

## Chapter 3: Apocalyptic Discourse in Jewish Tradition

### 3.1 Introduction

In Mark 3:22–30, Mark juxtaposes the parables of the Divided Kingdom and House (vv. 23–26) with the parable of the Strong Man (v. 27) and joins them with a logion that signals the Holy Spirit as Jesus' source of power (vv. 28–29). I have argued that Mark reports Jesus' answer to the scribes as a contrast between the way and the power by which he does *not* cast out demons with the way and the power by which he *does*. In the process, Mark both affirms that Satan is powerful and that Jesus is powerfully invading Satan's kingdom, thereby portraying a power struggle. This parabolic discourse not only refutes the charge of the scribes, but also imaginatively constructs a symbolic world that indicates Mark's assumptions about how the world works in the presence of Jesus. Mark employs apocalyptic *topoi* to interpret Jesus' ministry as a skirmish in a dualistic cosmic contest in which the Spirit-empowered Jesus wages war against Satan to rescue people oppressed by demonic powers.

In this chapter I discuss ancient Jewish texts that engage in apocalyptic discourse, particularly those that employ Satan or the equivalent, cosmic battle, the oppression/persecution of human beings, and the interconnection of heavenly and human powers, because of the presence of these themes in Mark 3:22–30. I have identified several texts that employ these *topoi*: the book of Daniel, *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *War Scroll* (1QM), *Melchizedek* (11QMelch), and the *Testament of Solomon*. I approach each piece of literature as a distinct composition and discuss how each appropriates apocalyptic discourse to address its respective literary and theological aims. My discussion will sharpen the picture of Mark's symbolic world and provide the essential basis for my reading of Mark's portrayal of the nature and manifestation of the power of Jesus *vis-à-vis* the nature and manifestation of the power of Satan.<sup>1</sup>

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1 See my discussion in chs. 4–6 of the book.

### 3.2 Approaching the Literature: Genre and Apocalyptic Discourse

Among the compositions I have chosen to examine, only Daniel and *1 Enoch* display the characteristic literary conventions and outlook of the genre apocalypse. John J. Collins defines an apocalypse as,

a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world.<sup>2</sup>

The other texts I discuss, including the Gospel of Mark, are related to the genre apocalypse because they employ apocalyptic *topoi* as “a flexible set of resources ... for a variety of persuasive tasks.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, these texts engage in apocalyptic discourse. Rather than belonging to the genre apocalypse, we may think of these compositions as “participating in ... invoking ... gesturing to ...” the genre.<sup>4</sup> The apocalyptic *topoi* these compositions employ are effective because typical features make them recognizable. A cluster of terms may appear in a mutual relationship so that hearing one triggers others, creating rhetorical power.<sup>5</sup> For instance, hearing the term “Satan” triggers apocalyptic ideas, and

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2 J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 5.

3 This is an excerpt of Greg Carey’s definition of apocalyptic discourse: “the constellation of apocalyptic topics as they function in larger early Jewish and Christian literary and social contexts. Thus, apocalyptic discourse should be treated as a flexible set of resources that early Jews and Christians could employ for a variety of persuasive tasks.” Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 5.

4 Carol Newsom, “Spying out the Land: A Report from Genology,” in *Bakhtin and Genre Theory in Biblical Studies* (ed. R. Boer; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 21. The full quotation is, “Rather than referring to texts as belonging to genres one might think of texts as participating in them, invoking them, gesturing to them, playing in and out of them, and in so doing, continually changing them.” Newsom refers to Jaques Derrida’s theory that texts participate in rather than belong to genre. See Jaques Derrida, “The Law of Genre,” in *Modern Genre Theory* (ed. David Duff; Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), 224, 230.

5 See Robbins, “Intertexture of Apocalyptic discourse.” Cf. also L. T. Johnson, *The Letter of James* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1995), 27–29, where Johnson discusses how *topoi* serve as a flexible set of resources for moral instruction and function to create connections in the mind.

along with “binding” and “angels” evokes a picture of a dualistic cosmic battle.

Though bearing typical features that make them recognizable, the apocalyptic *topoi* function differently in each composition depending on the writer’s aim.<sup>6</sup> As a result, simply identifying apocalyptic *topoi* does not indicate the contours of a particular composition’s apocalyptic discourse. This point becomes clearer when applied to a common cultural genre. The classic Western film has recognizable *topoi*, such as conflict between good guys and bad guys; boots, hats and denim; sheriffs, gunslingers, and bandits; pioneers, settlers, and natives; gun fights, robberies, and barroom shoot-outs; horses, dusty frontier towns, and wide-open spaces.<sup>7</sup> Filmmakers have employed these *topoi*, however, within other genres. For example, a science fiction film may recontextualize Western *topoi* in order to portray the universe as a frontier into which outlaws ride on their trusted cargo ship.<sup>8</sup> Also, a comedy may recontextualize Western *topoi* in order to achieve parody.<sup>9</sup> Although identical *topoi* may appear in the classic Western, the science fiction film, and the comedy, these *topoi* are employed for different purposes in the respective films and so take on different layers of meaning. The filmmakers depend on viewers both to recognize the characteristic Western *topoi* and to reinterpret those *topoi* in the new context in order to make meaning.

In a similar way, Mark depends on readers both to recognize characteristic apocalyptic *topoi* and to reinterpret them in the Gospel context. For example, I do not understand the binding of the strong man in Mark 3:27 simply by collecting a set of citations from roughly contemporaneous compositions that also refer to the binding of Satan or

6 See also Carey, “How to do things with (Apocalyptic) Words.”

7 For discussions of the Western genre and its development, see *The Western Reader* (ed. J. Kitses and G. Rickman; New York: Limelight Editions, 1998); David Lusted, *The Western* (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2003); P. C. Rollins and J. E. O’Connor, eds., *Hollywood’s West: The American Frontier in Film, Television, and History* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2005).

8 The 2005 film *Serenity* employs themes of the classic Western in a science fiction film. Cf. Lusted, *The Western*, 5–6, 27, 174–5.

9 The 1974 film *Blazing Saddles* is a comedy Western, a subgenre of the Western film. See Matthew R. Turner, “Cowboys and Comedy: The Simultaneous Deconstruction and Reinforcement of Generic Conventions in the Western Parody,” in *Hollywood’s West: The American Frontier in Film, Television, and History*, (ed. P. C. Rollins and J. E. O’Connor; Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 2005), 218–235.

evil spirits. Such a collection of citations only recognizes the typical features of the *topoi*; it does not demonstrate *how* Mark or the compositions cited may have employed the *topos* of “binding” for a particular persuasive task. My aim, therefore, is not simply to draw parallels between Mark 3:22–30 and apocalyptic literature, but to understand how each composition recontextualizes apocalyptic *topoi* in its respective literary context. In what follows, I introduce the text of each composition that is part of my discussion, and indicate how each one “participates” in the genre apocalypse by employing apocalyptic *topoi*.

### 3.2.1 The Book of Daniel<sup>10</sup>

The second half of Daniel may be classified as an apocalypse, but the book as a whole defies exact genre classification because it participates in more than one genre, consisting of tales (chs. 1–6), visions (chs. 7–12), prophecy, and wisdom. Accordingly, Daniel may be said to have a provisional quality.<sup>11</sup> Scholars have recognized antecedents of apocalyptic thought in prophetic literature that contains apocalyptic characteristics, for example, Isa 59:14–18; 63:1–6; 65:17–25; Ezek 40; and Zech 1–6.<sup>12</sup> The fruition of apocalyptic thought is evident in

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10 I use *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* and Rahlfs’ *Septuaginta*, but provide translations from the New Revised Standard Version.

11 “Daniel is one of the earliest exemplars of the apocalyptic genre. Accordingly, its relationship to the genre is rather different than that of later works. On the one hand, its composite origin gives it an ad hoc, experimental character...on the other hand, many of the similarities between Daniel and other apocalypses can be attributed to direct influence.” J. J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 58.

12 See Paul D. Hanson *The Dawn of Apocalyptic* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1975); Hanson, “Apocalypse, Genre” and “Apocalypticism,” *IDBSup*, 27–34; and Hanson, “Jewish Apocalyptic against Its Near Eastern Environment,” *RB* 78 (1971): 31–58. In addition, see Klaus Koch, “Vom profetischen zum apokalyptischen Visionsbericht,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, Uppsala, August 12–17, 1979* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1983), 413–46; Susan Niditch, *The Symbolic Vision in the Biblical Tradition* (HSM 30; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983). Also, Gerhard von Rad argued that apocalyptic literature had its precursor in wisdom literature. For example, the questions of Job required answers obtained only from divine revelation, a characteristic feature of the tales in Daniel (Job 19:25–27; 38–41; 42:5–6; cf. Dan 2:27–28. Ger-

the spike in apocalyptic literature between 200 B.C.E. and 100 C.E. Comprehensively, J. Collins describes the origin of apocalyptic literature in terms of a matrix that includes post-exilic prophecy, Babylonian and Persian parallels, and the appropriation of Hellenistic motifs in a Jewish context.<sup>13</sup> Views about the date of Daniel often correspond to views about the origin and function of its apocalyptic thought. Those who hold to a second-century B.C.E. date for the book of Daniel see it as one of the many examples of “crisis literature”<sup>14</sup> that emerged in response to Antiochus IV Epiphanes’ aggression towards the Jews and the Romans’ destruction of Jerusalem. On this view, Daniel’s apocalyptic visions function to interpret history for God’s people. Those who hold to a sixth-century B.C.E. date likewise argue that Daniel is crisis literature, but literature that emerged in response to the tragic events of the Babylonian exile.<sup>15</sup> On this view, Daniel’s apocalyptic visions function both to reveal and interpret history for God’s people. An analysis of the primary research concerning the date and authorship of Daniel is beyond the scope of my book, and a determination of the date does not affect my reading for this particular study, since the final form of Daniel in the Second Temple period is my primary concern.<sup>16</sup> Nonethe-

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hard von Rad, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (2 vols.; 4th ed.; Munich: Kaiser, 1965), 2: 306–7.

13 J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 23–37.

14 J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 56.

15 Joyce Baldwin, *Daniel*, (TOTC; Leicester, England: Inter-Varsity Press, 1978), 51–53.

16 There appears to be some latitude in the primary research, so that a reasonable case is made from the available data to support a second-century B.C.E. or a sixth-century B.C.E. date for the composition of the book. Until more manuscripts are available, all arguments appear to be provisional. Scholars who follow the traditional dating of Daniel place its composition in the 6<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.E., and highlight the book’s continuity with and development of the pattern of biblical prophecy and the seed of apocalyptic thought found in the OT. On this view, the book was the work of the prophet Daniel (and perhaps contemporaries who completed it), who produced a historical account, and made predictive prophecies using symbolic imagery in order to reassure Jewish believers experiencing the crisis of the Babylonian exile that God is sovereign over history. See, for example, Kenneth A. Kitchen, “The Aramaic of Daniel,” in *Notes on Some Problems in the Book of Daniel* (London: Tyndale, 1970), 43; Bruce K. Waltke, “The Date of the Book of Daniel,” *BSac* 133 (1976): 319–29; Baldwin, *Daniel*, 17–46; Stephen R. Miller, *Daniel* (NAC; Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 22–43. The majority of critical scholarship, on the other hand, sees Daniel as one of the texts that arises out of the Maccabean conflict between

less, I concur with E. Lucas that, “Daniel [lies] somewhere on a line of development between the later Hebrew prophets and the Jewish apocalypses” and that this “line of development may not have been straight” and “the rate of development was probably not uniform.”<sup>17</sup> For my purposes, the key observation is this: according to any construal, Daniel is crisis literature in which apocalyptic discourse functions to give persecuted people heaven’s point of view.

The form and content of Dan 1–6 and 7–12 may differ, but the whole book conveys a consistent message:<sup>18</sup> unlike human rulers, God is sovereign and powerful; unlike human kingdoms, God’s kingdom is everlasting; and despite the best efforts of oppressors to persecute the righteous, God rescues and delivers the wise and faithful. The stories of chs. 1–6 give a narrative depiction of both what happens to those in power who fail to honor God and persecute God’s people, and what happens for those who are persecuted. The apocalyptic visions of chs. 7–12 confirm these themes through the revelation of divine judgment and deliverance. When readers encounter the visions that repeat the rise and fall of human kingdoms leading up to the point of crisis surrounding the arrogant human king who fails to honor God and persecutes God’s people (chs. 7, 8, 10–12), they remember the stories’ refrain: God is

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- 167–163 B.C.E., and its apocalyptic thought as emerging out of that crisis. On this view, Daniel was the work of an anonymous author (or authors), who created a non-historical account of court tales and pseudo-prophecies in order to interpret history with a view to reassuring Jewish believers experiencing the aggression of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. R. H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London: Black, 1952); Brevard S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 611; J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 24–38, 61–67; John Goldingay, *Daniel* (WBC; Dallas, Tex.: Word, 1989); Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (AB; Garden City, N.Y.: Double Day, 1978); Carey, *Ultimate Things*. If Daniel is dated to the second-century B.C.E., then, the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book of the 1 *Enoch* corpus would be the very earliest apocalypses. See George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch: 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 169–71, 230, 293; J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 25, 43–84, 177–93; Cary, *Ultimate Things*, 20.
- 17 Ernest Lucas, *Daniel* (Apollos Old Testament Commentary; Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity, 2002), 311.
- 18 Although most scholars believe that Dan 2–6 comprises a group of tales that came from different authors than the material of chs. 7–12, the deliberate union of particular stories with these visions conveys a coherent message. See also Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 38, 44. For a discussion of the unity and authorship of Daniel, see J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 24–38; Baldwin, *Daniel*, 35–40, 59–63.

sovereign over human kingdoms; God's kingdom is everlasting; God delivers and rescues the righteous. The visions point to a historical context of war and persecution leading up to the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the last Seleucid king. The climax of these visions is God's judgment of the oppressor, through which the righteous are delivered. The visions exhibit the typical features of the genre apocalypse. An angel gives Daniel the revelation of God's sovereignty in the unfolding events of wars and persecutions, so that the wise may know how to persevere. Daniel's visions gives persecuted readers eyes to see that the earthly battle between human powers is parallel to a heavenly battle between supernatural powers. Finally, the wars and persecutions end with God's judgment of nations and kings, and the vindication of the righteous.

### 3.2.2 *1 Enoch*<sup>19</sup>

*1 Enoch* consists of five separate books composed over a range of five centuries.<sup>20</sup> Its texts and traditions were deliberately collected and shaped over time, however, resulting in common characteristics, recurring themes, and similar emphases.<sup>21</sup> For example, the story of the Watchers, the problem of sin, violence and oppression, and the theme of God's imminent judgment recur throughout the composition. As a corpus, *1 Enoch* is a witness to the divine wisdom that Enoch receives and with which he exhorts his children and the righteous to obey in light of that coming judgment.<sup>22</sup> Within this composition, a variety of literary genres functions to communicate Enoch's message. For example, the story of the Watchers (*1 En.* 6–11) belongs to the genre designated as Rewritten Bible, as it retells Gen 6:1–4 with an interpretive purpose.

19 Unless otherwise indicated, I use the translation by E. Isaac in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols; New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985), 1: 13–89.

20 The Book of the Watchers (*1 En.* 1–36; by the mid-2d c. B.C.E.); the Similitudes of Enoch (*1 En.* 37–71; first century B.C.E. or first century C.E.); the Astronomical Book (*1 En.* 72–82; 3d-2d c. B.C.E.); the Book of Dreams (*1 En.* 83–90; 170–163 B.C.E.); the Epistle of Enoch (*1 En.* 91–105; 2d c. B.C.E.). See J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 47, 59, 66–7, 177–8; Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 19–20.

21 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 37. Nickelsburg traces the development of the tradition, 25–26. See also Carey, *Ultimate Things*, 21–37.

22 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 22–25.



The fifth book of the corpus (chs. 92–105) is an epistle.<sup>23</sup> In addition, literary subgenres characteristic of apocalypses function to authorize Enoch's message. For instance, Enoch receives divine revelation about the certainty of God's judgment based on patterns of the past (85–90), he goes on heavenly journeys to see the places of punishment and blessing (17–19; 21–36; 40; 52–54; 60–61), and he has dream visions that confirm the authenticity of his prophetic call (13:7–16:4; 83–84; 85–90).

### 3.2.3 *Jubilees*<sup>24</sup>

The book of *Jubilees* was written in the mid-second century B.C.E., before the formation of the Qumran community.<sup>25</sup> Like the story of the Watchers in *1 En.* 6–11, *Jubilees* as a whole belongs to the genre designated as Rewritten Bible,<sup>26</sup> in that it rewrites the storyline of Genesis and the first half of Exodus, using these books as base texts from which to form a new composition. *Jubilees* interprets the Genesis-Exodus storyline for specific purposes, accentuating particular themes that are not prominent in those books. Throughout the composition, the author emphasizes the chronology of the 364-day solar calendar; the law (especially purity laws); the righteousness of Israel's ancestors; and eschatological salvation after Israel's future abandonment of the covenant.<sup>27</sup> Though *Jubilees* is not an apocalypse, the author places apocalyptic discourse in service to these emphases. For example, *Jubilees* envisions a world in which evil spirits seek to mislead human beings away from

23 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 29, 33–34, 416. For a discussion of other subgenres within *1 Enoch* see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 28–36.

24 I use the translation by O. S. Wintermute in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2:52–142.

25 James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 17–21; Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 61–62. At least fourteen fragments of copies of *Jubilees* have been found at Qumran, and *Jubilees* is quoted authoritatively in CD 16.2–4. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 191–2.

26 Geza Vermes originally coined the term, “Rewritten Bible” in 1961 to describe an interpretive practice in late Second Temple literature; see Geza Vermes, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism* (StPB 4, Leiden: Brill, 1961); and Vermes, “Bible Interpretation at Qumran,” *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 185–88. Cf. Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 1–15, 62; VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 11–13.

27 For a similar list, see Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 67–80.



God's commands and into impurity, in which God protects the righteous, and in which God promises an eschatological future devoid of satans, or evil spirits, that deceive and destroy.

