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## **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**

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## 4 The Great Controversy Theme in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* As Compared To Other Documents

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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,<sup>1</sup> each name reflecting some aspect of his nature.

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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,”<sup>2</sup> “Satan,”<sup>3</sup> “devil,”<sup>4</sup> “enemy,” and “prince of deceit” are present.<sup>5</sup> These appellations are attested in many other writings, which also include even more names for the opponent: “adversary,”<sup>6</sup> “angel of darkness,”<sup>7</sup> “angel of enmity,”<sup>8</sup> “Beelzebul,”<sup>9</sup> “chief of spirits,”<sup>10</sup> “evil one,”<sup>11</sup>

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, “Βελιάρ,” 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,”<sup>12</sup> “Melkiresha,”<sup>13</sup> “Mastema,”<sup>14</sup> “ruler of demons,”<sup>15</sup> “ruler of this world,”<sup>16</sup> and “dragon.”<sup>17</sup> 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

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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.<sup>18</sup> 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.”<sup>19</sup> *Jub.* 1.20

But you, O God, abhor every plan of Belial and your counsel remains, and the plan of your heart persists endlessly.<sup>20</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12.12–13

What agreement does Christ have with Beliar? Or what does a believer share with an unbeliever?<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> *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.

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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.<sup>23</sup> 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).<sup>24</sup>

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.<sup>25</sup>

*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

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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.<sup>26</sup>

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.<sup>27</sup> While this passage is clearly a combination of earlier mythological motifs,<sup>28</sup> 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).<sup>29</sup> As we can see, the author of Revelation clearly portrays the prince of darkness as the rebellious opponent of God.

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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.<sup>30</sup> It seems like ancient authors aligned the opponent's means of functioning to his loyalty.<sup>31</sup> 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

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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).<sup>32</sup> 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).<sup>33</sup> 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."<sup>34</sup>
- 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:

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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, "Perserverance," p. 131.
  33. So also Haas, "Perserverance," 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.<sup>35</sup> *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

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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.<sup>36</sup> 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

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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.<sup>37</sup> 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

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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.<sup>38</sup> *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.<sup>39</sup> The author of the *Acts of Andrew* associates the unrighteous with the opponent, and thereby attributes the actions of the unrighteous to the opponent.

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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.<sup>40</sup> 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

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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.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup> 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.<sup>43</sup> 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.'<sup>44</sup>

*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

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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 Maryr'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.<sup>45</sup> These underlings were usually called spirits, demons, or angels,<sup>46</sup> generally with a modifier

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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.<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup>

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.<sup>49</sup> Between these two extremes there are various shades of grey.<sup>50</sup> 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

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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.<sup>51</sup> 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).<sup>52</sup> 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),<sup>53</sup> who commit horrible deeds on earth and oppose mankind.<sup>54</sup> The author of 1 *Enoch* sees the underlings of the opponent as the disembodied offspring of fallen angels.<sup>55</sup> These underlings are depicted as the opponents of mankind, causing horrific evil among people.

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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.<sup>56</sup> 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.<sup>57</sup>

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,<sup>58</sup> shows how the author sees their function with regard to the opponent.<sup>59</sup> The opponent needs spirits to do

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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 spirits<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup>

*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.<sup>62</sup> Both the author of

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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.<sup>63</sup>

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.<sup>64</sup> 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).<sup>65</sup> The author depicts the snake,

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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.<sup>66</sup> 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.'<sup>67</sup>

*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.<sup>68</sup> Even though the origin of the spirits is not discussed here

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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.<sup>69</sup> 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.<sup>70</sup> 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

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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.<sup>71</sup>

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),<sup>72</sup> convulsions (Mark 1.26), uncontrollable speech (Mark 1.24–26), superhuman strength (Mark 5.3–4), and

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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.<sup>73</sup>

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).<sup>74</sup> 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,

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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.<sup>75</sup>

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.

