iedere persoon heeft twee (groepen) geesten om zich heen, kwade geesten en daarnaast natuurlijke, neutrale geesten die van God afkomstig zijn. De kwade geesten bestaan doordat de vijand de geesten van God veranderde. De machten van het kwaad kunnen de natuur van de mens tegen hem gebruiken. Om dit te voorkomen moet een persoon een serie goede beslissingen maken, hiervoor heeft hij van God zijn rede gekregen. Een pure, onaangetaste rede kan altijd differentiëren tussen goed en kwaad, en leidt een persoon tot goede keuzes. Helaas kan de vijand de rede van een mens verblinden. Zo'n verblinde persoon kan niet meer de juiste keuzes maken en zal kwade dingen doen. Elk persoon moet dus zo dicht mogelijk bij de Heer blijven en zich aan de geboden houden, opdat de vijand de rede van een

mens niet binnen kan komen. Uiteindelijk wordt iedereen berecht, en afhankelijk van de gemaakte keuzes wacht redding of vernietiging.

Zo hebben we door Hoofdstuk 3 een aantal essentiële motieven in de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* herkend. Deze motieven draaien om de interactie tussen de vijand en ieder mens. In Hoofdstuk 4 bekeken we andere geschriften, met het oog op deze motieven. Hierdoor konden we een aantal documenten vaststellen die getuigen van een vergelijkbaar wereldbeeld. Verschillende auteurs uit de oudheid werken deze motieven op verschillende manieren uit. We hebben gezien wat uniek is aan de verwerking in de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. In de vergelijking met andere geschriften, selecteerde ik de *Gemeenschapsregel* (1QS), de *Herder van Hermas*, de werken van Origenes, en van Clemens van Alexandrië, voor diepgaande studie. De *Gemeenschapsregel* bleek grote overeenkomsten te hebben met de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*, maar beide auteurs werken hun wereldbeeld anders uit. De *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* plaatst de grote strijd in ieder mens, terwijl de *Gemeenschapsregel* die in het mensdom als geheel ziet. Deze twee geschriften verschillen fundamenteel. De *Herder van Hermas* lijkt het meest op de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. Deze documenten delen bijna ieder motief en gebruiken vergelijkbare overtuigingsstrategieën. Origenes lijkt te bouwen op de ideeën in deze twee werken, terwijl Clemens van deze onderwijzing afziet.

Door de analyse en vergelijking in Hoofdstuk 4 kon ik een aantal conclusies trekken over de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. De vergelijking met de *Gemeenschapsregel* laat zien dat de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* niet zouden passen in een sektarische context, en dat dit geschrift veel beter past in een Christelijke context.

Uiteindelijk kunnen we een aantal conclusies trekken over de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. Ten eerste: alle delen van de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* dragen bij tot de paraenese over de geboden van de Heer. De toekomstpassages, de biografische verhalen, en de directe paraenese zijn allen noodzakelijk voor het document.

Ten tweede: de grote strijd is essentieel voor de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*. Het hele geschrift is gebaseerd op een strijd in de mens en in de

kosmos. Zonder de vijand zou dit document niet kunnen hebben bestaan. Alle onderzoeken naar de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* moeten rekening houden met dit fundamentele wereldbeeld.

Daarnaast zien we dat, hoewel de grote strijd zich afspeelt tussen boven-natuurlijke machten, de strijd zelf in elk mens wordt gevoerd. Het is niet zo dat God tegen de vijand strijdt om heerser van het heelal te zijn, maar eerder dat er binnen ieder mens een strijd is. Oftewel: we zien dat de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* een herinterpretatie en een toepassing is op het individu van het traditioneel kosmologisch dualisme.

Gezien deze interne strijd tussen goed en kwaad, kunnen we concluderen dat de vijand in veel joodse en christelijke geschriften gezien moet worden als de vijand van elk mens. De machten van het kwaad strijden niet zozeer met God, maar met iedere persoon. De uitkomst van deze strijd heeft geen invloed op de kosmos, maar juist op de redding van elk mens.

Naast deze conclusies over de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen*, antieke antropologie en de vijand, kunnen we ook een conclusie trekken over het nut van categorieën van teksten, ofwel corpora. We hebben gezien dat de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* het meest lijkt op de *Herder van Hermas* (een apostolische vader), Origenes en Clemens (patristische auteurs), en de *Gemeenschapsregel* (een Dode Zee-rol). Ondertussen zien we dat de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* heel weinig vergelijkbaar zijn met de andere Pseudepigraphen van het Oude Testament. Hierdoor blijkt hoe misleidend categorieën zijn. Het zou de *Testamenten van de Twaalf Patriarchen* helpen als ze bevrijd worden van deze categorie.

Als laatste kunnen we een conclusie trekken over de methode van dit onderzoek. Dit is een bruikbare manier om teksten te bestuderen en plaatsen. Het kijken naar de essentiële doelen van een geschrift en de veronderstellingen die noodzakelijk zijn voor het behalen van die doelen, en vervolgens deze veronderstellingen zoeken in andere geschriften, heeft bruikbare resultaten opgeleverd. Deze methode liet mij documenten vergelijken, die aanvankelijk overeenkomstig leken, maar fundamenteel bleken te verschillen; maar ook documenten die niet meteen op elkaar leken en toch grote overeenkomsten hadden.

Index

The index lists all works (except the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) in alphabetical order. No attempt has been made to divide ancient works into categories. Works of which the author is known are listed under the name of the author. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are referenced throughout this research, and extensive discussions of passages from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are listed in the table of contents.