### 3.2.4 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*<sup>28</sup>

In its present form, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a composition reflecting Jewish tradition that later underwent a Christian redaction.<sup>29</sup>

28 I use the translation by H. C. Kee in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 1:782–838.

29 There are three main approaches to the provenance and compositional history of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. The dominant approach is that it was originally composed by Jews and interpolated by Christians, a view followed by the majority of scholars, including Robert H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2: 282–367; Jacob Jervell, “Ein Interpolator interpretiert: zu der christlichen Bearbeitung der Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen,” in *Studien zu den Testamenten der zwölf Patriarchen* (BZNW 36; ed. W. Eltester; Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1969), 30–61; Anders Hultgård, *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches* (2 vols; Uppsala: Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1977–1982); Jarl Henning Ulrichsen, *Die Grundschrift der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen: Eine Untersuchung zu Umfang, Inhalt und Eigenart der ursprünglichen Schrift* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Historia Religionum, 10; Uppsala: Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1991); and the edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* edited by Charlesworth. A second approach is that Qumran community wrote the composition. Those who hold this view approach the interpolations not as Christian, but as Essene. The main proponents of this approach are André Dupont-Sommer, *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la mer Morte* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1953); and Marc Philonenko, *Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qoumrân* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1960). A third approach sees the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as essentially a Christian composition based on Jewish sources. Marinus de Jonge has been the main advocate for this position. See his article, “Christian Influence in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,” *NovT* 4 (1960): 182–235 and Harm H. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (SVTP 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985). More recently, Robert Kugler has adopted this position in *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001). For discussion of the history of research on the composition, see M. de Jonge, “The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Christian and Jewish: A Hundred Years after Friedrich Schnapp,” in *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marinus de Jonge* (Leiden: Brill, 1991) 233–43;

Though the compositional history of this text remains uncertain,<sup>30</sup> it contains tradition parallel to Qumran literature and Jewish apocalyptic literature, particularly in the eschatological sections, suggesting that it developed in Jewish circles before being redacted by a Christian writer or writers.<sup>31</sup> This parallelism does not necessarily indicate literary dependence, but the appropriation of tradition drawn from the same socio-religious context. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is a collection of farewell speeches of the patriarchs to their children that incorporates Jewish, Christian, and Hellenistic elements.<sup>32</sup> In general, the individual testaments include introductory passages in which the patriarchs assemble their children, followed by biographical passages, exhortations, predictions of the future, and then closing passages. The main rhetorical purpose is ethical exhortation<sup>33</sup> that reflects both the law of Moses and Greco-Roman moral standards.<sup>34</sup> In order to serve that purpose, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* appropriates apocalyptic *topoi*. For example, the composition portrays a world of evil spirits at work to lead people astray from God's commands and from virtuous living.

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H. Dixon Slingerland, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical History of Research* (SBLMS 21; Missoula, 1977).

- 30 The earliest extant Greek manuscript of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* dates to the ninth century C.E., and de Jonge has indicated the problems with attempting to make a definitive statement about the compositional history of the text through textual criticism. See de Jonge, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," 233–43.
- 31 For example, fragmentary texts at Qumran have been found about Naphtali (4:Q215), and Judah (3Q7; 4Q484, 538); and Joseph (4Q539); and the material in *T. Judah* 3–7 is found in *Jub.* 34:1–9. See VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 59; Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 134–6; de Jonge, "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," 241.
- 32 For a discussion of the structure and content of the individual testaments, see Hollander and de Jonge *Testaments*, pp. 29–41.
- 33 Hollander and de Jonge argue that the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* must be regarded as "a collection of exhortatory writings," Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, pp. 31–32.
- 34 Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 41–7; Kugler, *Testaments*, 17–19.

3.2.5 *War Scroll* (1QM)<sup>35</sup>

1QM was found in Cave 1 at Qumran, and may be characterized as a “rule,” or *serek*, for the community, composed from an eschatological perspective.<sup>36</sup> It foretells a war between the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness. The scroll outlines the phases of the war and gives instructions for waging it, including the formation of troops, the priestly direction of battle, the inscription of weapons, ritual purity, and the recitation of prayers. The discovery of six scrolls in Cave 4 (4Q491–96) related to 1QM indicates that it has a complex compositional history and went through a redactional process.<sup>37</sup> In addition, features of the scroll itself suggest that it is a composite document. For example, the structure portrays two different perspectives of the war. On the one hand, the outlying columns of 1QM describe a war in seven lots, or stages (cols. 1 and 15–19). On the other hand, the inner cols. 2–9 describe a 40-year war and the organization of the troops for battle.<sup>38</sup> Columns 2–9 possibly draws on Greco-Roman military manuals for the purpose of composing a “utopian tactical treatise” for conducting a war.<sup>39</sup> Ultimately, however, 1QM subsumes military strategy within

35 I use the text and translation by M. Wise, M. Abegg, and E. Cook with N. Gordon in D. W. Parry & E. Tov, *Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (vol. 1 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 208–42.

36 Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 5; Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 53.

37 4Q491–96 “are either copies of the War Rule, sources for it, or possibly from similar compositions.” VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 88. See also Duhaime, *War Texts*, 50–53; and J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 166–67.

38 Most scholars acknowledge this difference in structure, including Peter von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969); and Philip R. Davies, *1QM: The War Scroll from Qumran* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977). On the other hand, those who argue for the unity of the *War Scroll* include Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*; and Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils des Ténèbres: Texte restauré, traduit et commenté* (Paris: Letouzey & Ane, 1958). See the discussions in Duhaime, *War Texts*, 45–49; and J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 166–67.

39 Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 60. Duhaime identifies parallels between 1QM and Greco-Roman tactical treatises. Duhaime, 57–60. Yadin argues that 1QM was a military manual, and compares it to contemporary military manuals throughout his

its religious concerns. The goal of the war is to annihilate Belial and his forces, that is, all the spiritual and human powers that have perpetrated evil against the Sons of Light. Indeed, the battle between demonic and angelic forces that is behind human conflict pervades the entire composition. For this study, my concern is with the form of the text by the second half of the first century B.C.E., and the symbolic world it portrays. 1QM exhibits an apocalyptic outlook in its portrayal of the intersection of the supernatural and physical worlds and its belief in eschatological salvation.

### 3.2.6 *Melchizedek* (11QMelch)<sup>40</sup>

11QMelch is a fragmentary text from Qumran, dated to the second half of the first century B.C.E.<sup>41</sup> The fourteen extant fragments are formed into three columns, with only 25 readable lines in the second column.<sup>42</sup> While the poor state of its preservation makes a definitive interpretation impossible, enough of a running text can be reconstructed in the second column to offer a measured one. 11QMelch is an example of non-continuous or thematic *peshet* that is in the style of *midrash* particularly associated with the Qumran community.<sup>43</sup> The writer of 11QMelch as-

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commentary. See especially Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 3–17. K. M. T. Atkinson also compares 1QM to Greek military manuals. K. M. T. Atkinson, “The Historical Setting of the War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness,” *BJRL* 40 (1957–58): 272–97.

- 40 I use the text and translation by F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A.S. van der Woude in D. W. Parry & E. Tov, eds., *Exegetical Texts* (vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*; ed. D. W. Parry & E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 24–29.
- 41 Paul Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša‘* (CBQMS 10; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 3.
- 42 Adam S. van der Woude, the original editor, identified thirteen fragments and three columns. See A. S. van der Woude, “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI,” *OTS* 14 (1965): 354–73. Others have identified a fourteenth fragment. See Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 3–10.
- 43 Jean Carmignac coined the terms “continuous *peshet*” (“*péshèr* ‘continu’”) and “non-continuous” or “thematic *peshet*” (“*péshèr* ‘discontinu’ ou ‘thématique’”). J. Carmignac, “Le document de Qumran sur Melchisedeq” *RevQ* 7 (1970): 360–61. The commentary on Habakkuk (1QPHab) is an example of continuous *peshet*, as it quotes Hab 1–2 and gives a continuous interpretation of it. 4QFlorilegium is an example of thematic *peshet*, as it assembles various passages from the OT in order to interpret them for a particular purpose. Hartmut

sembles several OT passages and introduces their interpretation with the word *peshet* (2:4, 12, 17). Rather than quoting a whole biblical text and giving a continuous interpretation of it, the writer takes passages from their OT contexts and weaves them together in order to illustrate particular ideas about eschatological judgment and liberation.<sup>44</sup> The central texts it quotes and alludes to are Lev 25:13, regarding the return of Israelites to their own property in the Jubilee Year, and Isa 61:1–2, regarding the liberation of exiled captives by God’s anointed one. 11Q-Melch engages in apocalyptic discourse by interpreting these texts in terms of God’s end-time judgment and in terms of the supernatural world. The captives need liberation not only from foreign nations, but also from evil spirits. Liberation will come through the heavenly figure Melchizedek, who will appear with a host of angels to execute judgment on Belial and his evil spirits, and to set free those who had been held captive by Belial’s power.

### 3.2.7 Testament of Solomon<sup>45</sup>

Similar to the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Testament of Solomon* is the result of a compositional process that likely underwent Christian redaction in its final stages.<sup>46</sup> In its full form, the *Testament of Solomon* is

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- Stegemann uses the term “midrash” synonymously with thematic *peshet* in his treatment of 4Q252. Stegemann, “Weitere Stücke von 4QPsalms 37, von 4QPatriarchal Blessings und Hinweis auf eine unedierte Handschrift aus Höhle 4Q,” *RevQ* 6 (1967): 193–227, esp. 213–17. Accordingly, van der Woude identifies 11QMelch as an “eschatological midrash” in “Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösgestalt,” 357. See also Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11,” *JBL* 86 (1967), 26.
- 44 On this point, see also Anders Aschim, “The Genre of 11QMelchizedek,” in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 29. Since the text is fragmentary, it is also possible that 11QMelch could be a *peshet* on a biblical text, e.g., Isa 61:1–2 or Lev 25:13, the central texts of the composition.
- 45 I use the translation by Dennis C. Duling in Charlesworth, *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 960–87.
- 46 Christian ideas are found in *T. Sol.* 6:8; 11:6; 12:3; 15:10–11; 17:14; and 22:20. Dennis Duling suggests either that these were later Christian additions, or that author was also Christian. Dennis C. Duling, “Solomon, Testament of,” *ABD* 6: 118. On the other hand, Todd Klutz maintains that a Christian redactor is responsible for these portions. He argues that the material in *T. Sol.* 18 was composed first (by the middle of the first century C.E.), followed by an early

built on the story of how Solomon constructs the temple of Jerusalem.<sup>47</sup> Dennis C. Duling observes that the *Testament of Solomon* conforms to the genre “testament” with regard to three characteristic features: it presents itself as the final words of Solomon to the sons of Israel, it is narrated in the first person, and it contains instructions for overpowering demons.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, it identifies itself as a “testament” (in the title; 15:14; 26:8).<sup>49</sup> Although the *Testament of Solomon* contains these features of the genre “testament,” it also combines other genres. It opens and closes with narratives (chs. 1–3; 19–26), and employs ancient motifs about magic, astrology, medicine, angels and demons.<sup>50</sup> The *Testament of Solomon* engages in apocalyptic discourse by disclosing a world in which heavenly beings interfere in human affairs. It communicates that the cause of disease, death, catastrophe, dissention and war is due to the nefarious activity of evil heavenly beings, and that the means of overcoming them is by recognizing the demons and knowing the names of the angels that remove their power.

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form of chs. 1–15 (between 75–125 C.E.). According to Klutz’s theory, these portions circulated independently and showed no signs of Christian themes. Between 125–175 C.E., a Christian redactor began to revise *T. Sol.* 1–15 and 18 and to use it as the basis for the composition of new material in chs. 19–26, for the purpose of undermining Solomon’s reputation. Todd E. Klutz, *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon: Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseudepigraphon* (Library of Second Temple Studies 53; London: T&T Clark, 2005), 95–110. Scholars generally date the *Testament of Solomon* between 1st–3d c. C.E.

- 47 C. C. McCown produced the standard edition of the Greek text of the *Testament of Solomon* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1922), based on two recensions called A and B. He discusses 14 mss., divides 10 mss. into three recensions (rec. A, B and C), and forms an eclectic text from recs. A and B. In his translation for *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, Duling uses McCown’s text. Recently, some scholars have questioned McCown’s text-critical conclusions. See the discussion by Todd Klutz, “The Archer and the Cross,” in *Magic in the Biblical World: From the Rod of Aaron to the Ring of Solomon* (ed. T. Klutz; JSNTSup 245; London: T&T Clark, 2003), 222–38. See also Klutz, *Testament of Solomon*, 1–37.
- 48 Duling, “Solomon, Testament of,” 117. For a more nuanced discussion of the genre of the *Testament of Solomon*, see Klutz, *Testament of Solomon*, 14–19.
- 49 Duling does not, however, include the introduction in his analysis.
- 50 Duling comments, “The *Testament of Solomon* does not completely conform to this description of the genre “testament”...it reads more like a haggadic folktale combined with medico-magical lore.” Duling, “Solomon, Testament of,” 117.

### 3.3 The Book of Daniel as a Template

The book of Daniel serves as the appropriate point of departure for my discussion, providing a template of apocalyptic *topoi*. It is appropriate to begin with Daniel for two reasons. First, Daniel contains the earliest fully-developed apocalypse in the Hebrew Bible. According to any premise regarding the date and authorship of Daniel, the book contains early and authoritative apocalypse.<sup>51</sup> As such, it would have provided a precedent for other Jewish apocalypses.<sup>52</sup> Second, Daniel exerts a clear influence on the Gospel of Mark. The Son of Man sayings are the clearest example. Jesus uses this self-designation to declare his authority on earth (2:10, 28), to predict his suffering and death (8:31; 9:31; 10:33–34), and to tell of his return (8:38; 13:26; 14:62).<sup>53</sup> Mark uses the Son of Man sayings to help form Jesus' identity. In addition, the Olivet Discourse in ch. 13 contains apocalyptic *topoi*, including the revelation of divine mysteries, the persecution of the elect, the salvation of those who persevere, and the coming of the Son of Man: "At that time men will see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory" (Mark 13:26). This Son of Man saying is, in fact, an allusion to Dan 7:13, "As I watched in the night visions, I saw one like a son of man coming with the clouds of heaven." The apocalyptic *topoi* in Mark 13 appear throughout the Gospel, making Daniel important for the whole.

I turn now to Daniel in order to establish a template of apocalyptic *topoi*. Rather than identifying particular *topoi* in order to draw parallels between Daniel and the other compositions, I identify *topoi* in order to place Daniel in dialogical relationship with *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *1QM*, *11QMelch*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and finally with Mark. I investigate the way these compositions engage in apocalyptic discourse to elucidate both their shared symbolic world and their distinctive rhetorical aims. In the discussion that follows, I demonstrate three key themes that have emerged from my reading of

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51 The discovery of manuscripts of Daniel at Qumran indicates that the Qumran community regarded Daniel as Scripture, quoting it as authoritative in 4Qflor and 11QMelch. See VanderKam, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 188–90; Miller, *Daniel*, 38.

52 See Baldwin, *Daniel*, 47; and J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 58.

53 See the essay by Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Influence of Daniel on the New Testament," in J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 97–98.



Daniel: the persecution of the righteous, the activity of heavenly beings, and God's judgment.

These three themes are recognizable *topoi* in apocalyptic discourse. The work of John J. Collins serves to strengthen the taxonomy for my discussion. He notes that apocalypses demonstrate a variety of characteristics, and may be distinguished into types according to whether they display visions and otherworldly journeys, or whether they conduct a review of history.<sup>54</sup> In spite of the differences among the compositions, Collins notes two elements that all share: "the revelation of a supernatural world and the activity of supernatural beings are essential to all the apocalypses. In all there are also a final judgment and a destruction of the wicked."<sup>55</sup> In other words, the activity of heavenly beings, and God's judgment are central to all apocalypses. Moreover, among the various characteristics that appear in apocalypses, Collins identifies persecution as a key *topos*.<sup>56</sup> Because the Beelzebul discourse in Mark portrays Jesus' ministry as a rescue operation from oppressive powers, I include persecution in my discussion.

### 3.3.1 Persecution

The book of Daniel addresses a situation in which oppressive human powers dominate the righteous. These holy ones are unable to deliver themselves and must trust in the God who saves them. The tales in the first half of the book introduce the theme of persecution, in which Daniel and his friends respond to various oppressive situations by remaining obedient to the law. Then, the visions (chs. 7, 8, 10–12) depict a larger community of faith experiencing persecution by enemy nations. In both the tales and the visions, the holy ones wait for God's intervention on their behalf. While they wait, their proper response to oppression and persecution is faithful obedience to God, even to the point of laying down their lives. The stories about the fiery furnace and the lion's den illustrate this point (3:1–30, esp. v. 18; 6:1–

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54 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 6.

55 Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 6.

56 These include an interest in cosmogony and primordial events, a recollection of the past, *ex eventu* prophecy, persecution, eschatological upheavals, cosmic transformation, resurrection, and other forms of afterlife. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 7.

28), though Daniel and his friends finally escape death because of their faithfulness. In fact, the story of the furnace emphasizes that “the fire had not had any power over the bodies of those men; the hair of their heads was not singed, their tunics were not harmed, and not even the smell of fire came from them” (3:27). These stories reiterate the idea that the righteous obey God’s law and trust God to save them.

The visions escalate the situation beyond the stories to portray the harsh reality of martyrdom. In his first vision, Daniel sees that the “little horn” ... “made war with the holy ones and prevailed over them, until the Ancient One came” (7:21) and that he will, “wear out the holy ones of the Most High” (v. 25). In the third vision, Daniel sees a group dying under persecution: “The wise among the people shall give understanding to many; for some days, however, they shall fall by sword and flame, and suffer captivity and plunder...Some of the wise shall fall, so that they may be refined, purified, and cleansed, until the time of the end” (11:33, 35). Unlike the endings of the tales in the first half of the book, God does not save the righteous from death; rather, death at the hands of the oppressor becomes the means of their purification and glory. In both the first and third visions, the righteous suffer persecution at the hands of their oppressors right up until the end, when God appears in judgment.

### 3.3.2 Heavenly Beings

Daniel reveals that there is a supernatural dimension to human activity in the world. From a human perspective, God’s holy ones struggle against the persecution of ungodly nations. Daniel’s apocalyptic discourse, however, discloses a realm in which powers invisible to the human eye are at work. The human beings in Daniel inhabit a world in which spiritual powers, and not just people, are involved in a struggle between two contrasting sides of good and evil. When God’s people suffer, angels appear as God’s agents to deliver them in both the tales (chs. 1–6) and the visions (chs. 7–12). For example, an angel delivers the men from the fiery furnace (3:25, 28), and another delivers Daniel from the mouths of the lions (6:22). Later (chs. 7–12), angels appear

both to interpret Daniel's visions<sup>57</sup> and to act as God's agents of deliverance within those visions (12:1–3).