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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.<sup>76</sup> 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.<sup>77</sup> 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.<sup>78</sup> 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*.<sup>79</sup>

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

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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).<sup>80</sup> This structure shows a certain progression, beginning with a cosmological focus, and moving via an ethical focus to an anthropological one.<sup>81</sup>

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

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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,<sup>82</sup> 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.<sup>83</sup> 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.<sup>84</sup>

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

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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).<sup>85</sup> On the one side there is the spirit of truth (1QS 3.19), the “holy spirit” (1QS 3.7, 4.11),<sup>86</sup> the “angel of truth” (1QS 3.24), and the “prince of lights” (1QS 3.20).<sup>87</sup> On the other side is the spirit of deceit (1QS 3.19), and the “angel of darkness” (1QS 3.20–1).<sup>88</sup> 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).<sup>89</sup> 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),<sup>90</sup> whereas there is no evidence that the spirit of light has any such supernatural servants.<sup>91</sup> The deceitful spirits cause the children of

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85. Leonhardt-Balzer points out that, regarding the angel of darkness ‘repeatedly it is emphasized that he was created by God’; Leonhardt-Balzer, “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).<sup>92</sup> Additionally, they bring about physical affliction,<sup>93</sup> 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),<sup>94</sup> 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).

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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.<sup>95</sup> 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).<sup>96</sup>

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.

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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.<sup>97</sup>

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

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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).<sup>98</sup> 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).<sup>99</sup> 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*.<sup>100</sup> 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

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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).<sup>101</sup> 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

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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).<sup>102</sup>

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.

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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.<sup>103</sup> In all probability, it was

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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 Rome<sup>104</sup> by a single hand.<sup>105</sup> The key theme of the document is μετάνοια (repentance, conversion),<sup>106</sup> and most of its teachings revolve around this.<sup>107</sup> Two major motifs, double-mindedness and the two ways, influence these teachings on repentance.<sup>108</sup> The forces of darkness play a role in the exhortation influenced by these motifs.<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup>

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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.<sup>111</sup> The sixth mandate (*Herm.* 35–36) discusses this two-way theology.<sup>112</sup> 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).<sup>113</sup> 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).<sup>114</sup> 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:<sup>115</sup>

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, γνῶσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφοτέροι ἀγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; 3. ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ συνιείς αὐτάς. ὁ μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἄγγελος τρυφερός ἐστι καὶ αἰσχυνηρὸς καὶ πραῦς καὶ ἡσύχιος. ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, εὐθέως λαλεῖ μετὰ σοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης, περὶ ἀγνείας, περὶ σεμνότητος καὶ περὶ αὐταρκειίας καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἔργου δικαίου καὶ περὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐνδόξου. ταῦτα πάντα ὅταν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, 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. πρῶτων πάντων δξύχολός ἐστι, καὶ πικρὸς καὶ ἄφρων, καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πονηρά, καταστρέφοντα τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ· ὅταν οὖν οὗτος ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀναβῆ, γνῶθι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ.<sup>116</sup>

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

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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.’<sup>117</sup> *Herm.* 36.1–4

Each person has two angels (*Herm.* 36.1).<sup>118</sup> 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).<sup>119</sup> These two angels dwell with a person (*Herm.* 36.2) and enter his heart (*Herm.* 36.4).<sup>120</sup> They are then indwelling spirits.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup> 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· σὺνιε αὐτὰς καὶ πιστεῦε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης·  
7. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς πονηρίας ἀπόστηθι, ὅτι ἡ διδαχὴ αὐτοῦ πονηρὰ ἐστὶ παντὶ

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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 ἦ τις πιστότατος ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἡ ἐνθύμησις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τούτου ἀναβῆ  
ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐξαμαρτῆσαι τι. 8. ἐὰν  
δὲ πάλιν πονηρότατος τις ἦ ἀνὴρ ἢ γυνή, καὶ ἀναβῆ ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα  
τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῆσαι. 9. βλέπεις  
οὖν, φησὶν, ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἀκολουθεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς  
πονηρίας ἀποτάξασθαι.

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 woman 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.<sup>123</sup> 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).<sup>124</sup>

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.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup>

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*.

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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.<sup>127</sup> 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.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> Similarly, his earthly and empty spirits also lack power.<sup>130</sup> All this seems to be a contradiction,

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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 (ἐπιγείος) 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 σοὶ λέγω, φησί· μετὰ τὴν κλήσιν ἐκείνην τὴν μεγάλην καὶ σεμνὴν ἐὰν τις ἐκπειρασθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀμαρτήσῃ, μίαν μετάνοιαν 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

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('above') versus ἐπιγειον ('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.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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.<sup>133</sup> The *Shepherd of Hermas* has a larger focus on the tempting power of the

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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.<sup>134</sup>

### 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).<sup>135</sup> 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*<sup>136</sup> — the linking of vices to spirits—is also present

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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*.<sup>137</sup> 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” (ὄξυχολία, *Herm.* 34.8), “grief” (λύπη, *Herm.* 40.2), and “double-mindedness” (διψυχία, *Herm.* 39.11) are called spirits.<sup>138</sup>