Acts of the Apostles

20, 31

Acts of Andrew

1, 195

2, 207

13–16, 195

17–19, 195

21, 195

40, 195

Acts of Andrew (Papyrus Texts)

P. Utrecht

10, 208

Acts of John

53, 197

53–54, 197

54, 197

Acts of Peter

7, 192

8, 185, 192

Acts of Thomas

31, 203

32, 203, 204

33, 204

39, 203

- 73, 207
- 75, 207
- 148, 185
- Apocalypse of Abraham
 - 24.5, 185
- Apocalypse of Daniel
 - 13.10–13, 186
- Arabic Infancy Gospel
 - 14, 189, 203, 207
- 2 Baruch
 - 56.13, 173
- 3 Baruch
 - 4.4, 186
 - 5.2, 186
- Book of the Miracles of Blessed
 - Andrew the Apostle
 - 14, 207
 - 29, 207
 - 32, 207
 - 34, 207
- Clement of Alexandria
 - Miscellanies
 - 2.20, 264, 265
 - 2.20.111, 263
 - 2.20.116–7, 264
 - 4, 264
 - 4.12, 264
 - 4.12.85, 262
 - 5.14, 186
 - 12, 264
- 1 Clement
 - 51, 185
- Second Epistle to the Corinthians
 - 4.4, 186
 - 6.15, 187
 - 12.7, 199
- Cyprian
 - To Quirinius: Testimonies
 - against the Jews
 - 3.75, 185
- 1 Enoch
 - 1–36, 162
 - 6.7, 200
 - 8.1, 200
 - 8.1–4, 207
 - 9.6, 200
 - 10.4–8, 200
 - 13.1, 173
 - 15.1–7, 199
 - 15.8, 198, 200
 - 15.8–11, 200
 - 15.9, 198, 200
 - 15.11, 130
 - 18.16, 173
 - 19.1, 130, 198
 - 21.3–6, 173
 - 54.5, 200
 - 55.5, 200
 - 99.7, 198, 199
- 2 Enoch

7.3, 189, 203
 18, 162
 18.3, 189, 203
 34.2, 185
 70.6, 185
 Epistle to the Ephesians
 6.6, 185
 Epistle of Barnabas
 9.4, 207
 21.3, 185
 4 Ezra
 15.51, 160
 Genesis
 6.1–4, 162
 39.6, 71
 Hippolytus
 Refutation of All Heresies
 1.5.4, 186
 1.25.4, 186
 4.28–29, 185
 Hosea
 4.12, 236
 5.4, 236
 22.22, 236
 Irenaeus
 Against Heresies
 3.7.1, 186
 4.29.1, 186
 Isaiah

24.22, 173
 Jeremiah
 51.30, 160
 Job
 1–2, 188
 John
 8.44, 195
 12.31, 186
 14.30, 186
 16.11, 186
 1 John
 2.13, 185
 3.8, 195
 3.12, 185
 5.18, 185
 Joseph and Aseneth
 7.3, 71
 13.14, 71
 24.7, 160
 Jubilees
 1.20, 187, 194, 198
 4, 162
 7, 162
 7.27, 198, 199
 8, 162
 10, 162
 10.1, 198
 10.3, 198
 10.5, 201
 10.5–9, 189

- 10.7, 202
- 10.7–8, 185
- 10.7–9, 194, 201
- 10.8, 130, 186, 202
- 10.13, 198
- 11.4, 198, 199
- 11.5, 186
- 12.20, 198
- 15.11, 207
- 17.16, 186
- 18.9, 186
- 19.28, 186, 198, 199
- 21, 59
- 23.29, 185
- 39.5, 71
- 48.2–15, 186
- 49.2, 186
- 50.5, 185
- Epistle of Jude
- 1.6, 201
- 6, 173
- 7, 176
- Epistle of Jude
- 6, 162
- Justin Martyr
- First Apology
- 10, 197
- 14, 197
- 15.2, 176
- 16.21, 176
- 26, 186
- Dialogue with Trypho
- 39, 199
- 91, 71
- Lactantius
- Divine Institutes
- 2.15, 197, 205
- 6.22, 197
- Workmanship of Good
- 19, 197
- Letter of James
- 5.20, 185
- Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum
- 31.1, 160
- 45.6, 185
- 53.3, 198
- 53.4, 198
- 60.1, 198
- 60.3, 198
- Life of Adam and Eve (Greek)
- 19.3, 203
- Life of Adam and Eve (Latin)
- 15.2, 202
- 15.2–16.1, 202
- 15.3, 202
- 16.1, 202
- 33.3, 185
- Luke
- 4.33, 151
- 6.18, 151
- 8.27, 206, 207

- 8.29, 151
- 11.15, 186, 202
- 11.15–9, 185
- 12.24–5, 124
- Mark
- 1.23, 151
- 1.23–26, 206
- 1.24–26, 206
- 1.26, 206
- 3.11, 151
- 3.22, 185, 186, 202
- 3.30, 151
- 5.2–4, 206
- 5.3–4, 206
- Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah
- 9.14, 186
- 11.16, 186
- 11.19, 185
- Matthew
- 5.37, 185
- 6.13, 185
- 9.34, 186, 202
- 10.1, 151
- 10.24, 185
- 12.22, 206
- 12.22–7, 185
- 12.24, 186, 202
- 12.43, 151
- 12.43–4, 124
- 13.19, 185
- 13.38, 185
- 17.5, 207
- 18.8, 176
- 19.16–22, 106
- 25.41, 176
- Odes of Solomon
- 14.5, 185
- 33.4, 185
- 38.10, 185
- Origen
- Against Celsus
- 2.9, 185
- 2.38, 185
- 7.70, 257
- 8.25, 185
- 8.31–2, 257
- 8.44, 257
- Commentary on Matthew
- 11.14, 186
- Commentary on Numbers
- 6.3, 256
- Commentary on Romans
- 1.18, 197, 255, 256
- First Principles
- 3.1.1–6, 256
- 3.2.2, 197, 260
- 3.2.4, 254
- Homilies on Joshua
- 1.6, 257, 259
- 1.7, 259