Daniel's third vision most clearly exhibits the struggle between two contrasting sides with an earthly and heavenly counterpart (chs. 10–12). This vision begins with a long introduction in which an angel, presumably Gabriel, describes his and the angel Michael's involvement in a heavenly struggle (10:2–11:1). Gabriel describes their struggle against the princes of the kingdoms of Persia and Greece (10:13–14, 20–21), revealing that heavenly powers are at work and at war behind the human conflict. The angel continues with a description of the Hellenistic wars from an earthly perspective, through the reign of Antiochus IV and his profanation of the temple and persecution of God's people (ch. 11). Ultimately, the king "shall come to his end, with no one to help him" (11:45). Daniel 11:36–45, which describes the pretention and impudence of the king, may be interpreted eschatologically such that Antiochus is a prototype of the audacious human king or kingdom that defies God in every era, until God finally intervenes to judge.<sup>58</sup> At that time, Michael arises to deliver the righteous (12:1–3). The explanation of Michael's involvement in the heavenly struggle behind the earthly wars suggests that Michael also has been responsible for the downfall of the final evil king, on behalf of God's people. The long introduction with its description of the heavenly battle sets the scene for these wars by suggesting that their outcome does not depend on human power, but on supernatural power.

A heavenly being also appears in Daniel's first vision (ch. 7). When the "little horn" that arises from the fourth beast begins to speak arrogantly, Daniel sees the Ancient of Days appear at the appointed time to sit on his throne in judgment. When the Ancient of Days sits on the throne, the court sits in judgment; the books are open and the scene moves straight to the destruction of the fourth beast, or the fourth kingdom (7:9–11). The destruction of this kingdom also means the de-

57 The angel Gabriel appears to take this role, revealing the divine mysteries that Daniel has seen. Daniel approaches "one of the attendants" to ask for an interpretation of his first vision (7:15), and Gabriel is named as the interpreting angel in his second vision (8:15). In ch. 9, Daniel mentions "the man Gabriel, whom I had seen before in a vision" (9:21). The third vision does not explicitly name Gabriel as the interpreting angel (10:5). The appearance of Gabriel in 8:15 and 9:21 and the parallel nature of the visions leads to the supposition that Gabriel is the interpreting angel in all three. See also J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 373.

58 See Baldwin, *Daniel*, 199–201.

struction of the arrogant “little horn” that had emerged from it. Judgment of the oppressor now makes way for deliverance of the holy ones who had been oppressed. Daniel’s apocalyptic discourse reveals that in contrast to the beasts that have emerged from the sea as transitory kingdoms, “one like a son of man” comes with the clouds to receive an everlasting kingdom and the service of all other nations (vv. 13–14).<sup>59</sup> In the interpretation of Daniel’s vision, the people of the holy ones of the Most High are those who receive the everlasting kingdom and the service of all other nations after the court sits in judgment and destroys the last human kingdom (vv. 26–27). This interpretation indicates a connection between the one like a son of man and the holy ones of the Most High.<sup>60</sup> That is, the one like a son of man appears to be a symbolic figure that represents the holy ones in their triumph over their oppressors.<sup>61</sup> Just as this figure receives an everlasting king-

59 Elsewhere in the OT, the sea is a place opposed to God, as in Ps 74:13–15; Isa 17:12–14; 51:9–10; Jer 46:7–8. The coming of the “one like a son of man” with the clouds of heaven indicates emergence from a divine locale, portraying a stark contrast.

60 I take the phrase “holy ones” in 7:18 to refer to human beings, and “holy ones of the Most High” in 7:27 to be exegetical, referring to persecuted Jews. In contrast, J. J. Collins argues that “holy ones” in 7:18, 22, 25, 27 refers to angels, on the basis of the frequent use of the term in the OT and Qumran literature to refer to angels. J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 312–18. In this case, the vision of 7:15–28 would describe a heavenly battle scene, in which God pronounces judgment against angelic offenders. The context of Daniel 7, however, most naturally refers to the earthly conflict between Antiochus IV and faithful Jews. Those who hold that “holy ones” refers to human beings, not angels, include Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*, 89–102; Maurice Casey, *Son of Man: The Interpretation and Influence of Daniel 7* (London: SPCK, 1979), 40–48; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 146; Lucas, *Daniel*, 162–3, 191–4.

61 My view follows the line of interpretation that understands the “one like a son of man” as a representative figure for the holy ones, or righteous Jews (7:18, 27). Another line of interpretation takes the “one like a son of man” to be an angel who is the leader of the heavenly hosts who are the “holy ones of the Most High” (7:27). Those who hold this interpretation argue that elsewhere in Daniel angels have the appearance and the voice of human beings (3:25; 8:15; 9:21; 10:5; 12:5–7), and that the parallelism with the third vision suggests that the “one like a son of man” is Michael (12:1–3). Scholars who hold this view include J. J. Collins, *Daniel*, 304–10; and Christopher C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven: A Study of Apocalyptic in Judaism and Early Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1982), 178–89. I take the phrase “holy ones” to refer to human beings rather than angels (see above footnote), and the “one like a son of man” as representative for this group. I view the point of the text as a

dom, so also the holy ones will receive it, but only after they have experienced a time of persecution and suffering (7:21, 25). The heavenly arrival of the one like a son of man emphasizes the power of God exercised through God's creatures, the people of Israel. The vision of the one like a son of man gives this persecuted community eyes to see their true status and their imminent future. All told, the revelation of the activity of heavenly beings discloses that warfare on earth corresponds to warfare in heaven, and that God's agents act on the side of God's people for ultimate deliverance.

### 3.3.3 Judgment

According to Daniel's view of history, oppressive human powers continue to dominate the righteous until God appears in judgment. Until that time, the righteous are unable to deliver themselves from oppression but must trust in the God who saves them. The expectation of final judgment is a key *topos* in Daniel, because at that time God punishes oppressors and delivers the holy ones.

The tales in the first half of the book introduce the idea that only divine intervention can deliver the righteous from an oppressive king's power. In each tale, Daniel and his friends respond to a situation of persecution by remaining obedient to the law. They receive a death sentence and are powerless to save themselves. Because of their faithfulness God intervenes to save them from execution by revealing the king's dream and its interpretation,<sup>62</sup> and from the fiery furnace and the lions' jaws by sending a delivering angel (chs. 2, 3, 6).

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contrast between the beasts and the "one like a son of man," and also a contrast between the establishment of two very different kinds of kingdoms, one kind set up by those who thwart God and one kind set up by God for God's people (the pinnacle of God's creation, cf. Ps 8). Furthermore, the "one like a son of man" possesses characteristics that Michael and the other angels do not. Unlike the angels, this figure receives "dominion, glory and kingship, that all peoples, nations, and languages should serve him" (7:14), and his kingdom and kingship are everlasting. Scholars who view the "one like a son of man" as either a symbolic or representative figure include Baldwin, *Daniel*, 148–54; Casey, *Son of Man*, 24–7; Goldingay, *Daniel*, 169–172; Hartman and Di Lella, *Daniel*; Lucas, *Daniel*, 185–7.

62 Daniel praises God saying, "Blessed be the name of God from age to age, for wisdom and power are his....To you, O God of my ancestors, I give thanks and praise, for you have given me wisdom and power, and have now revealed to me

The visions (chs. 7, 8, 10–12) depict a larger community of faith experiencing persecution right up until God delivers them. In Daniel's first vision he sees the "Little Horn," the king who arises from the fourth beast, make war with the holy ones (7:21) and wear them out (v. 25) right up until the time that the Ancient One appears. In his third vision, Daniel sees the wise fall by the sword and flame until the time of the end (11:33–35). At the height of the persecution of the righteous, when the arrogant king seems most powerful, God appears in judgment to destroy the oppressor and deliver the righteous.

The first vision portrays the decisiveness of God's judgment. Daniel watches the Little Horn speaking arrogantly, when his gaze lifts to the establishment of heavenly thrones and God's appearance in judgment, but he is soon distracted by the noise of the Little Horn's arrogant words again (7:8–11; cf. 8:25; 11:36–39). The Little Horn's noisy display both before and after the Ancient One's appearance in judgment is ironic. Immediately, the Little Horn's kingdom is destroyed, as if while he is still speaking (7:11). Evil human powers may appear invincible, but their display of power only amounts to conceit because God has appointed the time of their end. The book of Daniel provides wisdom for interpreting the present experience of persecution, by giving assurance that God will finally triumph over the forces of evil so that Jews can remain faithful in crisis.<sup>63</sup>

The hope of the holy ones comes to fruition in the final chapter of the book. Daniel reveals that the people of Israel have a heavenly protector, the angel Michael, or "the great prince," who will arise to deliver them from the invasion of the final evil king (12:1–3; cf. 11:45). He has communicated that God will destroy all human kingdoms so that the elect may receive an everlasting kingdom (2:44; 7:14). Now Daniel has a vision that shifts from the earthly realm to the heavenly realm, indicating that the scope of this deliverance transcends the physical world. Those who sleep will awake and the wise – those who had given up their lives (11:33–35) – will shine like stars in the sky forever (12:2–3). The deliverance of the righteous happens at the resurrection of the dead when the wise experience some measure of everlasting life and their wicked counterparts experience everlasting shame (12:1–3). The vision of this future hope provides an imaginative basis for a

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what we have asked of you, for you have revealed to us what the king ordered" (Dan 2:20, 23, NRSV, my emphasis).

63 See also J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 114.

non-violent response to persecution when there is no other solution for it in the present. The righteous must continue to persevere and, if necessary, give up their lives; but the wisdom they have through these revelations allows them to understand the goal of their present experience.<sup>64</sup>

### 3.4 Applying the Template

Having discussed how three *topoi* of persecution, heavenly beings, and judgment function in the context of Daniel, I now take each *topos* and discuss it in the contexts of *1 Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 1QM, and 11QMelch, and the *Testament of Solomon*. This approach allows me to compare these compositions in order to illuminate both their shared symbolic world and the distinctive aims of their apocalyptic discourse. From the starting point of these three overarching *topoi*, I discuss other *topoi* inductively, as they appear in each respective composition. For instance, the binding of evil spirits does not appear in Daniel, but it does appear as a significant element of the activity of heavenly beings and of judgment in other compositions.

#### 3.4.1 Persecution

While Daniel addresses the persecution of the righteous by ungodly people and nations in a political context, the compositions I consider below emphasize various forms of persecution or victimization. God's people variously experience war, violence, injustice, oppression, temptation, and sin. Whatever the emphasis in the respective compositions, they share the perspective that the current state of the world is awry because the righteous are victimized. Each composition has a rhetorical aim in that it offers a perspective on how the righteous should live and hope in the face of different forms of oppression.

##### 3.4.1.1 *1 Enoch*

*1 Enoch* describes various ways that human beings have perpetrated violence, injustice and oppression against the righteous. The Animal Vision in the Book of Dreams displays human violence in its recital of his-

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64 See also J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 111.



tory (chs. 85–90). Cain murders Abel (85:4), setting in motion the violence that brings about the judgment at the flood (ch. 89).<sup>65</sup> After the flood, the Gentiles begin to terrorize Israel (89:10–27). The narrative continues to tell Israel’s history of being deceived, going astray, and suffering oppression and violence by Gentile enemies. The Similitudes condemns kings, governors and landowners (“the mighty”) for misusing their power and wealth to oppress people (46:4–8). Enoch hears the righteous pray for God to execute judgment on their behalf, and sees their blood ascending into heaven to God’s throne (47:1–4). The three-fold repetition of “the blood of the righteous” at the beginning, middle and end of the section (47:1, 2, 4) highlights the violence involved in their oppression. The Epistle of Enoch focuses on social violence, and pronounces a series of woes upon sinners for persecuting the righteous, condemning them for hoarding bread, water, and wine, and using their money to exploit the weak (96:4–8).

Though human beings are responsible for sin, deception, injustice, and violence, *1 Enoch* also envisions them as the victims of heavenly beings who have rebelled against God.<sup>66</sup> It opens with the story of how the Watchers have been responsible for the moral and physical defilement of the earth and its people, by leaving their proper place in heaven both to impregnate women who have given birth to giants that terrorize and oppress people (7:2–6; 9:6, 9), and to teach people improper knowledge that leads to sin (8:1–4; 9:6). The Book of Dreams repeats the story of the Watchers in its recital of history, portraying the heavenly rebels as fallen stars whose offspring terrorize people until the earth cries out (86:1–87:1). The Similitudes also appears to draw on the tradition of the Watchers, indicating a demonic source for the violence and oppression that kings and strong ones perpetrate against the righteous. According to the Book of the Watchers, Azaz’el is the leader of the fallen angels who teaches the art of war, among other improper secrets (8:1). The Similitudes names the kings and the strong ones of the earth “the armies of Azazel” and “messengers of Satan” (54:5, 6), indicating that this heavenly rebel has led the human oppressors in their of-

65 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 47.

66 An ontological dualism between heavenly beings and human beings shapes the conception of persecution in *1 Enoch*. The tradition in the story of the Watchers makes a distinction between flesh and spirit, and the Watchers violate this distinction in their rebellion. As a result of this violation of the spirit and flesh distinction, human beings learn improper heavenly secrets and suffer from the offspring of forbidden sexual unions. See Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 40–41.

fending actions. Because of this correspondence in criminality, the human offenders receive the same punishment as their heavenly instigators (10:14; 90:26–27).<sup>67</sup> Both human beings and heavenly beings persecute the righteous through such means as deception, violence, injustice, and economic exploitation.

#### 3.4.1.2 *Jubilees*

*Jubilees* addresses the harsh realities of sin, injustice, and disease on the earth both before and after the flood. The writer reveals that these calamities are due to the activity of evil spirits and their leader, who victimize human beings by ensnaring them in sin and by causing all kinds of evil on the earth. Evil angels that descend to the earth and impregnate women bring about the human injustice and corruption that results in the judgment of the flood (*Jub.* 5:1–2). After the flood, demons lead Noah’s descendants astray and seek to destroy them (10:1–3). Noah prays that God would bind all the demons until the day of judgment in order to keep them from having power over the righteous (v. 6). The leader of the demons, here called Mastema, asks God to leave one tenth of the demons under his authority to continue to corrupt and lead people astray until the day of his judgment (vv. 7–14). God grants this request and sends one of the angels of the presence to teach Noah healing arts (v. 10), indicating that the evil spirits not only cause sin and injustice, but also all kinds of diseases.<sup>68</sup> Throughout the rest of the composition, evil spirits compel people to sin and lead them to their own destruction (11:1–6; 16:31). The righteous – Moses, Noah, and Abraham – pray that God would save them and their descendants from the influence of evil spirits that seek to rule over peoples’ hearts and keep them from following God (1:20–21; 10:1–6; 12:20; 20:28). The writer of *Jubilees* communicates that human beings are the victims of evil spirits who seek to harm the righteous in body, mind and spirit.

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67 In the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Dreams, the heavenly offenders are bound with chains and cast into an abyss while the human offenders are set against one another to annihilate each other in a human battle. The judgment scene in the Similitudes collapses the judgment of the heavenly and human offenders, as the kings and strong ones are bound and thrown into an abyss.

68 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 128.

3.4.1.3 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

Apart from human beings' narrative role in the Joseph story, particularly the Levite's vengeance on Shechem (*T. Levi* 5–6), the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* does not feature them as the perpetrators of oppression and violence. Instead, demonic powers victimize human beings by drawing them into moral failure. From a human perspective, people struggle to remain upright with regard to God's law, or with regard to Greco-Roman moral standards. The composition envisions this not only as a human struggle, but also as a supernatural struggle. The archangel Beliar seeks opportunity to overpower people who fall into sin and to rule over them (*T. Reu.* 4:11; *T. Dan* 4:7; *T. Ash.* 1:8–9). Dan describes how one of Beliar's evil spirits enticed him to sin against Joseph (*T. Dan* 1:6–9) and warns his sons to guard themselves constantly against Satan and his spirits, and the efforts of these spirits to cause their downfall (6:2–6). In particular, the evil spirits are closely associated with the sins or vices that the patriarchs exhort their sons to avoid. Simeon warns his sons against envy, but also against the spirit of envy (*T. Sim.* chs. 3–4). If a person does not avoid envy, the spirit of envy takes over and destroys the whole body and mind (*T. Sim.* 4:7–9). Likewise, Dan warns his sons against anger, but also against the spirit of anger (*T. Dan* chs. 1–4). Dan depicts anger and lying as Satan's helpers to commit acts of cruelty (*T. Dan* 3:6). These evil spirits are the external powers that lay hold of a person's own disposition towards sin to hold him captive to it (*T. Reu.* 2:1–2; *T. Sim.* 3:1–3; *T. Levi* 9:9; *T. Jud.* 14:8; 16:1; *T. Dan* 1:6–9; 2:4–5; 3:6; 4:7; 6:1; *T. Ash.* 1:8–9).

Though Beliar and his spirits victimize people, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* asserts that the righteous are by no means powerless, but are able to remain free from that victimization by means of their choices. If a person does the will of God, the spirits of error, such as envy, malice, and avarice will have no power over him (*T. Iss.* 4:1–6; cf. *T. Naph.* 3:1). Asher tells his sons that God has given people a choice between two ways, two dispositions, two kinds of actions, two ways of living, and two ends (*T. Ash.* 1:3). The person who chooses the evil way will be overpowered by Beliar (*T. Ash.* 1:8–9), while the person who chooses the good way will destroy the devil with good works (3:2). Other patriarchs affirm that the devil will flee from those who persist in doing what is good, but inhabits as his instrument those who fail (*T. Naph.* 8:4–6; cf. *T. Sim.* 3:5; *T. Benj.* 3:1–5;

6:1).<sup>69</sup> The patriarchs use the example of Joseph to confirm that a person can live a virtuous life. For example, Reuben tells his sons that Joseph did not allow sexual impurity to get a hold of him, and as a result received God's protection. He concludes that if his sons likewise do not allow sexual impurity to overcome them, then neither will Beliar overcome them (*T. Reu.* 4:8–11; cf. *T. Ben.* 3:3–4). The entire *Testament of Joseph* demonstrates that Joseph is able to avoid the vices and uphold the virtues contained in the patriarchs exhortations. Those who succumb to sin succumb to demonic activity, while those who resist sin overcome it and thereby receive God's protection. Apocalyptic discourse functions to reveal the demonic powers behind human sin, so that human beings are motivated to resist the victimization of demonic powers through the avoidance of sin.