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.<sup>139</sup> On the one side there

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*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).<sup>140</sup> 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.<sup>141</sup> The virgins are spirits of the Lord, whereas the black-clad women are spirits of the opponent.<sup>142</sup> 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 ἰμάτια 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 ἀνά 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 ἰμάτια μέλανα ἔχουσῶν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων τέσσαρες 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, Μίσσος. 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.<sup>143</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup> 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.<sup>146</sup> 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.<sup>147</sup>

### Short Temper, the ‘Most Wicked Spirit’

The fifth mandate in the *Shepherd of Hermas* discusses the dichotomy between “endurance” (μακροθυμία)<sup>148</sup> and “short temper” (ὄξυχολία).<sup>149</sup> The exhortation of the mandate begins as follows:

33.1. Μακρόθυμος, φησί, γίνου καὶ συνετός, καὶ πάντων τῶν πονηρῶν ἔργων κατακυριεύσεις καὶ ἐργάση πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην. 2. ἐὰν γὰρ μακρόθυμος ἔση, 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 ὄξυχολία τις προσέλθῃ, εὐθὺς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τρυφερὸν ὄν, στενοχωρεῖται, μὴ ἔχον τὸν τόπον καθαρὸν, καὶ ζητεῖ ἀποστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου· πνίγεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος, μὴ ἔχον τόπον λειτουργῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ καθὼς

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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).<sup>150</sup> 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).<sup>151</sup> This understanding has an anthropological base. An individual is indeed the battlefield of the great controversy.<sup>152</sup> The evil spirit enters a person, causing that person to be unclean, and the good spirit must leave to avoid contamination.<sup>153</sup> This good spirit leaves without putting up a fight,<sup>154</sup> which leaves the person under the sole control of the evil spirit.

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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 αὐτούς, 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 οὔσα, δοξάζουσα τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ, μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἔχουσα πικρόν, παραμένουσα διαπαντὸς πραεῖα καὶ ἡσύχιος. αὕτη οὖν ἡ μακροθυμία κατοικεῖ μετὰ τῶν τὴν πίστιν ἔχόντων ὀλόκληρον. 4. ἡ δὲ ὀξυχολία πρῶτον μὲν μωρά ἐστίν, ἐλαφρά τε καὶ ἄφρων. εἶτα ἐκ τῆς ἀφροσύνης γίνεται πικρία, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πικρίας θυμός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ θυμοῦ ὀργή, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς μῆνις· εἶτα ἡ μῆνις αὕτη ἐκ τοσοῦτων 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

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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),<sup>155</sup> 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

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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.<sup>156</sup> Bitterness escalates, moving through anger and wrath to rage, which causes the good spirit to leave (*Herm.* 34.5).<sup>157</sup> The person's situation is then described as follows:

εἶτα ὅταν ἀποστῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκείνου οὐ 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 ὡδε κάκει ἀπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυφλοῦται ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας τῆς ἀγαθῆς. οὕτως οὖν συμβαίνει πᾶσι τοῖς ὀξύλοισι.

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*.<sup>158</sup> 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

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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.<sup>159</sup> Desire for holiness is good, whereas desiring money evil.<sup>160</sup>

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).<sup>161</sup> Despite that these are referred to as two spirits, it seems more logical that these are two manifestations of a variety

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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).<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup>

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.<sup>164</sup> 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.<sup>165</sup>

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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),<sup>166</sup> which is referred to as a spirit of the opponent, plays a large role.<sup>167</sup> 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.<sup>168</sup> This influences the rest of his being, ultimately leading to deeds of iniquity.<sup>169</sup> 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).<sup>170</sup> 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,

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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.<sup>171</sup> 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.<sup>172</sup>

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:

αὐται οὖν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι πονηραὶ εἰσι, θανατοῦσαι τοὺς δούλους τοῦ θεοῦ. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἢ 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 δούλον τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο. ἀλλὰ πάντως ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν σου ἀνέβη περὶ αὐτῆς. ἔστιν μὲν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ τοιαύτη βουλή ἀμαρτίαν ἐπιφέρουσα· πονηρὰ γὰρ βουλή καὶ ἔκκλητος εἰς πάνσεμνον πνεῦμα καὶ ἦδη

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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 ἐπιθυμία πονηρὸν ἔργον, καὶ μάλιστα Ἑρμᾶς ὁ ἐγκρατῆς, 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.<sup>173</sup> Indeed, in many passages in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* the heart and the mind are synonymous.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, despite the difficulties in distinguishing between the function of the heart and the mind,<sup>175</sup> the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* do discuss the heart in some pericopes, showing that a good heart is associated with good works.<sup>176</sup> 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.