5.2, 256, 257	3.13–5, 212
8.6, 259	3.13–8, 213
8.7, 257, 259	3.14–5, 214
11.2, 257	3.15, 214
12.3, 259	3.15–8, 212
13.1, 257	3.16–7, 214
14.1, 256, 257	3.18, 199, 214, 215
15.1, 257	3.18–4.1, 212, 215, 218
15.5, 258, 259	3.19, 215
15.6, 257	3.20, 185, 215
16.6, 257	3.20–1, 215
First Epistle of Peter	3.22–3, 216
3.7, 160	3.22–4, 216
5.8, 185	3.24, 215
Second Epistle of Peter	3.25–4.1, 216
2.4, 189, 203	4.2–6, 216
Philo of Alexandria	4.2–14, 212, 218
De Vita Mosis I	4.6–7, 216
8, 160	4.6–8, 216
1QH ^a : Hodayot a	4.7, 216
12.12–13, 187	4.8, 216
1QM: War Scroll	4.9–11, 217
1.1, 194	4.9–14, 217
1.1–2, 193	4.11, 215
1.5, 193, 194	4.11–2, 217
8.1, 185	4.12, 217
1QS: Rule of the Community	4.12–14, 217
3.7, 215	4.15, 219
3.13, 213	4.15–6, 219
3.13–4.26, 212	4.15–26, 213, 219
	4.16–7, 219

4.17-18, 219

4.18, 216

4.18-20, 220

4.20, 199

4.20-22, 220

4.21-6, 217

4.23, 219

4.24, 219

4.24-5, 220

4.25, 219

4.26, 220

9.12-4, 214

9.13, 214

9.14, 214

25, 219

Questions of Bartholomew

3.12, 187

7, 185

10, 185

46, 186

Revelation

12, 189

12.3-17, 186

12.7, 189, 203

12.7-9, 189

12.8, 189

12.9, 189

12.17, 189

13.2-11, 186

16.13, 151, 186

18.2, 151

20.2, 173, 186

Shepherd of Hermas

1.1-2, 155

1.8, 249

2.4, 248, 249

6.5, 249

9.9, 231

9-21, 236, 237

13.2, 231

14.1, 249

22-4, 249

24, 249

24.3, 249

24.4-5, 249

24.5, 250

27.3, 236

31.4, 233

31.6, 233, 234

33.1-2, 229, 245

33.1-3, 240

33.2, 233, 240

33.3, 229, 240, 241, 245

33.4, 234

33.5-6, 241

33.7, 241

33-34, 239

34.1, 242, 247

34.1-4, 197, 242

34.2, 234, 242

34.2-7, 230	40.2, 234, 236
34.3, 242	40.2-6, 230
34.4, 234, 242	41.1, 247
34.5, 229, 243	41.1-6, 230
34.5-7, 245	41.4, 250
34.7, 243	41.6, 240
34.8, 236	42.1-2, 230
35.1, 227	42.2, 233
35.2, 227	43.17, 232
35.2-4, 228	43.18-21, 233
35.5, 228	43.20-21, 233
35-36, 227	44.1-3, 229, 245
36, 227, 244	44-5, 244
36.1, 229, 244	45.1, 234, 244
36.1-4, 229	45.2, 234, 247, 249
36.2, 229, 245	46.6, 249
36.3, 229	47.6, 232
36.4, 229, 234	48.2, 232, 233
36.4-5, 229	49.4, 232, 250
36.5, 234	60.2, 249
36.6, 230	61-65, 249
36.6-9, 230	62.1, 249
36.7, 230	63.2-4, 250
36.8, 230	69.6, 231
37, 227	74.3, 249
37.1-2, 233	75.4, 249
37.2, 232	78-110, 237
38, 227	90.2, 237
39.1-9, 246	91.1-2, 249
39.6, 249	92.1-3, 238
39.11, 199, 232, 234, 236, 246	95.3, 237

- 99.3, 236, 238
- 105.2, 231
- Sirach
 - 29.1, 106
- Susanna
 - 7–21, 155
- Tatian
 - Address to the Greeks
 - 16, 207
- Tertullian
 - Against Marcion
 - 5.9, 186
 - 5.18, 186
 - 26, 185
 - 28, 185
 - The Soul's Testimony
 - 45, 119
 - 46, 208
- Testament of Adam
 - 1.1, 207
 - 2.10, 207
- Testament of Isaac
 - 5.28–29, 188
 - 9.7, 188
- Testament of Job
 - 3.3, 191
 - 6.4, 191
 - 7.1, 191
 - 8.1–3, 191
 - 16.2, 191
- 16.3, 191
- 16.4, 191
- 17.1–3, 191
- 17.1–4, 191
- 17.3–4, 191
- 17.6, 191
- 20.2–3, 191
- 20.6, 191
- 27.2–5, 191
- 41.56, 191
- Testament of Solomon
 - 3.1–6, 185
 - 3.6, 186, 202
 - 4.2, 185
 - 6.1–2, 185
 - 6.4, 207
 - 6.9–10, 185
 - 7.5, 207
 - 8.2, 186
 - 9.7, 185
 - 16.3, 185, 186, 202
 - 16.3–4, 185
 - 18.2, 186
 - 18.18, 207
- Second Epistle to the Thessalonians
 - 3.3, 185
- First Epistle to Timothy
 - 4.1, 207
- Tobit
 - 3.8, 207
 - 4.5–11, 106

12.8–10, 106

14.8–11, 106

Wisdom of Solomon

5.6, 78

Zechariah

3, 188

Bibliography

- Adamic, T. "The Serpent in the Acts of Thomas." In: *The Apocryphal Acts of Thomas*. Ed. by J.N. Bremmer. Studies in Early Christian Apocrypha 6. Leuven: Peeters, 2001, 115–24.
- Anderson, G.A. et al., eds. *Literature on Adam and Eve*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 15. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
- Baarda, T. "The Shechem Episode in the Testament of Levi: A Comparison with Other Traditions." In: *Sacred History and Sacred Texts in Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of A. S. van der Woude*. Ed. by J.N. Bremmer and F. García Martínez. Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992, 11–74.
- Baltzer, K. *Das Bundesformular*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 4. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964.
- Bauckham, R.J. "The Continuing Quest for the Provenance of the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha." In: *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*. Ed. by G.S. Oegema and J.H. Charlesworth. T&T Clark, 2008.
- Baumbach, G. Review of: "Nordheim, Eckhard, von, Die Lehre der Alten I. Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit." *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 83 (1988), 38–9.
- Becker, J. *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