In the future, however, the patriarchs predict that their sons will ultimately fail to choose what is good and succumb to Beliar's oppression and captivity. Several of the patriarchs foresee that in the last days their descendents will not follow their teaching, but abandon God and God's commands (*T. Levi* 14; 16:1–2; *T. Jud.* 23:1–2; *T. Iss.* 6:1–2; *T. Zeb.* 9:5; *T. Dan* 5:4; *T. Naph.* 4:1; *T. Ash.* 7:2, 5; *T. Benj.* 9:1). Issachar warns his sons that in the last days their children will abandon God's commands and embrace Beliar (*T. Iss.* 6:1). Likewise, Zebulon predicts that in the last days his descendents will abandon the Lord, having been led astray in all their actions by the spirits of deceit (*T. Zeb.* 9:5–7). Because of the sin of Israel, the Lord must arise and liberate these captives from Beliar, so that they may trample down every spirit of error and have mastery over them (*T. Sim.* 6:6; *T. Levi* 18:12; *T. Zeb.* 9:8; *T. Dan* 5:10–11). The Lord will free Israel from captivity to Beliar and his evil spirits so that they may no longer be led astray in their beliefs and actions. The victimization is moral and ethical, rather than political as in Daniel, and so is the deliverance.

#### 3.4.1.4 *War Scroll* (1QM)

1QM addresses the persecution of the righteous community indirectly. The Sons of Light are those who have been exiled into the wilderness, namely the Qumran community that has separated itself from the Jeru-

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69 For example, the temperate wine drinker is in no moral danger; but the one who is intemperate gives an opening to the spirit of error (*T. Jud.* 14:8). Practicing sexual promiscuity leads a person to Beliar (*T. Reu.* 4:7; *T. Sim.* 5:3) while refraining from it keeps a person from Beliar's power (*T. Reu.* 4:11).

salem establishment (1QM 1:2).<sup>70</sup> Opposed to them are biblical Israel's traditional enemies, the Kittim, or foreign nations, and those who have violated the covenant, against whom they will make an attack (cf. Dan 11:32). The prayers for battle express how the Sons of Light see themselves in relation to their enemies. The first prayer (1QM 10:1–11:12) invokes God's intervention in the present war on the basis of God's past assistance. The prayer describes how God helped David defeat Goliath, and helped Israel defeat the Philistines. In both cases, the weak defeated the strong. In the same way, the prayer invokes God to help the weak defeat the strong in the present war, by delivering the mighty men of the arrogant nations into the hands of the oppressed (11:8–9; cf. 13–14). Another prayer envisions all the unbelieving nations that had oppressed the righteous bowing down to them instead (12:14).

Just as in the compositions I have examined above, 1QM imagines that human beings are victimized by a host of evil spirits. The archangel Belial has an army of evil spirits under his command, and rules over the present time, until a day appointed for his destruction (14:9).<sup>71</sup> Belial and his minions victimize the Sons of Darkness – the enemies of the Sons of Light – by destroying and convicting them (1QM 13:10–11; 12:2–5). These evil hordes also seek to lead astray the Sons of Light from following the covenant, in order to bring them into the dominion of darkness (14:9–10). The writer of 1QM gives the reader eyes to see human struggles as a spiritual battle.

#### 3.4.1.5 *Melchizedek* (11QMelch)

11QMelch presupposes that the righteous are oppressed by Belial and his spirits, and imagines the solution to that oppression in the form of eschatological judgment. Like 1QM, 11QMelch sees the present time as the time of Belial's rule, when Belial and his spirits victimize

70 See Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 38, 257.

71 The Community Rule envisions the present as the time of Belial's rule. Membership in the *Yahad* gives initiates knowledge and strength so that they can keep God's commands and not backslide due to fear and persecution during this time of Belial's rule (1QS 1:11–12). During the initiation of new members, the priests recite God's gracious acts for Israel, and the Levites recite all Israel's sins during Belial's rule (21–22; cf. 4Q256, 2.12). Throughout the days of Belial's rule, all the people are to pass through an annual review to confirm their holy standing in the community (1QS 2:19–26). Furthermore, 4Q510–511 and 11QApPs<sup>a</sup> (11Q11) contain incantations for God to destroy the demons because of their efforts to lead the righteous astray.

human beings by seeking to draw them away from God's covenant and imprison them in sin (1QM 14:9; cf. 1QS 2:19; 3.21–25; CD 12:23; 15:7).<sup>72</sup> Belial and his spirits have held captive the Sons of Light, and Melchizedek will appear to carry out God's vengeance against them (11QMelch 2:15). The destruction of Belial and his forces results in the liberation of the captives (2:6, 13, 25).

In addition, 11QMelch presupposes that the righteous are oppressed by the nations and by those who perpetrate evil and injustice. The quotation and interpretation of Ps 82:2 (11QMelch 2:11–12) indicates that Belial and his spirits stand behind this oppression. The writer quotes Ps 82:2 to affirm the coming judgment of God through the divine agent Melchizedek, "How long will you judge unjustly, and be partial to the wicked," suggesting that God has allowed the wicked to flourish and triumph during the present time. The writer follows with, "the interpretation of it concerns Belial and the spirits of his lot wh[o], in [the] ir tur[ning] away from God's commandments to [commit evil]" (11QMelch 2:11–12). The use of the Psalm in this text suggests that the wicked have prospered against the righteous for a time, and that Belial and his spirits are the heavenly powers behind the earthly oppressors of the righteous.<sup>73</sup> The solution to this victimization is that Melchizedek will appear in the last days to make atonement for the peoples' sins and free them from the hand of Belial. This day of freedom is the day of salvation for the people of God, when they will experience justice, peace and comfort (2:14–25).<sup>74</sup>

#### 3.4.1.6 *Testament of Solomon*

Similar to *Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, demons take center stage throughout the *Testament of Solomon*. The composition begins with the evil activity of the demon Orniās, who victimizes a little

72 See also Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 62–3.

73 See also Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 17–18; 62–63; van der Woude, "Melchizedek," 365.

74 For 11QMelch 2.15, Kobelski suggests the reading, "This is the day of [salvation]," while in their translation, Martinez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude suggest, "This is the day of [peace]. Both are picking up on language from Isa 52:7 quoted in v. 16, which speaks of the messenger who announces peace and salvation. Kobelski argues for the restoration of the word "salvation" on linguistic and thematic grounds. For example, the concern of the entire piece is with the liberation of captives from Belial's rule, making this the time of salvation. Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 20.

boy who inspires the artisans working on the temple (1:1–4). Solomon prays that God would give him authority over the demon, and God grants his request. With the help of a magic ring, Solomon binds the demon Ornias and gains control over him by learning his name and his work (1:5–7; 2:1–4). He demands that Ornias bring him Beelzebul, the Prince of demons (2:9). When Beelzebul appears, Solomon commands him to explain the work of all the unclean spirits, and Beelzebul promises to bring them to Solomon so that he can likewise ascertain their names and their work (3:6). Through Solomon’s inquisition of the demons, the reader learns about the source of countless forms of suffering on the earth (chs. 1–18).

The *Testament of Solomon* reveals that demons that are responsible for inciting violence and inflicting pain upon human beings and causing natural disasters. Particular demons aim to kill and murder (*T. Sol.* 4:5; 9:1–2; 17:1–3). Others cause all kinds of illness and disease, including headaches, sore throats, tumors, paralysis, colic, fever, gas, and insomnia (11:2; 12:2; 13:3–4; 18:5–11, 13–14, 17–21, 23–37). Like *Jubilees*, the *Testament of Solomon* draws a correlation between demonic influence and disease.<sup>75</sup> In addition, various demons make it their aim to destroy love, marriage and the well-being of households through dissention and coldness of heart (5:7; 7:5; 18:15, 22, 38). Beelzebul entices people to worship demons, stimulates desire in holy men and priests, and the demon Belbel perverts peoples’ hearts and minds (6:4; 18:12). Demons create factions and enemies, raise and depose tyrants, and cause violence and war (6:4; 8:5–11; 18:16). Some demons stimulate sexual perversion (2:3; 14:4), while others cause shipwrecks and seasickness (16:1–5). From a human perspective, people suffer various ills because of their human opponents, their weak desires and their weak bodies. The *Testament of Solomon* reveals a heavenly perspective, that demons victimize human beings and are truly responsible for their problems.

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75 Craig Evans notes the close association between demonic activity and illness in late antiquity that is evident in compositions such as the *Testament of Solomon*, and also in the Gospels. C. Evans, “Jesus’ Exorcisms and Proclamation of the Kingdom of God in Light of the Testaments,” in *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and Other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity* (ed. I. H. Henderson and G. S. Oegema; Gütersloh: Gütersloher, 2006), 213.



## 3.4.2 Heavenly Beings

Throughout these compositions the righteous struggle against Gentile nations, corrupt landowners, wealthy neighbors, disease, and their own sinful tendencies. As I have observed, apocalyptic discourse reveals that these struggles are not simply against people, but against an array of malevolent spirits. In fact, these compositions envision a supernatural struggle between evil spirits and God's holy angels that correlates to human struggles.

3.4.2.1 *1 Enoch*

*1 Enoch* exhibits a dualism between the fallen angels who rebel against God and the holy angels who obey.<sup>76</sup> When people cry out for justice against the rebel angels and their offspring (8:4; 9:3, 10), four holy angels intercede to God on their behalf and then enact God's punishment. God commissions these holy ones who have retained their proper function in the heavenly court to execute judgment upon those who have not.<sup>77</sup> Raphael is to imprison Azaz'el, the leader of the Watchers who had taught improper secrets that led to human deception and sin (10:4–8; cf. 8:1–4; 10:9–10; cf. 7:2–5). Michael is to imprison Semyaza for leading the Watchers to descend and impregnate human women,<sup>78</sup> to destroy the giants, and ultimately to cleanse the earth from its impurity so that the righteous may live there (10:11–11:2). Like Raphael, Michael will bind the fallen angels until the judgment day, when he will throw them into a fiery abyss. Enoch's heavenly journeys (chs. 17–36) display the cosmic setting of the judgment pronounced against the Watchers in ch. 10, and thereby add to its force.<sup>79</sup> Throughout these journeys, Enoch sees God punish fallen stars for their failure to function according to their nature, by binding them until the time of final judgment, when they are cast into an eternal

76 Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 37–41.

77 Judgment is not the only role of the holy angels. For their various roles, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch*, 43–45.

78 God gives Semyaza power to rule over the other angels (9:7). Azaz'el is also depicted as chief of these angels (e.g., 10:8). In his commentary on *1 Enoch*, Nickelsburg attributes this discrepancy to at least three versions of the myth of the descent of the Watchers (194–6). The angels are judged for teaching oppression by revealing improper heavenly secrets, and for revealing every kind of sin to people by impregnating the women (9:6–9; chs. 15–16).

79 See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 278.

prison house (17:16; 21:1–3, 6; 22:11). This judgment and act of binding corresponds to God's commission of the holy ones to bind the Watchers in ch. 10. *1 Enoch* reveals a world of heavenly beings in which fallen angels are responsible for the suffering of the righteous and in which holy angels are at work to rectify their circumstances.

The Son of Man, also called the Righteous One, Chosen One, and Elect One, appears in the Similitudes as a heavenly being that surpasses the rest of the heavenly host in function.<sup>80</sup> Unlike the four holy ones, the Son of Man himself sits on the throne of God's glory to execute judgment (61:8; 63:5).<sup>81</sup> The second parable introduces a heavenly being with the appearance of a man and the expression of an angel accompanying the "Head of Days" (46:1). Enoch's interpreting angel identifies this figure as the Son of Man, whom God has chosen to triumph eternally in righteousness (v. 3).<sup>82</sup> He will reveal what is hidden (v. 3), and remove kings and mighty ones from their powerful positions (vv. 4–6). Though the Son of Man remains concealed to the world, Enoch's vision reveals his existence to the elect (vv. 6–7). The Son of Man, then, reveals wisdom about his future salvation in order to reinforce the elects' opposition to the sins of this present time (48:6–10). In Enoch's third parable, he sees the Son of Man finally manifested publicly, in all his glory, to kings, governors, rulers and landowners who have oppressed the elect (62:1–7). The oppressors will panic at this manifestation (vv. 3–5), and beg the Son of Man for mercy in vain (v. 9, 11). He will deliver them over to punishing angels, who will take vengeance upon them (v. 11). On the other hand, because the Son of Man has revealed wisdom to the elect, they will stand firm before him (vv. 7–8; cf. 48:6). When their oppressors are removed, the elect will eat, rest and rise with the Son of Man forever (v. 15). Up

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80 This figure is an amalgam of Daniel's son of man figure (Dan 7), the Davidic king (Isa 11; Ps 2) and Isaiah's Servant of the Lord (Isa 42; 52–53). The judgment in Dan 7 removes the power of oppressive kings and attributes divine prerogatives to the one like a son of man (glory, power, worship). Ps 2 and Isa 11 feature the "royal function of judgment." The Servant of the Lord is God's chosen agent of justice on behalf of the weak (Isa 42), and "will be exalted in the presence of kings and rulers" (Isa 52). See Nickelsburg's discussion of these traditions in, "Son of Man," *ABD* 6: 138.

81 Elsewhere in *1 Enoch*, God sits on a throne (14:18–25; 18:8; 24:3; 25:3; 84:2–3; 90:20).

82 This is the same figure as the "Righteous One" of 38:3 and "Elect One" of 40:5. See also J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 184.

until now, the reality of their glory has been concealed by the victimization of their oppressors. The revelation of the glory of this Elect One (vv. 1–3) coincides with the revelation of the glory of the elect ones (v. 15b). The Son of Man functions as the heavenly defender of the human community of the elect, sharing in their concealment and in their future revelation. The Son of Man does not share, however, in the community's suffering.<sup>83</sup> The Son of Man holds a distinct and higher place than the rest of the angelic host who are set over various human concerns, acting as the community's representative (40:9–10).<sup>84</sup> Also, the Son of Man plays a different role in the Similitudes than the "one like a son of man" does in Daniel, acting as the community's deliverer.

#### 3.4.2.2 *Jubilees*

*Jubilees* imagines a world of angels and evil spirits at work behind all human activity. The angels are agents of God, while the evil spirits and demons are the agents of their leader, variously called Mastema, Belial, or Satan, who seeks to lead people astray from God's commands and hold them captive to sin. Yet, the opposition between God and God's agents on the one hand, and Mastema and his agents on the other is not equal. God, the "God of the spirits" (*Jub.* 10:3), is sovereign over all heavenly beings in *Jubilees* because God is Creator of all. Abraham pleads that God would save him from evil spirits on the basis that God has created everything, and so has the power to stay their hand (12:19–20).

On the first day of creation, God creates the angels, including the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification, along with the angels that oversee various parts of the created world (*Jub.* 2:2). Throughout *Jubilees*, these angels serve God in various ways on behalf of Israel. Angels assist God in creating and ministering to human beings (3:1, 4–5, 12, 15), and inform God what sins happen in heaven and on earth (4:6). As in *1 Enoch*, God commissions the holy angels to bind evil angels or spirits when they perpetrate corruption and injustice among

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83 John Collins comments, "the fact that he is preserved from their sufferings makes him a figure of pure power and glory and an ideal embodiment of the hopes of the persecuted righteous. The efficaciousness of the 'Son of Man' figure requires that he be conceived as other than the community, since he must possess the power and exaltation which they lack." J. J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 187.

84 See, e.g., 40:4–10, where the Elect One is named distinctly apart from the four archangels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel.

people in order to restrain their power. When fallen angels take human wives and cause sin and injustice on the earth, God commands holy angels to bind them in order to remove them from their dominion (5:6). When demons begin to corrupt and destroy Noah's descendents after the flood, God sends angels to bind these demons so that they will not have power over Noah's sons (10:7, 10–14). When Mastema attempts to thwart God's plan to use Moses as an agent of judgment against the Egyptians, angels variously bind and release Mastema and his spirits so that the Israelites can escape with the Egyptian army close behind according to God's will (48:15–19). In addition, angels bind Mastema and his spirits in order to remove their power over human beings, and to lock them up for future judgment.

Mastema acknowledges God's authority over him on the basis of creation. This leader of the evil spirits addresses God with the invocation, "O Lord, Creator" (*Jub.* 10:7–14) when he approaches to ask God's permission to continue to exercise power over people through one tenth of his demons after the flood. These spirits under Mastema's power do his will by leading people into sin, injustice and corruption (1:20; 5:1–2; 7:20–33; 10:1–5; 11:1–6; 12:20), by killing people (10:2, 5; 49:2; 11:5), and causing diseases (10:12–13).<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, Mastema knows that any power God grants him is limited because his judgment is imminent (10:8). God limits both the extent and the time of Mastema's power. God's sovereignty over Mastema is apparent also in the interpretation of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, where Mastema asks God to test Abraham by commanding him to offer up his son Isaac. God grants this request, and then appoints an angel of the presence to protect Abraham against Mastema's evil intentions. Mastema is shamed when Abraham passes the test (17:15–18:12). Mastema exercises authority over the evil spirits in order to corrupt and destroy human beings, but he is not an autonomous power. Although the righteous are victimized by evil spirits, *Jubilees* gives the assurance that God is sovereign over all demonic activity and sends divine troops for protection.

### 3.4.2.3 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

Similar to *Jubilees*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* presents God as the sovereign ruler over an array of angelic powers. Levi opens his testament with a vision of God seated in the highest of seven heavens (*T.*

85 For a similar list, see VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 131.

*Levi* 3:4). This vision shows the arrangement of these seven heavens and the tasks of the heavenly hosts who dwell there as they wait for the judgment God has appointed for a sinful world (2:3–4; 3:2). The first three heavens concern the sins and punishment of human beings, evil spirits, and Beliar (vv. 1b–3c). God has commissioned heavenly beings to execute vengeance on Beliar and the spirits of deceit. This judgment appears as a heavenly battle with God’s army of angels executing vengeance on Beliar and his spirits. The interpreting angel calls the fourth through the seventh heavens “holy” (3:b) because God dwells in the seventh, and angels who serve God and minister to the righteous inhabit the fourth through sixth. Angels in the sixth heaven offer sacrifices for the sins of the righteous (vv. 5–6); angels in the fifth heaven bring the deeds and prayers of people before God (v. 7); and angels in the fourth heaven praise and worship God (v. 8). Although the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* as a whole does not portray a consistent system of the heavenly world,<sup>86</sup> the angelic activity throughout the composition reflects the general categories of the heavenly vision in *T. Levi* 3, that is, God deploys angels to fight and punish Beliar and his spirits, as well as to guide and protect the righteous.

Throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, God leads the array of holy angels primarily in the struggle against Beliar and his army of evil spirits.<sup>87</sup> The rhetorical purpose of ethical exhortation provides the necessary context for understanding this struggle. The patriarchs urge their sons to choose between God and Beliar (e.g., *T. Levi* 19:1; *T. Naph.* 2:6, 10; cf. *T. Ben.* 5:3; 6:7). Choosing God means obeying the law and heeding the patriarch’s instruction to avoid sin. Beliar’s main aim is to lead people astray and bring them under his rule by conquering those who turn away from good and to embrace an evil disposition (*T. Reu.* 4:11; *T. Dan* 4:7; *T. Ash.* 1:8–9; cf. *T. Benj.* 3:3; 6:1). To accomplish this aim, Beliar employs spirits of deceit, just as God employs holy angels (e.g., *T. Dan.* 1:6–9). The evil spirits have various characteristics throughout the *Testaments*, appearing as one or more personified sins or vices.<sup>88</sup> The sins that the evil spirits personify

86 See Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 48.

87 Beliar appears 29 times throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and is also called Satan in *T. Gad* 4:7; *T. Ash.* 6:4; *T. Dan* 3:6; 5:6; 6:1, and the devil in *T. Naph.* 3:1; 8:4, 6; *T. Ash.* 3:2.

88 Hollander and de Jonge comment about the evil spirits in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, “No attempts at systemization are made.” (50).

are equivalent to Hellenistic vices, cohering the ethical instruction of the patriarchs and Greco-Roman moral standards.<sup>89</sup> Judah warns that four evil spirits – those of desire, heated passion, debauchery, and greed – may result from drinking wine (*T. Jud.* 16:1). Reuben explains that the seven spirits of deceit are established against human beings to lead them into sin (*T. Reu.* 2:1–2; 3:2).<sup>90</sup> Elsewhere, individual spirits correspond to specific sins.<sup>91</sup> Evil spirits appear to be Beliar’s agents that overpower human beings, offering a theology for the human struggle against sins and vices by revealing external, demonic influences. The exhortations that run throughout the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* also stress the internal, individual struggle to choose God so that the evil spirits will flee (*T. Sim.* 3:5; *T. Iss.* 7:7; *T. Dan.* 5:1; *T. Naph.* 8:4; *T. Ben.* 5:2).

God employs angels in various ways to protect those who choose God. Through angels, God delivers the righteous from death (*T. Sim.* 2:8; *T. Reub.* 4:10; *T. Gad* 2:5; *T. Jos.* 1:7; 4:3, 8; 6:7; 10:3).<sup>92</sup> God sends angels to instruct people about righteous living and to help them remember the law so that they might not sin (*T. Reub.* 3:15; 5:3; *T. Levi* 9:6; *T. Jud.* 15:5). Angels intercede for Israel and accompany individuals and tribes to protect them in battle (*T. Levi* 5:6–7; *T. Jud.* 3:10; *T. Dan* 5:4). In particular, angels act on behalf of both Israel and individuals against the kingdom of Beliar. An angel who appears to Levi intercedes for Israel so that evil spirits might not conquer them (*T. Levi* 5:3–6). Dan warns his sons against Satan and his spirits, and tells them to draw near to God and “to the angel who intercedes for you” (6:2). This angel is “the mediator between God and men for the peace of Israel” and “shall stand in opposition to the kingdom of the

89 Kugler, *Testaments*, 12, 17–18, 86. See also Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 42–44.

90 The enumeration of the seven spirits here echoes the Stoic idea of the seven-fold division of the soul. Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 50; Kugler, *Testaments*, 42.

91 For example, Simeon warns his children against the spirits of deceit, jealousy, and envy (*T. Sim.* 3:1, 7), and Judah warns against the spirit of sexual impurity, or πορνεία (*T. Jud.* 14:2). Dan tells his sons that Beliar’s spirits of jealousy and anger tried to persuade him to kill Joseph, and only God’s protection of Joseph prevented him from carrying out the murder (*T. Dan* 1:6–9).

92 Not all the passages cited explicitly refer to an angel or messenger from God. Hollander and de Jonge discuss the stereotyped phrase “to deliver out of someone’s hands” as referring to angelic deliverance in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 101, 113.

enemy” (v. 2). The “angel of peace” strengthens Israel against Beliar’s kingdom (v. 5; cf. *T. Ash.* 6:1–6). Angels intercede for the righteous, strengthening them against demonic influence. By linking the struggle between the spirits of Beliar and the angels of God with the course of peoples’ minds and actions, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* imagines the human struggle to keep the law/follow ethical instruction as a cosmic battle.

#### 3.4.2.4 *War Scroll* (1QM)

1QM envisions a conflict between light and darkness in which angelic powers are allied with human beings. Similar to *Jubilees*, God is sovereign over these angelic powers, and has appointed them to particular tasks until the day fixed for the destruction of darkness (1QM 13:10–11). On the one hand, God has commissioned the Prince of Light, or Michael, to assist the people assigned to the Sons of Light (13:9) as they struggle against the forces of darkness.<sup>93</sup> All the other angels are under the rule of this archangel. On the other hand, God has commissioned the archangel Belial and all the spirits under his rule to destroy, condemn and convict the people who belong to the Sons of Darkness until the day appointed for their destruction (cf. 12:2–5). God also protects the righteous remnant from the efforts of Belial and his spirits to lead them astray from the covenant (14:9–10).

The struggle between light and darkness culminates in the eschatological war fought by a coalition of the head angel Michael, the holy angels, and the human beings they support on one side, and a coalition of the head angel Belial, the angels of destruction, and the human beings under their rule on the other. The opening overview of the war (col. 1) portrays the angelic involvement in the war that recurs throughout the document. It describes the attack of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, “Belial’s army,” (1 QM 1:1, 5; cf. 4:1–2; 11:8; 15:2–3; 13:3), and depicts angels fighting alongside human beings (13:9–10; cf. 12:1–5; 15:14; 17:5–8). The writer imagines a human war with a heavenly counterpart that occurs under the sovereignty of God.

93 In 1QM 17:6–7, Michael is the primary archangel God sends to support Israel against Belial’s forces, and his assistance is characterized in terms of light. Furthermore, Michael is the prince of the people of Israel in Dan 10:21; 12:1–3; *1 En.* 20:5. For a more extended argument in favor of identifying the “Prince of Light” as Michael, against the views of those who have offered other interpretations, see Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 235–6.



The correspondence of the cosmic conflict to the earthly wars is similar to Daniel's presentation. In Daniel, Michael and Gabriel struggle against the patron gods of the nations; on the other hand, in 1QM, Michael and the holy angels struggle against Belial himself and his hosts.<sup>94</sup>

The instructions for the mobilization of troops for battle portrays a human conflict with supernatural dimensions. The war begins when the Sons of Light launch an attack against the Sons of Darkness (1QM 1:1–3). Angels fight alongside the human armies, providing heavenly support (1:10–11). The inscriptions on the banners identifying the battalions are to indicate that the Sons of Light are God's agents in this war. One identifies its group as "The army of God" (4:11), in contrast to the Sons of Darkness, who are the army of Belial (1:1). When other groups draw near to the battle, they are to inscribe on their banners the phrases, "The right hand of God," "The appointed time of God" (4:7), "The power of God," "The retribution of God," and "The might of God" (4:12). These phrases envision God as the one who truly fights through them. In addition, inscriptions on the shields of certain soldiers express the presence of the archangels Michael, Sariel, Raphael, and Gabriel with the army (9:15–16).

The particular task of the holy angels is to support and protect the Sons of Light in their struggle against Belial's forces. Instructions are given for the formation of four "towers," or units of 300 soldiers each with long shields that are to surround the advancing troops on three sides and protect them against the enemy (9:10–16).<sup>95</sup> The shields of the soldiers who compose the towers are to have the names of the four archangels inscribed on them – Michael, Sariel, Raphael, and Gabriel – as a sign that the angels are present to give them heavenly protection. One of the prayers to be said in battle affirms the angelic and human coalition from a heavenly perspective. The writer envisions the chosen ones of the holy people and the hosts of angels together in God's holy dwelling place, where they receive their divine commission to go into battle and win (11:1–5). Not only does this scene depict the holy people in heaven with the angels, but also it depicts them *like*

94 For a discussion of the development of the tradition of "holy war" in Jewish apocalyptic thought, in which war between gods in heaven corresponds to war between nations on the earth, see J. J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic," *VT* 25 (1975): 597–600; Hanson, "Jewish Apocalyptic," 39–40.

95 Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 187–190; 237–40; Duhaime, *War Texts*, 17.

the angels, assembled in thousands and ten thousands.<sup>96</sup> The prayer that follows returns to an earthly perspective, and conveys the belief that the Sons of Light will triumph over their enemies because of their heavenly assistance, repeating three times that God and the company of God's holy angels is with Israel's army for eternal support (11:7–9).<sup>97</sup> The holy people are commissioned in heaven alongside the angels, and the angels fight alongside the holy people in a tightly knit collaboration. Together, the holy angels and the holy people belong to the same “lot” of light, and form a coalition against the forces of darkness.<sup>98</sup>

In particular, God will send the archangel Michael at a key moment in the battle when the Sons of Darkness are overcoming the Sons of Light. One of the prayers for the battlefield, discussed above, expresses the belief that God appointed the Prince of Light long ago to assist the Sons of Light against Belial and his forces (13:7–13a). The description of the second engagement of the war portrays this heavenly assistance (16:11–17:9). The Sons of Darkness receive assistance in battle, presumably from Belial,<sup>99</sup> and the Sons of Light experience extreme casualties “by God's mysteries” (16:11). The priests exhort the people to take courage, because this is God's appointed time to bring down the “prince of the realm of wickedness (16:5).” Against Belial and his forces, God sends the archangel Michael to assist the Sons of Light.

96 See also Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 241.

97 “And You, O God, are [ ] in the glory of Your dominion, and the company of Your holy ones is in our midst for etern[al] support. [ ] contempt at kings, derision and disdain at mighty men. For the Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us together with the holy ones. Migh[ty men] a host of angels are with our commissioned forces. The Hero of Wa[r] is with our company, and the host of His spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are [as] the clouds and as the mist covering the earth, and as a steady downpour shedding judgment on all her offspring” (12:7–9, my emphasis). Other passages also indicate the presence of angels with the human army. For example, in the rules for inclusion in the camp and participation in battle, no one ritually unclean may go into battle, “for holy angels are present with their army” (7:6).

98 Michael is the “Prince of Light” (13:10) and the people are the “Sons of Light” (1:1). See also Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 241–2.

99 The text is damaged, and reads, “When [ ] prepares himself to assist the Sons of Darkness, and the slain among the infantry begin to fall by God's mysteries...” (16:11). As the text continues, we learn that this is the day appointed “to subdue and to humiliate the prince of the realm of wickedness” (17:5), who is clearly Belial. I assume that in 16:11, the writer envisions Belial assisting the Sons of Darkness, just as Michael will come to assist the Sons of Light (17:6–7). See also Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 336.

Just as Michael rules over the angels, so they will rule over all people (17:4–9).<sup>100</sup> The company of holy angels fights alongside the Sons of Light in the struggle against the forces of darkness, but Michael has an exalted and authoritative role.

#### 3.4.2.5 *Melchizedek* (11QMelch)

11QMelch portrays Belial and Melchizedek as heavenly opponents. The confrontation between Melchizedek and Belial primarily concerns the fate of the Sons of Light. These righteous ones belong to Melchizedek's lot (11QMelch 2:8; cf. 4–5); however, Belial and the spirits of his lot rule the earth during the present time both by instigating human evil and injustice (2:11–12) and by holding the Sons of Light captive to sin and oppression (2:4, 11–13). Melchizedek is identified as *Elohim* (2:10) and is exalted among the other angels to execute God's judgment against Belial and his spirits from the midst of the divine assembly (2:7–13).<sup>101</sup> When Melchizedek appears to judge Belial and his spirits, he will supplant their rule in order to rescue the Sons of Light and return them to their rightful place. The writer of 11QMelch connects human conflict and its resolution with heavenly conflict and its resolution. In other words, human freedom from sin and oppression is won through the triumph of Melchizedek over the archangel Belial.

Some scholars consider the figure of Melchizedek to be the archangel Michael, on the basis of J. T. Milik's suggestion that the Visions of Amram (4Q544) names both Michael and Melchizedek as the angel of light,<sup>102</sup> and also on the basis of a medieval Hebrew text that identifies these two figures.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, many similarities between the two figures suggest such a correspondence. Melchizedek is a heavenly figure exalted above the rest of the angelic hosts in order to execute God's judgment from the midst of the divine court (11QMelch 2:8–13). Melchizedek is appointed to take vengeance on Belial and his spirits, and to free the Sons of Light from their captivity. Though Melchizedek is the sole agent of God's judgment, other angels serve him in this commission (2:9, 14). In addition, Melchizedek is the leader of the Sons of Light

100 Duhaime, *War Texts*, 19.

101 The text presents Melchizedek as a heavenly being. See also Woude, "Melchizedek," 364, 367–68; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 59–62.

102 Józef Tadeusz Milik, "4QVisions de Amram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97.

103 See van der Woude, "Melchisedek," 372; Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 24–36.

(2:5, 8). The archangel Michael exhibits these characteristics and roles in 1QM where God appoints him as the Prince of Light to lead the other holy angels in support of the sons of light against Belial and his forces (1QM 13:9–12; 17:6–7). Michael is also the prince of God’s people in Daniel and the agent of God’s judgment against Beliar in *1 Enoch* (Dan 12:1–3; *1 En.* 10).

In spite of these similarities, the role of Melchizedek differs from that of Michael in significant ways, particularly in 1QM. First, Melchizedek has a priestly role that is foreign to the figure of Michael, making atonement for the sons of light in the tenth Jubilee to free them from their iniquities (11QMelch 2:4–8).<sup>104</sup> Second, these figures have different roles in the execution of God’s judgment. In 1QM, God, and not Michael, is the “Hero of War” who liberates the captives (1QM 12:9–11). The Prince of Light/Michael plays a supporting role, giving assistance to the Sons of Light in battle. Neither the angels nor Michael himself triumphs over Belial and his spirits; rather, God is the one who intervenes to end the war and execute judgment (1QM 18:1–5). By contrast, Melchizedek in 11QMelch does not simply assist the Sons of Light, he himself rises up to execute judgment and liberates the captives. Perhaps a more satisfying conclusion is that the Qumran literature represents diverse, rather than homogeneous, ideas about exalted heavenly beings and their roles in the end-time conflict between the forces of darkness and light.

#### 3.4.2.6 *Testament of Solomon*

As I discussed above, the *Testament of Solomon* discloses the host of demons responsible for human suffering and catastrophes on the earth. In its conception of demonic beings, the *Testament of Solomon* combines Jewish themes and astrological phenomena. For instance, it depicts the demons as fallen angels or their children, reflecting the story of the Watchers in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* (*T. Sol.* 5:3; 6:2; 7:5; cf. Gen. 6:1–4). In addition, it portrays demonic beings as seven heavenly bodies, which are the seven vices that cause various evils in the world – Deception, Strife, Fate, Distress, Error, Power, The Worst (ch. 8). For each one, a corresponding angel renders it powerless. Also, thirty-six heavenly bodies presented in ch. 18 are called “the world rulers of

104 Kobelski speculates that the writer substituted the name Melchizedek for Michael specifically in order to emphasize the priestly role in the text. Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 71.

the darkness of this age” (18:2). The first one identifies itself as “the first decan of the zodiac,” (v. 5), that is, the first of thirty-six deities that each rule over 10° of the 360° zodiac.

The main role of these demonic heavenly beings is to cause various forms of dissension, perversion, disease, death, destruction, and war on the earth. Conversely, the main role of angels is to make them powerless.<sup>105</sup> Almighty God destroys the power of the prince of demons, Beelzebub (6:8). God sends angels from heaven to help Solomon overcome the power of demons (1:6–7; 2:8–9). When Solomon implores God for authority to control the demons, God grants his request, and through the magic ring delivered by the archangel Michael, he is able to bind demons and consign them to work on the temple (1:8–2:7). The archangels Michael, Ouriel, Raphael and Gabriel render powerless and imprison several heavenly beings and demons. The opposition between angels and demons casts human suffering and its resolution in terms of a heavenly conflict.

The main emphasis throughout *Testament of Solomon*, however, is on human knowledge of the name of the angel that overcomes each demon. Twice, Solomon states that he writes his testament in order to reveal what powers demons have over human beings and the names of the angels that thwart them (1:1; 15:14–15). The first eighteen chapters of the *Testament of Solomon* depict Solomon displaying authority over demons by learning their names, activities, and the angels that render them powerless.<sup>106</sup> The demon Asmodeus warns Solomon, however, that a time will come when people will worship demons as gods because they will not know the names of their thwarting angels (5:5). With the warning comes the prediction that Solomon will lose his kingdom and his glory. The prediction of the demon Asmodeus is fulfilled in the final chapters of the composition. Whereas chs. 1–18 portray Solomon in a positive light, exercising power and authority

105 καταργέω is the Greek verb used throughout the *Testament of Solomon* for the angelic action that stops the demons. Duling translates it “I thwart,” but it has a semantic range of “I exhaust, make powerless; abolish.” “καταργέω,” BDAG, 525–6.

106 The Qumran literature reflects similar tradition. The Dead Sea fragments of 4Q510–511 and 11QApPsa (11Q11) preserve Maskil songs that feature incantations for protection against demons. 11QApPsa appears to promise that Solomon will invoke divine action against the demons (2:2), and that the Lord will send a powerful angel to destroy the demon and carry him to the great abyss (4:4–9).

over the demons and employing them to work on the temple for God, chs. 19–26 portray his shameful descent into imprudence, perversion, and idolatry. Solomon is enticed by his desire for a woman and he sacrifices to idols in order to have her, so that the composition ends with the glory of God departing from him. The preceding text suggests that Solomon falls into idolatry because he fails to recognize and overpower the demons that entice him and so succumbs to their deceit, even though he himself has learned how to master them. In the end, even Solomon, the divinely empowered exorcist, becomes a “laughingstock” of the idols and demons (26:7–8).