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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).<sup>177</sup> 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.<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> 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),<sup>180</sup> but the truly converted will

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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).<sup>181</sup> There is no discussion of a resurrection,<sup>182</sup> 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*.<sup>183</sup> Although it lacks detailed discussion, it is always apparent that the opponent will lose,<sup>184</sup> and that God will be victorious.<sup>185</sup> 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.

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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.<sup>186</sup> 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.<sup>187</sup> 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

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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 uias esse dicit, unam lucis, alteram tenebrarum, quibus etiam praeesse certos quosque angelos dicit: uiae quidem lucis angelos dei, tenebrarum autem uiae angelos Satanae.<sup>188</sup>

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.<sup>189</sup> *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 inuenimus, etiam utriusque partis vel utriusque viae fautores quidam et adiutores angeli. Nam carni concupiscenti aduersus spiritum fauet diabolus et angeli eius et omnes spiritales nequitiae in caelestibus cunctique, aduersum quos hominibus luctamen est, principatus et potestates et mundi huius rectores tenebrarum. E contrario uero spiritui aduersum carnem decertanti animamque humanam, quae media est, ad se reuocare conanti fauent et adiuuant angeli boni omnes.<sup>190</sup>

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

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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.<sup>191</sup> *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*

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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.<sup>192</sup> 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).<sup>193</sup>

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.<sup>194</sup>

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:<sup>195</sup>

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 spiritaes adversarios desudanda, velut magister militiae praeceptum dat militibus Christi.<sup>196</sup>

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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.<sup>197</sup> *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*).<sup>198</sup> The battle between people and the influences of the forces of darkness is a frequent topic of discussion in *Homilies on Joshua*.<sup>199</sup> 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.<sup>200</sup> In other words,

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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 parent. [...]

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*.<sup>201</sup> 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,<sup>202</sup> Origen believes that a person, when sinning, has one or more of these spirits within him.<sup>203</sup> 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? Neminem puto esse qui hoc audeat confirmare. Si ergo esuriendi et sitiendi non nobis ipse fit causa, quid illud, cum uniuscuiusque aetas ad uirilittatis tempus aduenerit et naturalis caloris incentiua suggesserit? Consequens sine dubio est ut, sicut esuriendi et

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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 εἰδῶς μὲν ὃ ἐσμεν, οὐκ εἰδῶς 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 εἰληφότας.<sup>204</sup>

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.<sup>205</sup>

*Strom.* 4.12.85

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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.<sup>206</sup> The power of the forces of darkness is described in more detail elsewhere in *Miscellanies*:

Αί τοίνυν δυνάμεις, περί ὧν εἰρήκαμεν, κάλλη καὶ δόξας καὶ μοιχείας καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ τοιαύτας τινὰς φαντασίας δελεαστικὰς προτείνουσι ταῖς εὐεπιφόροις ψυχαῖς, καθάπερ οἱ ἀπελαύνοντες τὰ θρέμματα θαλλοὺς προσειόντες, εἶτα, κατασοφισάμενοι τοὺς μὴ διακρίνειν δυνηθέντας τὴν ἀληθῆ ἀπὸ ψεύδους ἡδονὴν καὶ τὸ ἐπικηρόν τε καὶ ἐφύβριστον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγίου κάλλους, ἄγουσιν δουλωσάμεναι. ἐκάστη δὲ ἀπάτη, συνεχῶς ἐναπεριδομένη τῇ ψυχῇ, τὴν φαντασίαν ἐν αὐτῇ τυποῦται. καὶ δὴ τὴν εἰκόνα ἔλαθεν περιφέρουσα τοῦ πάθους ἢ ψυχῆ, 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.<sup>207</sup> *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.<sup>208</sup> 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

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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).<sup>209</sup>

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 πλειόνων λόγων παραθεμένῳ μάρτυρι τὸν ἀποστολικὸν Βαρνάβαν (ὃ δὲ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα ἦν καὶ συνεργὸς τοῦ Παύλου) κατὰ λέξιν ὧδέ πως λέγοντα· ἔμπροσθεν 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

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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).<sup>210</sup>

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.

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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*.<sup>211</sup>

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

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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 λύπη 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 literarisches 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.<sup>212</sup> 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

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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.