- Bridges, J.H., ed. *The "Opus Majus" of Roger Bacon: Edited, with Introduction and Analytical Table*. Vol. 1. London: Williams and Norgate, 1900.
- Broek, R. van den. "The Christian 'School' of Alexandria in the Second and Third Centuries." In: *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*. Ed. by J.W. Drijvers and A.A. MacDonald. *Studies in Intellectual History* 61. Leiden: Brill, 1995, 39–48.
- Brox, N. *Der Hirt des Hermas*. Kommentar zu den Apostolischen Vätern 7. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991.
- Burchard, C. "Zur armenischen Überlieferung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen." In: *Studien zu den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen*. Ed. by W. Eltester. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969, 1–29.
- Busch, P. *Der gefallene Drache: Mythenexegese am Beispiel von Apokalypse 12*. Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 19. Tübingen: Francke, 1996.
- Charles, R.H. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Translated from the Editor's Greek Text and Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908.
- *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Edited from Nine MSS Together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and Some Hebrew Fragments*. 2nd ed. Oxford: University Press, 1960.
- Charles, R.H. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. London: SPCK, 1917.
- "The Testaments of the XII Patriarchs." In: *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English with Introductions and Critical Explanatory Notes to the Several Books*. Ed. by R.H. Charles. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Charlesworth, J.H. "Seminar Report: Reflections on the Supplements to *Novum Testamentum's Pseudepigrapha Seminar at Duke on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*." *Novum Testamentum* 23 (1977), 296–304.
- ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983.
- ed. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985.

- “A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:3–4:26 and the “Dualism” Contained in the Gospel of John.” In: *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. by J.H. Charlesworth. New York, N.Y.: Crossroad, 1990, 76–107.
 - “Pseudepigrapha, OT.” In: *Anchor Bible Dictionary: Volume 5*. Ed. by D.N. Freedman. New York, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1992, 537–40.
- Collins, A.Y. *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*. Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2001.
- Collins, J.J. “Testaments.” In: *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus*. Ed. by M.E. Stone. *Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*. Section Two: The Literature of the Jewish People in the Period of the Second Temple and the Talmud. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984, 325–54.
- Cortès, E. *Los discursos de adiós de Gn 49 a Jn 13-17: Pistas para la historia de un género literario en la antigua literatura judía*. Collectània San Paciano. Barcelona: Facultat de Teologia, 1976.
- Crouzel, H. and M. Simonetti, eds. *Origène: Traité des Principes III, Livres III et IV*. Sources Chrétiennes 268. Paris: Cerf, 1980.
- Davila, J.R. *Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha: Jewish, Christian or Other?* Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 105. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Duhaime, J. “Dualism.” In: *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. by L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 215–20.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. *Nouveaux aperçus sur les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte*. L’Orient Ancien Illustré. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1953.
- Ehrman, B.D. *The Apostolic Fathers II*. Ed. by J. Henderson. Loeb Classical Library 25. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Elliot, J.K. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Eron, L.J. “‘That Women Have Mastery Over Both King and Beggar’ (TJud. 15.5) — The Relationship of the Fear of Sexuality to the Status of Women in Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha: 1 Esdras (3 Ezra) 3–4, Ben Sira and the Testament of Judah.” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 9 (1991), 43–66.

- Eubank, N. "Almsgiving is 'the Commandment': A Note on 1 Timothy 6.6–19." *New Testament Studies* 58 (2011), 144–50.
- Ferguson, J., ed. *Clement of Alexandria: Stromateis Book One to Three*. The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation 85. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1991.
- Fisk, B.N. "One Good Story Deserves Another: The Hermeneutics of Invoking Secondary Biblical Episodes in the Narratives of Pseudo-Philo and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In: *The Interpretation of Scripture in Early Judaism and Christianity: Studies in Language and Tradition*. Ed. by C.A. Evans. Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 33. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000, 217–39.
- Floyd, W.E.G. *Clement of Alexandria's Treatment of the Problem of Evil*. Oxford Theological Monographs. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Foerster, W. "Βελίαρ." In: *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Ed. by G. Friedrich. Vol. 1. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1976, 607.
- Frey, J. "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History." In: *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge, 1995: Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*. Ed. by M. Bernstein et al. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 23. Leiden: Brill, 1997, 276–336.
- Früchtel, L. and O. Stählin, eds. *Clemens Alexandrinus II: Stromata, Buch I–IV*. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 52. Berlin: Akademie, 1960.
- García Martínez, F. and E.J.C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Gokey, F.X. *The Terminology for the Devil and Evil Spirits in the Apostolic Fathers*. The Catholic University of America: Patristic Studies 43. New York, N.Y.: AMS Press, 1961.
- Grabe, J.E. *Spicilegium SS. Patrum: Ut et Hæreticorum, Seculi Post Christum Natum I, II, & III*. Revised. Vol. 1. Oxford: Theatro Sheldoniano, 1714.
- Haas, C. "De Geest Bewaren: Achtergrond en Functie van de Pneumatologie in de Paranese van de Pastor van Hermas." PhD thesis. Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1985.