Solomon gives a final motive for writing: “For this reason I have written out this, my testament, in order that those who hear might pray about, and pay attention to, the last things and not to the first things, in order that they might finally find grace forever. Amen” (26:8). I take the phrase “the last things” (τοῖς ἔσχατοις) to refer to the final portion of the *Testament* (chs. 19–26) rather than to some eschatological subject matter. Todd Klutz observes that nothing in the larger context of the *Testament* suggests an eschatological understanding for the word τοῖς ἔσχατοις in this verse. Furthermore, he argues that the phrase, “for this reason,” at the beginning of the verse connects the basis for writing the testament with Solomon’s shame as told in the preceding narrative. He concludes that, “the last things” and “the first things” refer to what is within the text, rather than what is outside the text, for example, eschatological deliverance. In other words, Solomon exhorts his readers to pay more attention to the ending than to the beginning, to his descent into perversion and shame (chs. 19–26) than to his enjoyment of power and glory (chs. 1–18). Moreover, Klutz suggests that Solomon’s emphasis on “the last things” is “a redactional effort to recontextualize and subvert the predominantly positive images of Solomon in chs. 1–18,” and to put all Solomon’s previous achievements in a negative light.<sup>107</sup> The reader, he surmises, is invited to adopt the “mocking posture” of the demons as they laugh at him.<sup>108</sup> Though I agree with Klutz’s interpretation of “the last things,” I do not follow his ultimate conclusion. My conjecture is that Solomon functions as a negative example for the hearer, much as the patriarchs function in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, so that the readers will know by what means they

107 Klutz, *Testament of Solomon*, 12.

108 Klutz, *Testament of Solomon*, 139.

may overcome demonic power and remain in God's favor.<sup>109</sup> Although angels overcome the demons, the *Testament of Solomon* exhorts human beings that they must be necessary participants in the combat by recognizing the powers that oppress them and invoking the power that saves. Solomon himself provides the negative example of what happens when human beings fail to be diligent in this cosmic battle.

### 3.4.3 Judgment

In each composition I consider, the righteous face some sort of oppression from which they are unable to rescue themselves. I have demonstrated that each composition portrays a world in which the persecution of the righteous, whatever form that persecution takes, is not only the result of human conflict, but also the result of supernatural conflict. In view of powerlessness of the righteous before their human and heavenly opponents, these compositions imagine God's imminent judgment as the event that overturns the oppressive state of affairs in their favor.

#### 3.4.3.1 1 Enoch

The main motif that runs throughout *1 Enoch* is God's imminent judgment in response to the dominance of sin, oppression and violence in the world. Four out of the five books begin with visions or oracles of final judgment that set the tenor for what follows. The Book of the Watchers opens with a vision of God coming from heaven upon Mount Sinai accompanied by ten million holy ones to execute judgment whereby the wicked are destroyed and the elect are preserved (*1 En.* 1:4, 9). All people quake with fear, explicitly the Watchers (v. 4). This judgment oracle, along with the following series of exhortations that culminates in curses for the wicked and eschatological blessings for the righteous, provides the backdrop for the story of rebellion of the

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109 The only patriarchs who do not serve as negative examples in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* are Joseph and Benjamin, who are portrayed blamelessly in the OT. Solomon has a record more like the flawed patriarchs than like Joseph (see, e.g., 1 Kgs 11:1–13). Klutz need not put the blame on a Christian redactor for tarnishing the reputation of Solomon, because much of the information for the story in *T. Sol.* 19–26 already existed in the biblical account.

Watchers and their judgment (chs. 6–16).<sup>110</sup> The Similitudes opens with the appearance of the Righteous One, who judges and removes from power those who have ruled the earth (38:1–6). The first vision in the Book of Dreams depicts the destruction of the cosmos on the great day of judgment (chs. 83–84). The Epistle of Enoch begins with Enoch’s gathering of his children to instruct them to live righteously on the basis of his knowledge of God’s future judgment of the wickedness that thrives at the present time (91:1–10; 18–19). As a whole, *1 Enoch* promotes the hope that God’s coming judgment will put an end to sin and oppression on behalf of the righteous elect. In this way, *1 Enoch* shares a similar hope with Daniel.

Throughout *1 Enoch*, the agents of judgment vary. God appears directly to execute universal judgment on the wicked and righteous in the oracle that opens the Book of the Watchers (chs. 1–5). God also intervenes directly to bring a catastrophic judgment against the Gentile enemies of God’s people in a military battle in the Book of Dreams (90:17–19). Elsewhere, God commissions agents in the execution of judgment. In the story of the Watchers, God commissions the four archangels to punish the fallen angels and their human counterparts by binding them with chains and casting them into darkness until judgment day (ch. 10). This tradition reappears in the Book of Dreams, where in Enoch’s vision of human history, four heavenly beings come forth to punish the fallen stars, who represent the Watchers (chs. 85–90). The Son of Man is God’s agent of judgment in the Similitudes (chs. 37–71). This figure sits on God’s throne (61:8; 62:2) to execute judgment against oppressors in favor of the righteous elect (ch. 62). The Son of Man delivers over oppressors to punishing angels. As in the Book of the Watchers and the Book of Dreams, these punishing angels take vengeance on both human offenders and their heavenly counterparts (53:3–5; 54:1–6; 62:11; 63:1).<sup>111</sup> Finally, God empowers the right-

110 A rationale for the preservation of the elect and destruction of the wicked follows the oracle in a form that approximates wisdom (2:1–5:3). Enoch invites sinners to examine all that God has created. While everything in the natural world functions according to the way God has ordered it, the wicked do not because they fail to obey God’s commands (5:4). Enoch pronounces a curse upon the wicked for their sin, but for the elect, “light, joy, peace, and they will inherit the earth” (v. 7). In addition, God will give wisdom to the elect so that they will not sin again.

111 The four archangels are named explicitly in the judgment scene in 54:6, and join the punishing angels to cast the armies of Azaz’el into the fire.



eous themselves to participate in the judgment of their human oppressors. When the Son of Man appears in judgment, the rulers and mighty ones are delivered into the hands of the elect and their lives are annihilated (38:5–6; cf. 48:9).

At the climactic point of Enoch's vision of human history in the Book of Dreams, God intervenes directly in battle against the Gentile enemy and authorizes the righteous to participate in a military judgment against them (90:15–19).<sup>112</sup> The Epistle of Enoch likewise portrays the righteous as participants in the Lord's judgment against those who have exploited them. Enoch envisions the Lord delivering oppressors into the hands of the righteous, who will slay them without compassion (95:3; 98:12; cf. 94:7; 99:16). The oppressed become the dominant ones, punishing those who had victimized them. This response to persecution contrasts with Daniel, which envisions the righteous strengthened for a non-violent response to persecution, so that martyrdom might be a means to purification and eternal exaltation into the heavenly realm.

Judgment in *1 Enoch* involves both the execution of punishment against the wicked and the bestowal of blessings upon the righteous. In other words, judgment is a reversal of the present state of affairs. In the view of *1 Enoch*, like that of Daniel, the current state of the world is awry because the wicked prevail against the righteous. When God appears in judgment, God will set the world right by destroying and removing all that is wicked in order to make way for an abundant supply of blessing for the righteous. The Book of Dreams culminates in a vision of the deliverance of national Israel from Gentile enemies through God's judgment. When God has judged and removed all human and heavenly offenders, God renews Jerusalem and the temple (90:28–36), and ultimately renews all of humanity (vv. 36–37). The book of the Watchers, on the other hand, depicts judgment as the destruction of all sin, deception, and injustice along with the fallen Watchers and the giants responsible (10:1–15), in order to make way for an extraordinary renewal of the earth for the righteous (10:16–11:2).

The appearance of the Son of Man in the Similitudes marks a change in the state of affairs for the holy and righteous ones, because they receive back glory and honor while sinners receive nothing but evil (50:1–2). This removal of oppression clears the way for the resurrection of the righteous to a heavenly resting place (51:1–5). The judgment in the Epistle of Enoch is directed against those who commit so-

<sup>112</sup> See also Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, 401.

cial injustices, that is, those who hoard bread, wine and water while abusing those who are weak (96:4–8). God’s judgment will bring about a great reversal: sinners will be destroyed (103:5–15), and those they formerly oppressed will now shine like stars in the heavenly realm (104:1–7; cf. Dan. 12:1–3). The goal of God’s judgment is to overturn the present moral and social order decisively in favor of the righteous elect. *1 Enoch* casts a vision of heavenly activity and future hope in order to explain evil in the world and to call God’s people to righteous living.

### 3.4.3.2 *Jubilees*

*Jubilees* does not focus primarily on God’s judgment in the last days like Daniel or *1 Enoch*, largely because it follows the Genesis–Exodus story line.<sup>113</sup> Two passages, however, display the writer’s interest in God’s judgment and restoration of Israel in the last days. At the opening of the book, God calls Moses to the top of Mount Sinai to form the covenant (1:1–6), and then predicts that the people of Israel will forsake it after they enter the land (vv. 7–11). As a result, God will execute a temporal judgment upon them by delivering them over to the surrounding nations who will hold them in captivity (vv. 12–14). While in exile, the people will turn back to the Lord. At that time, God will gather them from the nations and build the temple in which to dwell with the people in a perfected covenant relationship (vv. 15–18, 22–25).<sup>114</sup> At this future time, God will both renew the people by cutting off the foreskin of their heart, and create a holy spirit for them that will supplant the spirit of Beliar that had ruled over the over them, leading them into sin and destruction (1:20–25). God’s temporal judgment of Israel will be the means by which the people will obtain this perfected covenantal relationship with God, in which they are free from sin and the influence of evil powers. A similar pattern appears in *Jub.* 23:14–31. The angel of presence predicts that a future evil generation of Israel will abandon the covenant (vv. 14–21), resulting in God’s judgment through surrounding nations who will terrorize them and take them captive (vv. 22–25). When the people seek out the commandments again and do what is right, God will heal them (23:26–31). At that time of blessing, peace and healing, there will be no more Satan or evil one to destroy them (v. 20; cf. 50:4–5). *Jubilees* anticipates a judgment

113 See Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 79–80; and VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 132–34.

114 VanderKam, *Jubilees*, 133.

when God will remove not only Israel's human enemies, but also their spiritual enemies so that they may live in righteousness, peace and blessing before God. The writer of *Jubilees* provides a solution to the struggles of the righteous by assuring them of God's future sovereignty over the evil spirits that cause them.

The law of circumcision, however, raises an exception to the possibility of forgiveness and restoration for Israelites (15:25–34). Those who are not circumcised on the eighth day are considered to be from the children of destruction, rather than from the children of the covenant, and they are destined to be destroyed (v. 26). The angel of presence predicts that certain sons of Israel will forsake the command to circumcise their children in the future, revealing them to be, in fact, the sons of Beliar (v. 33). God's wrath rests on them, and they will receive no forgiveness since they have committed an eternal sin (v. 34). For the writer of *Jubilees*, failure to keep circumcision laws is the unforgivable sin that marks an alliance with Satan (cf. Mark 3:29).

### 3.4.3.3 *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* portrays God's judgment in relation to its emphasis on ethics. The predictions of God's judgment convey the consequences of failing to heed the patriarchs' exhortations to choose God and righteous living. The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* looks forward to an appointed day in the future when God will execute righteous judgment, both against sinful humankind in general, and against the wayward sons of the patriarchs in particular. The opening of the *Testament of Levi* features both perpetrators. Its introduction states that it is about all Levi's sons' future deeds that will determine their fate on the day of judgment (*T. Levi* 1:1). In the biographical section that follows, Levi receives a spirit of understanding from the Lord to see the wickedness of all humankind. Levi then ascends to the heavens in a vision and sees the elements of nature and the angelic armies of God standing by to judge both human and heavenly offenders (*T. Levi* 3:1–3). The display of the glory of God in the heavens causes the heavenly hosts, heaven, and earth to tremble; but human beings are not moved and continue to sin (3:9–10), which confirms their future judgment (4:1).<sup>115</sup> Levi receives this vision of judgment in order to

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<sup>115</sup> In the present redaction, the peoples' persistent sin probably refers to the rejection of Jesus at his crucifixion. *T. Levi* 4:1 speaks about the refusal of people to

warn his sons. In spite of his warnings, Levi predicts a time when his sons will go astray (chs. 10 and 14–17).

Throughout, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* envisions a future judgment that consists of the separation of the righteous from the wicked and culminates in the destruction of the wicked, akin to what Daniel and *1 Enoch* portray (*T. Levi* 4:6; *T. Sim.* 6:3–5; *T. Jud.* 25:5; *T. Zeb.* 10:1–3; *T. Ben.* 10:8). Concerning the patriarch's sons, however, punishment and destruction are not the final word, but repentance and salvation. Not only do the predictions of judgment convey the consequences of failing to choose God and righteous living; but also these predictions offer hope that Israel can receive salvation even after failing to follow the exhortations of the patriarchs. Predictions of the future actions of the patriarch's sons follow the biographical and ethical sections in most of the testaments, generally falling into a pattern of sin – exile – return (S.E.R.).<sup>116</sup> The patriarch predicts that his sons will break the divine commands to love God and neighbor (*T. Levi* 14:5–8; *T. Jud.* 23:1–2; *T. Iss.* 6:1–2; *T. Zeb.* 9:5; *T. Naph.* 4:1; *T. Ash.* 7:5; *T. Ben.* 9:1) or, in the final redaction, reject Jesus Christ whose life and teaching exemplified those commands (*T. Levi* 4:2–6; 10:2; 16:3; *T. Zeb.* 9:8–9; *T. Ash.* 7:2–5).<sup>117</sup> As a result, they will go into exile and, in some cases, the temple will be destroyed (*T. Levi* 15:1; 16:4–5; *T. Jud.* 23:3; *T. Ash.* 7:2).

In the viewpoint of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the current state of the world is not right because Israel inevitably goes astray. The patriarchs predict that God will redeem the tribes out of compassion for them and commitment to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (*T. Levi* 15:4; *T. Ash.* 7:7). As in Daniel and *1 Enoch*, the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* expects God to intervene in judgment to set the world right by destroying and removing what is wicked in order to make way for an abundant supply of blessing for the righteous. In this composition, God will intervene not only to bring the righteous out of exile, but ultimately to destroy and remove Beliar and the spirits of error in order to free the right-

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believe even when experiencing cosmic upheaval at “the “sufferance of the Most High,” which is likely a reference to the crucifixion of Jesus. See Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 137.

116 Hollander and de Jonge identify the S.E.R. passages as *T. Levi* 10; 14–15; 16; *T. Jud.* 18:1; 23; *T. Iss.* 6; *T. Zeb.* 9:5–7, 9; *T. Dan.* 5:4a, 6–9; *T. Naph.* 4:1–3, 5; *T. Gad* 8:2; *T. Ash.* 7:2–3, 5–7; *T. Benj.* 9:1–2. See Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 39–41, 53–56.

117 See Kugler, *Testaments*, 15, 17.

eous from their spiritual captivity so that God can take pleasure in them forever. When God intervenes in judgment, people will have mastery over the evil spirits that had enticed them, their hearts will turn to the Lord, and sin will come to an end (*T. Sim.* 6:6; *T. Levi* 18:9, 12, 14; *T. Dan* 5:11; *T. Zeb.* 9:8). God's intervention in judgment coincides with the resurrection of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of the twelve patriarchs, Seth, Enoch and Noah, and all the righteous in Israel (*T. Sim.* 6:7; *T. Levi* 18:14; *T. Jud.* 25; *T. Zeb.* 10:1–4; *T. Benj.* 10:6–10). The resurrection passages portray the twelve tribes and their leaders in a righteous, joyful and glorious existence before God, which contrasts the shame of disobedient living.

Although *T. Levi* depicts an army of angels standing by to execute judgment on Belial and his evil spirits (*T. Levi* 3), angels do not appear to destroy the power of Belial and his evil spirits in the predictions of the future judgment. Instead, the patriarchs predict that an ideal priest-king figure will overcome Belial and the evil spirits, and free their captives.<sup>118</sup> The patriarchs exhort their sons to respect and obey Levi and Judah, because out of their tribes God will raise up this savior for Israel and all the nations (*T. Sim.* 7:1–2; *T. Levi* 2:10–11; *T. Dan* 5:10; *T. Naph.* 8:2–3; *T. Gad* 8:1).<sup>119</sup> Levi predicts that when the old priesthood from his descendants becomes utterly debased (*T. Levi* 17), the Lord will raise up a new priest who will bind Beliar and give the children of the Lord the authority to trample on evil spirits (*T. Levi* 18:1–2, 10–12; cf. *T. Zeb.* 9:8; cf. *T. Sim.* 5:5–6). Judah predicts that after his kingship comes to an end with the exile, a new king – a Star from Jacob – will arise to secure his kingdom forever, and as a result Beliar will be thrown into the eternal fire (*T. Jud.* 22:1–3; 24:1; 25:3). Dan envisions the savior from the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Levi making war against Beliar and saving captives from him, and turning disobedient hearts to the Lord (*T. Dan* 5:10–11). In the final redaction, this savior is evidently Jesus Christ, whose return allows Israel a chance to repent and receive mercy from the Lord.<sup>120</sup> An ideal savior, and not

118 Hollander and de Jonge make a case against “double messianism” in the *Testaments*. In other words, there is one figure who is both the ideal high priest and ideal king, associated with the tribes of Levi and Judah respectively. Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 60–61.

119 Hollander and de Jonge, *Testaments*, 40–41.

120 Several of the predictions of the future are followed by exhortations to choose the law of the Lord over the works of Beliar based on that revelation (*T. Levi* 19:1; *T. Jud.* 26:1; *T. Dan* 6:1–10; *T. Jos.* 10:11)

angels, finally binds and destroys Belial and his spirits at the judgment, so that the righteous can dwell virtuously before God. The rhetorical purpose of this apocalyptic discourse is to exhort God's people to righteous or virtuous living.