- “Job’s Perserverance in the Testament of Job.” In: *Studies on the Testament of Job*. Ed. by M.A. Knibb and P.W. van der Horst. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, 117–54.
- Hanson, P.D. “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977), 195–233.
- Harrelson, W. “Patient Love in the Testament of Joseph.” In: *Studies on the Testament of Joseph*. Ed. by G.W.E. Nickelsburg. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 5. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975, 15–28.
- Harrington, D.J. “Joseph in the Testament of Joseph, Pseudo-Philo, and Philo.” In: *Studies on the Testament of Joseph*. Ed. by G.W.E. Nickelsburg. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 5. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975, 127–32.
- Hayes, C.E. “The Midrashic Career of the Confession of Judah (Genesis XXXVIII 26): Part I, The Extra-Canonical Texts, Targums and Other Versions.” *Vetus Testamentum* 45 (1995), 62–81.
- Heither, T., ed. *Origenes: Commentarii in epistulam ad Romanos*. Fontes Christiani 2/1. Freiburg: Herder, 1990.
- Hempel, C. “The *Treatise on the Two Spirits* and the Literary History of the *Rule of the Community*.” In: *Dualism in Qumran*. Ed. by G.G. Xeravits. Library of Second Temple Studies 76. London: T&T Clark, 2010, 102–20.
- Hillel, V. “Naphtali, a Proto-Joseph in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.” *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 16 (2007), 171–201.
- “Structure, Source and Composition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.” PhD thesis. Hebrew University, 2008.
- Hollander, H.W. “The Ethical Character of the Patriarch Joseph.” In: *Studies on the Testament of Joseph*. Ed. by G.W.E. Nickelsburg. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 5. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975, 47–104.
- *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 6. Leiden: Brill, 1981.
- Review of: “Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift. By Jarl Henning Ulrichsen.” *Journal of Theological Studies* 44 (1993), 210–12.

- Hollander, H.W. "Israel and God's Eschatological Agent in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In: *Aspects of Religious Contact and Conflict in the Ancient World*. Ed. by P.W. van der Horst. Utrechtse Theologische Reeks 31. Utrecht: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Universiteit Utrecht, 1995, 91–104.
- "The Portrayal of Joseph in Hellenistic Jewish, and Early Christian Literature." In: *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible*. Ed. by M.E. Stone and T.A. Bergren. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity, 1998, 237–64.
- Hollander, H.W. and M. de Jonge. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 8. Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- Hultgård, A. *L'éschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches: I. Interprétation des textes*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977.
- "The Ideal 'Levite', the Davidic Messiah, and the Saviour Priest in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In: *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism: Profiles and Paradigms*. Ed. by J.J. Collins and G.W.E. Nickelsburg. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980.
- *L'éschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches: II. Composition de l'ouvrage, textes et traductions*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1981.
- Jaubert, A., ed. *Origène: Homélies sur Josué, Texte Latin, Introduction, Traduction et Notes*. Sources Chrétiennes 71. Paris: Cerf, 1960.
- Jervell, J.S. "Ein Interpolator interpretiert. Zu der christlichen Bearbeitung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen." In: *Studien zu den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen*. Ed. by W. Eltester. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969, 30–61.
- Johnson, M.D. "Life of Adam and Eve: A New Translation and Introduction." In: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 2, Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. Ed. by J.H. Charlesworth. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985, 249–95.
- Joly, R., ed. *Hermas le Pasteur: Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes*. Sources Chrétiennes 53. Paris: Cerf, 1958.

- Jonge, H.J. de. "Die Patriarchentestamente von Roger Bacon bis Richard Simon (mit einem Namenregister)." In: *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. Ed. by M. de Jonge. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 3–42.
- "La bibliothèque de Michel Choniates et la tradition occidentale des Testaments des XII Patriarches." In: *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. Ed. by M. de Jonge. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 97–106.
- Jonge, M. de. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study in their Text, Composition and Origin*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1953.
- "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Novum Testamentum* 4 (1960), 182–235.
- "Once More: Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Novum Testamentum* 5 (1962), 311–19.
- "Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In: *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. Ed. by M. de Jonge. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 193–246.
- "Notes on Testament of Levi II–VII." In: *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. Ed. by M. de Jonge. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 247–60.
- ed. *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975.
- "Testament Issachar als 'typisches Testament': Einige Bemerkungen zu zwei neuen Übersetzungen der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen." In: *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. Ed. by M. de Jonge. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 291–316.
- "The Interpretation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs in Recent Years." In: *Studies on the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Text and Interpretation*. Ed. by M. de Jonge. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 3. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 183–91.
- *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Study in their Text, Composition and Origin*. 2nd ed. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975.

- Jonge, M. de. Review of: "H. Dixon Slingerland, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research*." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 9 (1978), 108–11.
- Review of: "Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches I. Interprétation des textes*." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 10 (1979), 100–2.
- "The Main Issues in the Study of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Novum Testamentum* 26 (1980), 508–24.
- Review of: "Eckhard von Nordheim, *Die Lehre der Alten 1: Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 12 (1981), 112–17.
- Review of: "Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches II. Composition de l'ouvrage, textes et traductions*." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 14 (1983), 70–80.
- "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In: *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Ed. by H.F.D. Sparks. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, 505–601.
- "The Pre-Mosaic Servants of God in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and in the Writings of Justin and Irenaeus." *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985), 157–70.
- *Het Nieuwe Testament en twaalf andere testamenten*. Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1986.
- "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Central Problems and Essential Viewpoints." In: *Religion (Hellenistisches Judentum in römischer Zeit, ausgenommen Philon und Josephus)*. Ed. by W. Haase and H. Temporini. Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung Part 2, *Principat*, 20.1. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1987, 359–420.
- "Test. Benjamin 3:8 and the Picture of Joseph as 'A Good and Holy Man'." In: *Die Entstehung der jüdischen Martyrologie*. Ed. by J.W. van Henten. *Studia Post-Biblica* 38. Leiden: Brill, 1989, 204–14.
- "Die Paränese in den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und in den Testamenten der Zwölf Patriarchen." In: *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge*. Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 63. Leiden: Brill, 1991, 277–89.

- *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 63. Leiden: Brill, 1991.
 - “Rachel’s Virtuous Behavior in the Testament of Issachar.” In: *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 63. Leiden: Brill, 1991, 301–13.
 - “Robert Grosseteste and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.” *Journal of Theological Studies* 42 (1991), 115–25.
 - “Two Interesting Interpretations of the Rending of the Temple-Veil in The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.” In: *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 63. Leiden: Brill, 1991, 220–31.
 - “The So-called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early Christianity.” In: *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*. Ed. by P. Borgen and S. Giversen. Aarhus University Press: Aarhus, 1995, 59–72.
 - “The Two Great Commandments in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.” *Novum Testamentum* 44 (2002), 371–92.
 - *Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament as Part of Christian Literature: The Case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Greek Life of Adam and Eve*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 18. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
 - “The Authority of the ‘Old Testament’ in the Early Church: The Witness of the ‘Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament.’” In: *The Biblical Canons*. Ed. by J.M. Auwers and H.J. de Jonge. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 163. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003, 459–86.
 - “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the ‘Two Ways.’” In: *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb*. Ed. by C. Hempel and J.M. Lieu. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 111. Leiden: Brill, 2005, 179–94.
- Jonge, M. de et al. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*. Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 1. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

- Kalms, J. *Der Sturz des Gottesfeindes: Traditionsgeschichtliche Studien zu Apokalypse 12*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 93. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 2001.
- Kee, H.C. "The Ethical Dimensions of the Testaments of the XII as a Clue to Provenance." *New Testament Studies* 24 (1978), 259–70.
- "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A New Translation and Introduction." In: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Ed. by J.H. Charlesworth. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, 775–828.
- Review of: "Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 55 (1993), 827–29.
- Kelly, H.A. *The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- *The Devil, Demonology and Witchcraft: The Development of Christian Beliefs In Evil Spirits*. Rev. ed. Eugene, Ore.: Wipf & Stock, 2004.
- *Satan: A Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Kirchhoff, R. "Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Über Techniken männliche Machtausübung." In: *Kompendium feministische Bibelauslegung*. Ed. by L. Schottruff et al. Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1998, 474–82.
- Klijn, A.F.J., ed. *Apostolische Vaders 2*. Kampen: Kok, 1983.
- Kolenkow, A.B. "The Genre Testament and Forecasts of the Future in the Hellenistic Jewish Milieu." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 6 (1975), 57–71.
- Review of: "Die Lehre der Alten 1: Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der Hellenistischen-römischen Zeit by Eckhard von Nordheim." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982), 663–64.
- "Testaments: The Literary Genre 'Testament.'" In: *Early Judaism and its Modern Interpreters*. Ed. by R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg. The Bible and Its Modern Interpreters. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986, 259–67.
- Körtner, U.H.J. and M. Leutzsch, eds. *Papiasfragmente, Hirt des Hermas*. Schriften des Urchristentums 3. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998.

- Kraft, R.A. "Reassessing the 'Recensional Problem' in Testament of Abraham." In: *Studies on the Testament of Abraham*. Ed. by G.W.E. Nickelsburg. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 6. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1976, 127–35.
- "The Pseudepigrapha in Christianity." In: *Tracing the Threads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha*. Ed. by J.C. Reeves. Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature Series 6. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1994.
- "Setting the Stage and Framing Some Central Questions." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 32 (2001), 371–95.
- *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and their Christian Contexts*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 137. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Kugel, J.L. "Reuben's Sin with Bilhah in the Testament of Reuben." In: *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*. Ed. by D.P. Wright et al. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995, 525–54.
- *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- "Some Translation and Copying Mistakes from the Original Hebrew of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." In: *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts*. Ed. by S. Metso et al. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 92. Leiden: Brill, 2010, 45–56.
- Kugler, R.A. *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*. Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature 9. Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996.
- *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Not-So-Ambiguous Witness to early Interpretive Practices." In: *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Ed. by M. Henze. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2012, 337–62.
- Kuhn, K.H. "The Testament of Isaac." In: *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Ed. by H.F.D. Sparks. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984, 441–52.

- Kurowski, P. *Der menschliche Gott aus Levi und Juda: Die 'Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen' als Quelle judenchristlicher Theologie*. Ed. by K. Berger. Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 52. Tübingen: Francke, 2010.
- Leonhardt-Baltzer, J. "Evil, Dualism, and Community: Who/What Did the Yahad Not Want to Be?" In: *Dualism in Qumran*. Ed. by G.G. Xeravits. Library of Second Temple Studies 76. London: T&T Clark, 2010, 121–47.
- Levinson, J. "An-Other Woman: Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, Staging the Body Politic." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 87 (1997), 269–301.
- Lichtenberger, H. "The Down-throw of the Dragon in Revelation 12 and the Down-fall of God's Enemy." In: *The Fall of the Angels*. Ed. by C. Auffarth and L.T. Stuckenbruck. Themes in Biblical Narrative: Jewish and Christian Traditions 6. Leiden: Brill, 2004, 119–47.
- Lieberman, S. "Two Lexicographical Notes." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 65 (1946), 67–72.
- Lietaert Peerbolte, L. *The Antecedents of Antichrist: A Traditio-Historical Study of the Earliest Christian Views on Eschatological Opponents*. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 49. Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Lindemann, A. and H. Paulsen, eds. *Die Apostolischen Väter: Griechisch-deutsche Parallelausgabe auf der Grundlage der Ausgaben von Franz Xaver Funk / Karl Bihlmeyer und Molly Whittaker*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1992.
- Lipsett, D.B. *Desiring Conversion: Hermas, Thecla, Aseneth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Loader, W. *Philo, Josephus, and the Testaments on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Writings of Philo and Josephus and in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2011.
- Luard, H.R., ed. *Chronica Majora*. London: Longman, 1877.
- Mach, M. "Demons." In: *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Ed. by L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 189–92.
- Mack, P.W. "The Importance of the Teaching on God, Evil and Eschatology for the Dating of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." PhD thesis. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1969.