#### 3.4.3.4 *War Scroll* (1QM)

1QM establishes the *topos* of judgment by envisioning the war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness as God's appointed time to destroy the forces of darkness and establish salvation for God's people. The war comes to a climax in the seventh stage, when God intervenes with a mighty hand to overcome and annihilate the forces of darkness decisively (1QM 1:14; 18:1–4). This intervention becomes the means of redemption for the Sons of Light: it is “a time of salvation for the people of God, and a time of dominion for all the men of his forces, and eternal annihilation for all the forces of Belial” (1:5). The result of the war for God's people is the enjoyment of eschatological blessings, including eternal redemption, the restoration of peace and glory to the land, an abundance of material blessings and long life, and eternal rule over enemies and oppressors (1:8–9, 12; 12:9–18; 17:6–7; 18:6–8, 10–11; 19:4–8). 1QM depicts the judgment of the enemies of the Sons of Light through a war with divine support from angels and decisive intervention from God in the last days.

The instructions for the organization of the congregation develop the judgment theme. In particular, inscriptions on the banners, trumpets, and darts of the congregation indicate that this conflict is God's war for judgment. The congregation is organized into groups, each with banners that are inscribed to identify their military and tribal units, and their actions in the war.<sup>121</sup> The inscriptions that identify the actions of each group change according to the phase of the war to express that this is God's war at each of three stages: when they go to war, when they approach the enemy in battle, and when they return. The inscriptions for approaching the enemy portray the battle as God's judgment against the enemy: “The Anger of God is loosed against Belial and all the men of his forces without remnant” (1QM 4:1–2); “Hundred of God, the power of war against all sinful flesh” (4:3); “Ended is the stand of the wicked [by] the might of God” (4:4); and “The annihilation of God of all the vainglorious nations” (4:12). The inscriptions on the battle trumpets that are used to signal the troops in battle similarly

121 Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 40–46; Duhaime, *War Texts*, 16.

express what God will do through a group at a particular phase in the fighting:<sup>122</sup> “Formations of the divisions of God to avenge His anger on all Sons of Darkness” (3:5–6); “The hand of the might of God in battle so as to bring down all the slain because of unfaithfulness” (3:8); and, “God has struck all Sons of Darkness, He shall not abate His anger until they are annihilated” (3:9). Finally, the soldiers are to inscribe phrases on the darts they heave into the enemy lines that express this is God’s war.<sup>123</sup> On the first blade they must write, “Flash of a spear for the strength of God,” on the second blade, “Missiles of blood to fell the slain by the wrath of God,” and on the third blade, “The blade of a sword devours the slain of wickedness by the judgment of God” (6:2–3). All of these inscriptions envision the war between light and darkness as the means by which God executes judgment against the Belial-led alliance of foreign nations and covenant-breakers. The prayers for the time of war confirm this conception of the war as God’s judgment (cols. 10–14). After recalling the consummate power of God to whom the battle belongs (10:1–11), the writer predicts that God will deliver the enemies from all nations (i. e., the allies of Belial) into the hands of the oppressed in order to pronounce a just judgment (11:3–12, 5; cf. 12:9–12; 14:4–6).

According to 1QM, God employs human and heavenly agents in the war; however, these agents are not able to overcome the enemy decisively. The Sons of Light win three battles and the Sons of Darkness win three battles, each with the support of their angelic hosts. Although Michael has an exalted and authoritative role in the struggle against Belial and his forces, neither Michael nor anyone else belonging to the lot of light secures the victory against darkness ultimately. The prayers for battle affirm that God is the one who is the judge and final victor. One prayer expresses the belief that God and God’s angels are present with the people for eternal support, but then extols God as the “Hero of War,” who takes his captives and plunder from the enemy and crushes the nations (1QM 12:7–11). Another prayer expresses hope in the assistance of the “Prince of Light” and then exalts God higher when it asks, “what angel or prince is like you?” because God is the one who appointed this day for battle to destroy iniquity and darkness (13:14). Moreover, in the descriptions of the battle at the beginning and the end of the composition, only the intervention of God finally brings

122 Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 104–106; Duhaime, *War Texts*, 15–16.

123 Yadin, *Scroll of the War*, 134–5.



the war to an end. In the first description, the holy angels are able to support and strengthen the Sons of Light so that they do not fall to the Sons of Darkness; but they are not able finally to prevail. God must intervene directly in the seventh stage to end the war, and then Belial and the forces of darkness cannot stand (1:14). The description of the battle at the end of the document portrays the same events. God sends Michael to strengthen the troops after they have many casualties (16:6–7), but this does not end the war. In the last encounter between the forces of light and darkness, God raises a hand against Belial and all his forces “for an eternal slaughter” (17:1–5). The chief priests, priests and Levites respond by praising God for bringing eternal redemption to God’s people, and complete destruction to the enemy (17:7–16). While the angels and Michael serve God in the struggle against darkness by supporting the Sons of Light, God is the one who finally fights on behalf of the people and overcomes the enemy (18:1–6). The divine judgment of the Sons of Darkness results in salvation, blessing and peace for the Sons of Light. The apocalyptic discourse in 1QM conveys a solution to oppression by means of God’s annihilation of the forces of darkness, which will result in peace, blessing, glory, joy, and long life for all the Sons of Light (1:8–9; 18:6–11; 19:4–7).

#### 3.4.3.5 *Melchizedek* (11QMelch)

While the 1QM imagines the end of Belial’s dominion by means of the war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness, 11QMelch imagines its end from a different perspective. In 1QM, the judgment against Belial and his forces takes place on the earth, as human armies fight with heavenly support until God finally intervenes decisively to end the war. 1QM assures a sectarian community that their end-time war against evil will be, in fact, God’s war, and that they will receive heavenly aid to annihilate Belial and his forces. God is the “Hero of War” who liberates the captives (1QM 12:9–11), and all heavenly beings assist God for this purpose. On the other hand, the judgment in 11QMelch takes place in the divine assembly as the figure Melchizedek is exalted among the heavenly beings in order to execute God’s vengeance against Belial and his spirits, and against the nations these powers have led to perpetrate evil and injustice (11QMelch 2:9–13). By means of this judgment, Melchizedek liberates the Sons of Light from their captivity to sin and spiritual oppression (2:2–6, 13). 11QMelch



focuses on the role of the figure Melchizedek in the execution of God's judgment and in the liberation of God's people in the last days.

Melchizedek is the sole agent of God's judgment, with an array of holy angels to assist him (11QMelch 2:9, 14). The text begins with a citation of Lev 25:13 and Deut 15:2, both of which relate the release of the sabbatical year to the release and return of captives to their own property in the Year of Jubilee (2:3–4). 11QMelch gives an interpretation of these texts for the last days, in which those who are captive to Belial and his spirits will be liberated in the tenth and final Jubilee Year. The figure Melchizedek will appear to proclaim freedom to these captives and to make them return to their rightful lot.<sup>124</sup> He will free them from their sins by making atonement for them, and free them from Belial and his spirits by executing God's judgment (2:6, 13, 25). In this judgment, the writer associates Melchizedek intimately with God. The tenth Jubilee Year is "the year of Melchizedek's favor," an allusion Isa 61:2 that substitutes Melchizedek for Yahweh. The figure Melchizedek is distinct from God, however. The writer applies Ps 82:1 to Melchizedek: "Elohim shall stand in the assembly [of God]; in the midst of the gods he shall judge" (11QMelch 2:10), and goes on to state that Melchizedek carries out the judgment of God (2:13, 23). Melchizedek is a heavenly being exalted in the divine assembly to execute judgment.<sup>125</sup> His close association with Yahweh emphasizes his power and authority to act as God's agent.

Just as in the other compositions I have examined, divine judgment includes negative consequences for the wicked and positive results for the righteous. In the case of 11QMelch, God's agent liberates God's people from their sins and from the supernatural and human opponents that have oppressed them. The time that the figure Melchizedek appears to make atonement for the peoples' sins and to free them from the hand of Belial is the day of salvation when they experience justice, peace, and

124 I have argued above that 1QM envisions the Sons of Light and the holy angels together the "lot of Light" with Michael as the Prince of Light. See especially 1QM 13, which envisions the Sons of Light together with the angels in heaven commissioned by God for their task. 11QMelch reflects a similar view, tying the heavenly figure Melchizedek closely with the human beings he rescues. These captives are called "the inheritance of Melchizedek," "the sons of light" and "the men of the lot of Melchizedek" (2:5, 8). The Sons of Light belong with their heavenly counterparts, and Melchizedek comes to secure their return.

125 See also Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 59–62.

comfort (11QMelch 2:14–25). The language echoes that of Isa 52:7, which announces the peace and salvation of Israel when they are restored from the nations.<sup>126</sup>

#### 3.4.3.6 *Testament of Solomon*

There is no warning or promise of eschatological judgment in the *Testament of Solomon*, nor is there a judgment scene by which God finally intervenes to end the victimization of the demonic world upon human beings. Rather, the *Testament of Solomon* ends with the idols and demons in a position of power, laughing at Solomon, the king who once had the authority to bind and control them. This ending portrays a temporal judgment upon Solomon, however, that serves as a warning to the sons of Israel. God pronounces a judgment upon Solomon's perversion and idolatry when God's glory withdraws from him, and causes Solomon's spirit to darken (*T. Sol.* 26:7). Solomon claims he has written his testament in order that his hearers might pay more attention to his shameful downfall than to his former glory,<sup>127</sup> and "find grace forever" (v. 8). That is, the judgment upon Solomon functions as an admonition for hearers to make their own future with God secure.

### 3.5 Comparison of Compositions

Each of the compositions I have examined employs apocalyptic discourse in order to address the problem of the **persecution** of the righteous, whether that persecution takes the form of political, physical, social, economic, or moral oppression. Each composition explains such ills vis-à-vis the activity of **heavenly beings**, and finds a solution for the righteous in the activity of God, both in God's present protection and God's future **judgment**. Below I discuss the apocalyptic symbolic world that these compositions share. Then, I discuss how they employ apocalyptic discourse to serve their particular rhetorical aims.

<sup>126</sup> See Kobelski, *Melchizedek*, 20.

<sup>127</sup> See my discussion on "the last things" vs. "the first things" above, under the heading, "Heavenly Beings."

### 3.5.1 The Shared Symbolic World

The compositions I have discussed provide an imaginative lens for viewing the problem presented by the **persecution** of God's people. From a human perspective, the righteous struggle against the oppression of other nations, the injustice of corrupt leaders, the greed of wealthy neighbors, the diseases that afflict their bodies, and the temptations of their own flesh. These compositions reveal a world in which powers are at work that readers might not otherwise see. The powers that oppress them are not simply other human beings, but are also evil spirits that have introduced sin, injustice and suffering to the world and that continually work to provoke oppression and violence or to deceive human beings so that they stray from God's commands. In other words, persecution is not simply a matter of humans perpetrating offenses against other humans or against righteousness, but is also a matter of evil spirits overpowering human beings and their passions. Human beings are unable overcome these oppressive powers and must seek divine help.<sup>128</sup> These compositions provide a way of understanding the present human experience of suffering and crisis by explaining it through the activity of evil spirits and their leader.

The compositions I have examined reveal the dimensions of the activity of these **heavenly beings** involved in human struggles. The current state of affairs is awry because a cosmic struggle is underway between two contrasting sides of good and evil, or light and darkness. From a heavenly perspective, Satan (or the equivalent) directs an army of evil spirits to lead the righteous astray and empower those who perpetrate sin and injustice. On the opposing side, God or the archangel Michael leads an army of holy angels to guide and protect the righteous from their efforts. The righteous join the holy angels to take God's side, opposing sin, law-breakers, or oppressive foreign nations. When the righteous experience perseverance or victory against various forms of evil, they may interpret it as the intervention of holy angels who serve God. God is sovereign over all spirits, so God can protect the righteous from the efforts of evil spirits and their leader to de-

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<sup>128</sup> The exception to this powerlessness is the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which assumes that human beings are able to resist captivity to evil spirits and their leader at the present time. The patriarchs predict, however, that in the future even the righteous will become captive to evil spirits and need divine intervention to bind Beliar and his evil spirits.

stroy and deceive them. By envisioning a correspondence between heavenly skirmishes and human encounters, these compositions cast various human struggles as a cosmic battle.

Not only do these compositions reveal that God protects the righteous from oppressive powers that dominate at the present time; but they also reveal that the end of the struggle against these powers is fixed because God has determined a day of **judgment** when the evil spirits and their leader, and the human beings they empower, will be removed. With the exception of the *Testament of Solomon*, all the compositions I examined envision a decisive solution for the oppression of the righteous at a future judgment in which God will intervene in human affairs to separate the righteous from the wicked. End-time judgment is the means by which oppressors will be removed so that the righteous may receive God's salvation, life and peace. In other words, judgment involves a negative aspect and a positive aspect: the removal of oppressors and the bestowal of blessing upon the righteous. God's judgment reverses the state of affairs so that those who perpetrated oppression and injustice are removed from power, and God's people finally have it. Judgment provides assurance and hope that the present victimization and powerlessness is only temporary, and provides grounds for exhortations to take action under the current state of affairs, such as remaining faithful to the covenant.

### 3.5.2 Different Aims of Apocalyptic Discourse

While these compositions share a symbolic world, they employ apocalyptic discourse for different aims depending on their literary and theological purpose. Accordingly, each one recontextualizes apocalyptic *topoi* in slightly different ways.

**Daniel** focuses on political persecution in order to address a moment of national crisis. Daniel employs apocalyptic discourse in order to bring assurance of God's sovereign intervention, and to encourage steadfast obedience to the law even if it results in martyrdom. Similar to Daniel, the apocalyptic discourse in **1 Enoch** functions to affirm that in the presence of violence, oppression, and a terrible state of affairs for the righteous, God will execute judgment to bring about salvation in the future, so that the righteous may have confidence to obey God's commands in the present.

*Jubilees* engages in apocalyptic discourse as it rewrites the Genesis-Exodus storyline, in order to connect evil spirits to the fact of human sin and Israel's future apostasy. It gives assurance of God's sovereignty over evil spirits in the present and the future, giving the ground for the exhortation that God's people obey the law. Similar to *Jubilees*, the main rhetorical purpose of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is ethical exhortation. It engages in apocalyptic discourse in order to envision a world of evil spirits at work to lead people astray from God's commands and virtuous living. In addition, the patriarchs look ahead to the future and predict that their descendants will ultimately succumb to evil supernatural powers. These evil supernatural powers will be overcome in the eschatological future, so that God's people will be free for a righteous existence. The *Testament of Solomon* also employs apocalyptic discourse in order to disclose the demonic beings that cause disease, sin, suffering on the earth, as well as the angelic counterparts that overpower them. The function of the apocalyptic discourse is to exhort human beings to combat the powers that assail them, so that they may secure God's grace.

The apocalyptic discourse that runs throughout the **1QM** portrays an end-time, holy war as a struggle not between human beings alone, but between a coalition of human beings and their heavenly counterparts. It functions to assure a powerless, sectarian community that they will soon receive divine help to defeat what they perceive to be the forces of evil and receive God's salvation and blessing.<sup>129</sup> Similar to the *War Scroll*, the apocalyptic discourse in **11QMelch** functions to link the oppression of God's people with supernatural powers and to give them assurance that they will soon receive a heavenly liberator.

### 3.5.2.1 Binding of Evil Spirits

Throughout the literature I have examined, one primary way God's agents act against evil spirits is to bind them. Generally, God appoints angels or other exalted beings to bind evil spirits or their leader and cast them into an abyss of darkness or of fire in order to remove their power and influence over human beings and secure them for judgment. Not all acts of binding are the same, however, depending on the aim of the composition. Variations appear with regard to the agents of binding, the time of binding, and the purpose of binding.

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<sup>129</sup> See also Duhaime, *War Texts*, 60.

First, the agents of binding differ. In *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*, angels bind evil spirits. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, however, the ideal priest-king binds Belial and his evil spirits, and in the *Testament of Solomon*, Solomon binds or seals the demons through God-given authority. Though differing in the form of the agent, each of these compositions portrays God exalting and commissioning figures other than God to bind evil spirits and their leader. Second, these compositions differ with regard to the time of binding. Some acts of binding are the means of divine protection of the righteous against the corrupting or physically harmful influence of evil spirits in the present (*Jub.* 48; *T. Sol.*), while also holding the evil spirits for final judgment (*1 En.* 10; *Jub.* 5:6, 10). Other acts of binding are the means of punishment and removal at the final judgment (*Dream Vision*, *Similitudes*; *T. Levi* 18).

Third, these compositions differ with regard to the purpose of binding. The binding of evil spirits removes their power and influence over human being in each composition; however, the type of power and influence differs in each composition depending on its emphasis. In the *Similitudes* and *Dream Visions*, the binding of the oppressors and the evil spirits removes their power and influence over human beings with regard to military campaigns, and human injustice and oppression. In the story of the Watchers, the binding of evil angels removes their power and influence to perpetuate corruption and injustice on the earth. In *Jub.* 48, angels control the actions of evil spirits by repeatedly binding and releasing them in order to ensure that God's will is accomplished at the Exodus. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the binding of Beliar and his evil spirits removes their power and influence over the righteous with regard to morality and ethics. In the *Testament of Solomon*, Solomon seals or binds demons with the divinely-given magical ring, by which he removes their evil power but controls their activity by putting them to work on the temple. The binding in the *Testament of Solomon* is not associated with eschatological judgment. Because these compositions share a symbolic world, they cast human struggles against the backdrop of supernatural activity; but because they address different human struggles, the binding of the supernatural powers that generate those struggles varies. The conclusion I draw from these variations is that "binding" has typical features that make it an identifiable apocalyptic *topos*. That is, "binding" has to do with the divine restraint of the power and influence of Satan (or the equivalent) or Satan's demonic representatives. It varies, however, with regard to the restrained activity (it can be moral, political, or social, for instance) and the dura-

tion (it can be temporary or lasting). “Binding” is not uniform idea, and writers recontextualize the *topos* to fit the aims of their apocalyptic discourse.

### 3.5.2.2 Agents of Judgment

In some cases God executes judgment, and in others God exalts particular heavenly beings above the rest and commissions them for judicial tasks. In Daniel, the one like a human being participates in God’s judgment when he triumphs over the oppressors and their crushed kingdoms to receive an everlasting one (Dan 7:13), and the archangel Michael delivers God’s people from their enemies (12:1–3); however, these figures are not given explicit judicial roles. The book of Daniel stresses God’s sovereignty throughout the tales and the visions. It is the Ancient of Days who appears on the throne to execute judgment against the enemies of God’s people (ch. 7). 1QM also emphasizes God’s sovereignty in the outcome of the war and also in judgment. Although God employs angelic agents and even exalts the angel Michael to support the Sons of Light in the war against their enemies, God is finally the “Hero of War” who liberates the captives.