- Marcus, J. "The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the *Didascalia Apostolorum*: A Common Jewish Christian Milieu." *Journal of Theological Studies* 61 (2010), 596–626.
- McGuckin, J.A., ed. *The SCM Press A-Z of Origen*. London: SCM Press, 2006.
- Menn, E.M. *Judah and Tamar (Genesis 38) in Ancient Jewish Exegesis: Studies in Literary Form and Hermeneutics*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- Metso, S. *The Serekh Texts*. Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 9. London: T&T Clark, 2007.
- Meyer, E. *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums II: Die Entwicklung des Judentums und Jesus von Nazaret*. Stuttgart: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1921.
- Michel, H.-J. *Die Abschiedsrede des Paulus an die Kirche Apg 20, 17–38: Motivgeschichte und theologische Bedeutung*. Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 35. München: Kösel, 1973.
- Munck, J. "Discours d'adieu dans la Nouveau Testament et dans la littérature biblique." In: *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne: Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire*. Ed. by P. Benoît. Bibliothèque théologique. Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1950, 155–70.
- Newsom, C.A. "The Development of 1 Enoch 6–19: Cosmology and Judgment." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980), 310–29.
- Nielsburg, G.W.E. *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*. Harvard Theological Studies 26. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- ed. *Studies on the Testament of Joseph*. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 5. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975.
- Review of: "Die Lehre der Alten 1 (Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums, 13). By Eckhard von Nordheim." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 50 (1982), 296.
- *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 2001.

- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity*. Harvard Theological Studies 56. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Nisse, R. "A Romance of the Jewish East: The Ten Lost Tribes and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in Medieval Europe." *Medieval Encounters* 13 (2007), 499–523.
- Nordheim, E. von. *Die Lehre der Alten I: Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Judentum der hellenistisch-römischen Zeit*. Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums 13. Leiden: Brill, 1980.
- *Die Lehre der Alten II: Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Alten Testament und im alten Vorderen Orient*. Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums 18. Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- Osborn, E. *Clement of Alexandria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Osiek, C. *Rich and Poor in the Shepherd of Hermas: An Exegetical-Social Investigation*. The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 15. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1983.
- *Shepherd of Hermas: A Commentary on the Shepherd of Hermas*. Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible. Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1999.
- Otzen, B. "Die neugefundenen hebräischen Sektenschriften und die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen." *Studia Theologica* 7 (1953), 125–57.
- Pervo, R.I. "The Testament of Joseph and Greek Romance." In: *Studies on the Testament of Joseph*. Ed. by G.W.E. Nickelsburg. Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies 5. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975, 1–14.
- Philonenko, M. "Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân." *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 38 (1958), 309–43.
- "Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân (suite)." *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 39 (1959), 14–27.
- *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân*. Cahiers de la Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses 35. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960.

- Piñero, A. "Angels and Demons in the Greek Life of Adam and Eve." *Journal for the study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman period* 24 (1993), 191–214.
- Popović, M. "Light and Darkness in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* (1QS III 13–IV 26) and in 4Q186." In: *Dualism in Qumran*. Ed. by G.G. Xeravits. Library of Second Temple Studies 76. London: T&T Clark, 2010, 148–65.
- Reed, A.Y. *Fallen Angels and the History of Judaism and Christianity: The Reception of Enochic Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Reiling, J. *Hermas and Christian Prophecy: A Study of the Eleventh Mandate*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum 37. Leiden: Brill, 1973.
- Roberts, A. et al., eds. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325*. Vol. 2. Oak Harbor, Wash.: Logos Research Systems, 1997.
- eds. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to AD 325*. Vol. 4. Oak Harbor, Wash.: Logos Research Systems, 1997.
- Rosen-Zvi, I. "Bilhah the Temptress: The Testament of Reuben and 'The Birth of Sexuality.'" *Jewish Quarterly Review* 96 (2006), 65–94.
- Russell, J.B. *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1977.
- *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- *Mephistopheles: The Devil in the Modern World*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986.
- *The Prince of Darkness: Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988.
- Scheck, T.P., ed. *Origen: Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, Books 1–5*. The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation 103. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001.

- Schnapp, F. "Die Testamente der 12 Patriarchen, der Söhne Jakobs." In: *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments: Die Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*. Ed. by E. Kautzsch. 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr, 1921.
- Schürer, D.E. *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi III, Das Judenthum in der Zerstreuung und die Jüdische Literatur*. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1898.
- Seitz, O.J.F. "Relationship of the Shepherd of Hermas to the Epistle of James." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 63 (1944), 131–40.
- "Antecedents and Signification of the Term ΔΙΨΥΧΟΣ." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 66 (1947), 211–9.
- "Afterthoughts on the Term 'Dipsychos.'" *New Testament Studies* 6 (1957), 82–95.
- "Two Spirits in Man: An Essay in Biblical Exegesis." *New Testament Studies* 6 (1959), 82–95.
- Slingerland, H.D. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research*. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 21. Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1973.
- "The Testament of Joseph: A Redaction-Critical Study." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977), 507–16.
- Review of: "L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches (Book)." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 98 (1979), 470–1.
- "The Levitical Hallmark within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 103 (1984), 531–37.
- "The Nature of Nomos (Law) Within the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 105 (1986), 39–48.
- Review of: "Die Lehre der Alten II: Das Testament als Literaturgattung im Alten Testament und im alten vorderen Orient by Eckhard von Nordheim." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 107 (1988), 311–12.
- Review of: "Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift. By Jarl Henning Ulrichsen." *Critical Review of Books in Religion* 6 (1993), 185–87.
- Sparks, H.F.D., ed. *The Apocryphal Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

- Spilly, A.P. "A Redactional Approach to the Greek Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs." PhD thesis. University of Chicago, 1977.
- Review of: "Enric Cortès, Los discursos de Adiós de Gn 49 a Jn 13-17: Pistas para la historia de un género literario en la antigua literatura judía." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 40 (1978), 262–64.
- Spittler, R.P. "Testament of Job: A New Translation and Introduction." In: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Ed. by J.H. Charlesworth. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, 829–68.
- Stauffer, E. *Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments*. 4th ed. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1948.
- "Abschiedsreden." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 1 (1950), 29–35.
- Stinespring, W.F. "Testament of Isaac: A New Translation and Introduction." In: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 1, Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*. Ed. by J.H. Charlesworth. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1983, 903–12.
- Stone, M.E. "Categorization and Classification of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha." *Abr-Nahrain* 24 (1986), 167–77.
- Stuckenbruck, L.T. "Giant Mythology and Demonology: From the Ancient Near East to the Dead Sea Scrolls." In: *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*. Ed. by A. Lange et al. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003, 318–38.
- Thomas, J. "Aktuelles im Zeugnis der Zwölf Väter." In: *Studien zu den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen*. Ed. by W. Eltester. Berlin: Töpelmann, 1969, 62–150.
- "The Paraenesis of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Between Torah and Jewish Wisdom." In: *Early Christian Paraenesis in Context*. Ed. by J. Starr and T. Engberg-Pedersen. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004.
- Toepel, A. "Planetary Demons in Early Jewish Literature." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 14 (2005), 231–38.
- Tromp, J. *The Assumption of Moses: A Critical Edition with Commentary*. Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 10. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- "Origen on the Assumption of Moses." In: *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst*. Ed. by F. García Martínez and G.P. Luttikhuisen. Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism 82. Leiden: Brill, 2003, 323–40.

- Tromp, J. *The Life of Adam and Eve in Greek: A Critical Edition*. Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece 6. Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- Tukasi, E.O. *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer in John and The Dead Sea Scrolls: Ideological Reading of John and the Rule of the Community*. Library of Second Temple Studies 66. London: T&T Clark, 2008.
- “Dualism and Penitential Prayer in the *Rule of the Community* (1QS).” In: *Dualism in Qumran*. Ed. by G.G. Xeravits. Library of Second Temple Studies 76. London: T&T Clark, 2010, 166–87.
- Twelftree, G.H. “Exorcism and the Defeat of Beliar in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.” *Vigiliae Christianae* 65 (2011), 170–88.
- Ulrichsen, J.H. *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1991.
- VanderKam, J.C. *The Book of Jubilees*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- “The Demons in the *Book of Jubilees*.” In: *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*. Ed. by A. Lange et al. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003, 339–64.
- Verheyden, J. “The Shepherd of Hermas.” *Expository Times* 117 (2006), 397–401.
- Wassén, C. “The Story of Judah and Tamar in the Eyes of the Earliest Interpreters.” *Literature and Theology* 8 (1994), 354–66.
- White, C., ed. *Origen: Homilies on Joshua*. Trans. by B.J. Bruce. The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation 105. Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2002.
- Whittaker, M., ed. *Die apostolischen Väter 1: Der Hirt des Hermas*. 2nd ed. Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte 48. Berlin: Akademie, 1967.
- Wintermute, O.S. “Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction.” In: *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Volume 2, Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom, and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*. Ed. by J.H. Charlesworth. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1985, 35–142.

- Woude, A.S. van der. Review of: "E. Cortès, Los discursos de adíos." *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 8 (1977), 196–97.
- Wright, A.T. *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6.1-4 in Early Jewish Literature*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament: 2. Reihe 198. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Wudel, B.D. "The Seduction of Self-Control: Hermas and the Problem of Desire." *Religion and Theology* 11 (2004), 39–49.

Curriculum Vitae

TOM DE BRUIN

Born October 30, 1979, Cape Town, South Africa

EDUCATION

M.A. Theology: Biblical Studies with Distinction,

Newbold College, University of Wales Lampeter, Lampeter, UK,
graduated July 4, 2008.

Licence in Theology,

Newbold College, University of Wales Lampeter, Lampeter, UK,
graduated July 7, 2006.

Propedeuse Religious Studies,

Universiteit van Amsterdam, Amsterdam,
graduated June 30, 2005.

B.Sc. Computing Science,

Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Groningen,
graduated October 29, 2004.

Gymnasium,

Christelijk Scholengemeenschap Vincent van Gogh, Assen,
graduated July 1, 1999.

Stellingen

Behorende bij het proefschrift:

“The Great Controversy. The Individual’s Struggle Between Good and Evil in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and in Their Jewish and Christian Contexts,”
te verdedigen op 4 Juni 2013 door Tom de Bruin, M.A.

1. Literary-critical studies of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, especially those trying to differentiate between Jewish and Christian authorship and/or redaction stages, have not led and cannot lead to useful results.
2. Considering its strong similarities with the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* were likely composed at around the same time.
3. The author of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*’ entire interpretation of the world and mankind’s place therein is based on his conception of a fundamental struggle between good and evil within the cosmos and within the individual: the “great controversy”.
4. Modern scholars, such as Ulrichsen and Kugel, propose earlier versions of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* that did not contain biographical, future-oriented, and exhortatory passages. These propositions are incorrect as all three aspects do play a fundamental role in the text’s overall argument.

5. Marinus de Jonge refers to the “Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament” as ‘an ill-defined category’. Consequently, the continued usage of the term “Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament” is misleading and potentially counter-productive. Texts subsumed under this category should therefore no longer be considered a “corpus”. Instead, simply using a descriptive term when referring to these works, such as “(Extra-Canonical) Ancient Jewish/Christian Writings,” would be greatly preferable.
6. The portrayal of Satan changes through time from a testing figure under the guidance of God to a tempting figure rebelling against God. Much of the New Testament was written before this portrayal had fully changed.
7. While Satan is often seen as *God’s* opponent in Christian and Jewish writings, in many ancient Jewish and Christian writings the opponent is in fact *mankind’s* adversary, and is not involved in a struggle with God at all.
8. The words ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος in Revelation 12.8 do not refer to the snake in Eden, but rather to Leviathan.
9. Adventism’s traditional interpretation of the “great controversy” theme has more in common with the version found in the Dead Sea Scrolls than with that found in early Christian writings. This is evidence of Adventism’s sectarian tendencies.
10. Adventism’s interpretation of the “great controversy” theme has traditionally focussed on eschatological and cosmological interpretations. Many contemporary Adventists are dissatisfied with this exclusionary approach, which often makes Adventists feel divorced from day-to-day life. The application of the “great controversy” inside the individual, as found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and the *Shepherd of Hermas*, has the potential to revitalise that theme among these dissatisfied contemporary Adventists.
11. “Sympathy for the Devil” is only natural in light of the increasingly negative portrayal of the opponent’s status in ancient Jewish and Christian writings.