In *1 Enoch* and 11QMelch, however, God exalts heavenly beings to execute judgment and gives them a share in divine characteristics. These heavenly beings, rather than God, execute judgment and then liberate God’s people. In *1 Enoch*, the Son of Man sits on God’s throne and gives over oppressors to angels of punishment. In 11QMelch, Melchizedek executes judgment from among the heavenly court and liberates the captives. The *Testament of Levi*, like 11QMelch, presents an ideal priest and king who defeats Belial and his powers and liberates captives in order to bring salvation for God’s people (*T. Levi* 18). Whereas Melchizedek executes judgment in the heavenly court, the ideal priest-king in the *Testament of Levi* will execute a righteous judgment on the earth (18:2–3). To summarize, some compositions envision God as the executor of judgment and liberator of God’s people, while others envision a heavenly being or other exalted figure as the one who fulfills that role, according to their theological and rhetorical purpose.

### 3.5.2.3 Negative Examples

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *Jubilees*, and the *Testament of Solomon* use negative examples pertaining to temporal judgment in order to exhort their hearers to positive action in the present. The *Testaments of*

*the Twelve Patriarchs* employs the negative examples of the patriarchs and their enticement by various evil spirits. In addition, the patriarchs predict that their sons will eventually succumb to those evil spirits too and face the judgment of exile. Not only the patriarchs, but also Israel functions as a negative example for the exhortation to choose the good so that Beliar and his spirits will not overpower a person. Similarly, *Jubilees* depicts Israel facing the judgment of exile because they succumb to evil spirits and stray from the covenant. The *Testament of Solomon* ends with the glory of God departing from Solomon because he has fallen into perversion and idolatry. The hearer is exhorted to recognize the powers of the demons behind the sins that entice them, and to invoke the angels that destroy their influence. Through the use of negative examples, descriptions of temporal judgments are a means of exhorting the hearer to prepare for the future by choosing God's way now.

#### 3.5.2.4 The Response of the Righteous to Oppressors

While the compositions generally portray human beings as powerless before their oppressors, they vary in their treatment of the role that the righteous take at the time God intervenes in judgment. Daniel calls for a non-violent response to the persecution that escalates at the time of judgment. In fact, laying down one's life is the means to the glorification of the righteous. God is the one who delivers judgment on behalf of the righteous, who are not themselves involved in judicial activity. In *1 Enoch*, on the other hand, God empowers the righteous elect to take militant or judicial action against their oppressors and delivers those oppressors into their hands. Similarly, 1QM portrays the Sons of Light launching an offensive war to annihilate the Sons of Darkness as an instrument of God's judgment. Thus, apocalyptic discourse functions to encourage oppressed people to stand firm as they await God's imminent judgment in two divergent ways. In the case of *1 Enoch* and the *War Scroll*, apocalyptic discourse functions to help readers imagine their powerful participation in divine judgment against their oppressors, while in the case of Daniel it helps them envision their martyrdom as the path to future rewards at the time of judgment.

#### 3.5.2.5 The Salvation of the Righteous at the Judgment

As I have noted, judgment includes both the removal of the wicked and the salvation of the righteous. The form that salvation takes differs in each respective composition, depending on the issues it addresses and



its aim. In Daniel, oppressive human kingdoms persecute the holy ones, so the blessing Daniel imagines for the righteous at the judgment is an everlasting kingdom in the heavenly places in which even those who have been martyred are transformed when they awake to shine like stars. <sup>1</sup> *Enoch* depicts various blessings for the righteous. Where human and heavenly offenders attack the nation, the blessings of salvation are the renewal of Jerusalem, the temple, and all of humanity; where offenders misuse their wealth and power to exploit the weak, God intervenes in judgment to reverse the state of affairs so that the righteous now will receive glory, honor, and resurrection to a heavenly resting place.

*Jubilees* is concerned with the presence of sin and Israel's faithfulness to the covenant, and employs apocalyptic discourse to portray those malevolent spirits who attempt to lead them astray in the present and who succeed at it in the future. Accordingly, the blessing for God's people at the judgment is the renewal of their hearts, in which God creates a holy spirit to unseat the spirit of Beliar that had ruled over them. At that time, they will be free from the influence of evil powers, and therefore, from sin, so that they can experience an ideal covenant relationship with God. Similarly, the main rhetorical purpose of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is ethical exhortation. It, too, envisions a world of evil spirits that seek to lead the righteous away from God's commands, and a future time when Israel will be overcome by those spirits. Thus, at the judgment the righteous are freed from their captivity to Beliar and his spirits of error so that they can have mastery over them and their hearts can turn to the Lord. The blessing for the righteous is the turn from shameful, disobedient living to a righteous existence with God.

1QM depicts the struggle of a sectarian community that engages in a holy war against those human and spiritual powers that oppress them. Thus, the result of the war reverses power relationships in favor of the Sons of Light: peace and glory will be restored to the land, they will experience long life and an abundance of material blessings, and rule eternally over their enemies and oppressors. 11QMelch addresses Israel's need for national and spiritual liberation. Viewing Israel's true captivity as captivity to Belial and his spirits, the blessings for the Sons of Light at the judgment will be liberation from those spirits for an existence free from both human and spiritual oppression so that God's people can experience salvation characterized by justice and peace.

I summarize the results of my analysis in the following table:

	Persecution	Heavenly Beings	Judgment
Dan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by kings/nation</li> <li>• Oppression: political/war</li> <li>• Righteous are powerless</li> <li>• Martyrdom a means of purification and glory</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• War in heaven corresponds to war on earth</li> <li>• Angels deliver from harm, interpret visions</li> <li>• “One like a son of man” represents holy ones in triumph over enemies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agent: God</li> <li>• Human kingdoms destroyed</li> <li>• Holy ones receive everlasting kingdom = resurrection</li> </ul>
1 En.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by humans, fallen angels</li> <li>• Oppression: social, violence, war, sin, deception</li> <li>• Righteous are powerless in some cases, but take up arms in others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satan’s activity corresponds to human activity on the earth</li> <li>• Holy angels battle and bind evil angels</li> <li>• Son of Man represents elect at time of salvation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agents: God, angels, Son of Man, righteous humans</li> <li>• Sinners and oppressors destroyed; holy angels bind fallen angels for punishment</li> <li>• Righteous receive renewal of Jerusalem &amp; earth; glory, honor, resurrection</li> </ul>
Jub.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by Mastema, evil spirits, and human beings</li> <li>• Oppression: moral/ethical, social, violence, war</li> <li>• Righteous are powerless</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity of Mastema and evil spirits corresponds to human sin &amp; activity</li> <li>• Holy angels bind evil spirits to protect the righteous</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agents: God, angels</li> <li>• Human and demonic enemies will be removed</li> <li>• Righteous may live in holiness, peace, and blessedness before God</li> </ul>

	Persecution	Heavenly Beings	Judgment
<i>T. 12 Patr.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by Beliar and spirits</li> <li>• Oppression is moral/ethical</li> <li>• Righteous have power to choose good, but eventually succumb to Beliar</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity of evil spirits corresponds to human sin/vice</li> <li>• Holy angels battle Beliar and spirits</li> <li>• Holy angels protect the righteous</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agents: Angels, ideal priest/king</li> <li>• Ideal priest/king binds Beliar and spirits to end captivity of the righteous</li> <li>• Righteous receive freedom for a holy existence with God; resurrection</li> </ul>
11Q Melch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by Belial and spirits, and by the nations</li> <li>• Oppression: moral/ethical; political/war</li> <li>• Righteous are powerless</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Activity of Belial and spirits corresponds to captivity by nations and by sin</li> <li>• Melchizedek and Belial are heavenly opponents.</li> <li>• Melch leads Sons of Light</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agent: Melchizedek</li> <li>• Belial and hosts destroyed</li> <li>• Sons of Light receive salvation, justice and peace</li> </ul>
1QM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by unbelieving nations and apostate Jews</li> <li>• Oppression: moral/ethical; political/war</li> <li>• Righteous are powerless</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• War in heaven corresponds to war on earth</li> <li>• Michael and hosts assist Sons of Light</li> <li>• Belial and hosts assist Sons of Darkness</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agents: Righteous human and angelic agents, but God is sole victor.</li> <li>• Belial and Sons of Darkness destroyed</li> <li>• Sons of Light receive restoration of land, material blessings, rule over enemies</li> </ul>

	Persecution	Heavenly Beings	Judgment
<i>T. Sol.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victimization by demons</li> <li>• Oppression: disease, death, strife, sexual perversion, natural disasters</li> <li>• Righteous are powerless without certain knowledge</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demonic activity corresponds to human suffering</li> <li>• Human beings may render demons powerless upon invoking their names</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• No eschatological judgment</li> <li>• Temporal judgment against Solomon</li> <li>• Hearers exhorted to “find grace forever”</li> </ul>

### 3.6 Mark 3:22–30

I return to Mark 3:22–30 in order to see this passage in light of the compositions I have discussed above. Mark both shares their symbolic world and engages in apocalyptic discourse for particular literary and theological aims.

#### 3.6.1 The Shared Symbolic World

Like the compositions I have discussed, Mark imaginatively constructs a lens through which to view human oppression by revealing the operations of supernatural powers. Primarily, Jesus’ exorcisms open up a world beyond that which is visible to the human eye. The characters in the story inhabit a world in which the agents of **persecution** are not simply bodily or human, but supernatural (Mark 1:34; 3:10–11). Satan rules the earth with his army of demons and holds its people captive like a strong man who has possession of a house and its inhabitants. Mark 3:22–30 reveals that people cannot free themselves from such adversity because these supernatural oppressors have overpowered them. Only the one empowered by God’s Spirit, who is stronger than the

evil spirits and their leader, can liberate people. The explanation of human oppression through the idea that Satan and his army of demons rule the earth at the present time, and hold people in a captivity from which they are unable to free themselves is part of the fabric of Mark's thought world, expressed in the literature I have examined above.

In addition, Mark reveals the nature of a cosmic battle between **heavenly beings**. The characters inhabit a world in which the human struggles of the righteous correspond to a supernatural struggle between two opposing sides of good and evil. The scribes try to place Jesus on Satan's side of the struggle with their accusation against him, but Jesus rejects their charge and places himself on the Holy Spirit's side. By exposing the scribes' false charge as blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, the Markan Jesus suggests that the scribes are the ones caught up on Satan's side of the struggle. Not only exorcisms, but also conflict between Jesus and his human opponents reflects the cosmic battle.<sup>130</sup> Mark's discourse reveals a conflict between two opposing sides, both with human actors and heavenly counterparts. That is, the conflict between the scribes and Jesus corresponds to a heavenly conflict between Satan and the Holy Spirit. Like the Jewish apocalyptic compositions I examined, Mark 3:22–30 associates human and heavenly struggles.

Finally, Mark reveals Jesus' exorcisms as the beginning of God's intervention to end the oppression of human beings. Mark 3:22–30 is not a judgment scene; it does not bring history to a close. It does, however, contain *topoi* that echo **judgment**. The discourse dramatizes a battle between Satan and his kingdom of demons on the one side and the Holy Spirit-led Jesus on the other. Through this battle Jesus, the stronger one, binds Satan in order to free those held captive by Satan and his evil spirits. The heavenly battle, the binding of evil spirits, and the liberation of captives are typical of divine judgment scenes in the apocalyptic literature I have discussed above. Jesus, the divinely appointed figure, inaugurates a heavenly battle by his exorcisms that will culminate in the end of Satan and his emissaries.

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130 The classic study that views Jesus' conflict with his opponents as a manifestation of cosmic conflict is Robinson, *The Problem of History in Mark*. Robinson focuses on the debates between Jesus and his opponents, esp. 31–37.

### 3.6.2 The Distinctive Aims of Mark's Apocalyptic Discourse

A significant result of comparing Jewish apocalyptic compositions is the recognition that they share a symbolic world, and also recontextualize apocalyptic *topoi* for particular literary and theological aims. Although it is profitable to read Mark alongside these compositions in order to understand Mark's symbolic world, it is also important to read his apocalyptic discourse in its Gospel context in order to understand how it functions. Like the compositions I have discussed, Mark engages in apocalyptic discourse in order to interpret and offer solutions for the oppression of the righteous. Specifically, Mark employs apocalyptic discourse to interpret the ministry, suffering and death of Jesus, and the suffering of those who follow him. Below, I discuss several distinctive features of Mark's apocalyptic discourse.

First, the one whom God appoints to bind the evil spirits is not an angel or other heavenly being, but the man Jesus. The tradition of Solomon in the *Testament of Solomon* (see also 11QApPs<sup>a</sup>) indicates that there are other exorcists in Jewish tradition known for their authority over the demonic world. In the *Testament of Solomon*, Solomon, the son of David (*T. Sol.* 1:00), tortures the demons for a while by exercising God-given power (*T. Sol.* 5:5), but in the end the demons overpower him through moral failure and he becomes their laughingstock (26:7–8). In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus, also the son of David (Mark 10:47), demonstrates that he has greater authority than any religious leader through the success of his exorcisms (1:21–28). Moreover, he establishes the imminecence of the kingdom of God as he overpowers evil spirits through exorcisms (1:39; 3:14–15). For Mark, Jesus' exorcisms most clearly communicate the battle between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan.<sup>131</sup> For a while, Jesus destroys and tortures the demons (1:21; 5:7), but in the end the demons seem to overpower him, not through moral failure, but through death. But, this death appears to be that through which Jesus prevails over the demonic world. Not exorcism, but submission to the cross is the final line of attack in the Gospel of Mark.

Second, the binding of the strong man in 3:27 does not refer to the complete removal of Satan's power and influence among human beings in the present. Rather, it refers to the inauguration of a task of judgment that continues through the course of Jesus' ministry and culminates in the future. In Mark 3:22–30, the binding of the strong man has both

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131 See also the discussion in Evans, "Jesus' Exorcisms," 213–15.

present and future elements, reflecting ideas in Jewish apocalyptic literature. In the compositions I have discussed, heavenly beings bind evil spirits to protect the righteous from the activity of evil spirits at the present time, bind evil spirits in the present to secure them for judgment, or bind them in order to execute judgment against them at the end-time. Mark looks ahead to the sure end of Satan's kingdom and metaphorically depicts the process by which Jesus works towards that end in the present, through his exorcisms.<sup>132</sup> According to Mark, Satan's binding refers to the continuing effect of Jesus' ministry that culminates in the end of Satan's kingdom in the future, rather than a past event by which Satan was rendered powerless. At the present time, Satan continues to exercise a measure of power. In support of this conclusion, my exegesis of Mark 3:22–30 suggests that the powerful Satan and the Spirit-empowered Jesus are engaged in a struggle, so that the binding of the strong man (v. 27) does not obliterate his present power.

Third, the judgment in Mark reflects both negative consequences for oppressors and a positive outcome for God's people, to fit Mark's purpose. Mark 3:22–30 suggests that Jesus' main judicial task is to overpower Satan's kingdom. Likewise, those who align themselves with Satan's kingdom by rejecting Jesus' ministry face the judgment of becoming outsiders, consigning themselves to a status beyond the Holy Spirit's power. The placement of Mark 3:22–30 suggests that the climactic blessing for the righteous is liberation from Satan's household (3:27) to become part of the new household that Jesus has come to establish (3:31–35). Jesus frees people from bondage of Satan so that they may do the will of God in the household of God.

Fourth, the one whom God has appointed to liberate captives succumbs to oppressors. While Mark 3:22–30 portrays Jesus as the divinely appointed liberator, the larger narrative reveals that this liberator is crucified. None of the divinely appointed liberators in the compositions I have discussed above experiences oppression. An exception could be seen in the *Testament of Solomon*. Solomon, the one who has overcome the demons, is finally enticed by them into idolatry so that the glory of God departs from him. His downfall, however, is due to his own moral failing. By contrast, when, at the cross, Jesus cries, "my God, my God, why have you forsaken me?" (Mark 15:34), that abandonment is because of his faithfulness to God.

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132 See my exegesis in ch. 2.

Mark's presentation of Jesus as liberator is also distinctive when compared to *1 Enoch* and Daniel. Although the Son of Man in *1 Enoch* and the one like a son of man in Daniel represent the righteous, neither shares in their suffering. Since cosmic battle elsewhere in apocalyptic compositions results in God's decisive victory over evil spiritual powers, the cosmic battle suggested in Mark 3:22–30 may evoke a win at first glance. But, as Mark's story unfolds, Jesus progressively loses power until his opponents nail him to a cross. Mark does not allude to a public and glorious victory until the return of the Son of Man (8:38; 13:26–27; 14:62). A tension exists between that future manifestation of power, and the present enactment of power in Jesus' humble, earthly ministry. Mark must connect that suffering Jesus to the triumphant Son of Man.

Fifth, liberated captives are called to imitate the one who liberates them. The concept of imitation is present in *1 Enoch* and Daniel. *1 Enoch* displays a strong sense of solidarity between the righteous ones and the Son of Man. The former are variously called the elect ones, chosen ones, or righteous ones, as their representative is variously called the Elect One or Chosen One or Righteous One in order to highlight the correspondence. The Son of Man remains hidden while they remain hidden in their oppression, and he is revealed when they are revealed in glory. In this way, they imitate him. In Daniel, the holy ones also imitate the one like a son of man in that they receive an everlasting kingdom as he does. This figure represents the holy ones in their victory over their enemies. In both *1 Enoch* and Daniel, the people of God imitate their representatives in victory. In Mark, however, the people of God are called to imitate Jesus in *his suffering* before they follow him in glory. Identification with Jesus' suffering becomes a means of interpreting persecution.

In the last chapter, I argued that Mark 3:22–30 portrays a power struggle between two opposing sides with human and heavenly counterparts. Jesus and Satan are engaged in an authentic power struggle in which Satan's power is not obliterated, and in which the nature and manifestation of Jesus' type of power is not straightforward. My discussion above indicates that Mark recontextualizes apocalyptic *topoi* in order to interpret the mission of Jesus. Because Mark develops these themes in the rest of the Gospel narrative, I cannot determine the dimensions of the power struggle from Mark 3:22–30 alone. In other words, the meaning of this passage is tied to the meaning of Mark's whole story. In the next chapter, I use the characters of Mark 3:22–



30 as a lens through which to explore the contours of Mark's symbolic world and apocalyptic discourse through the rest of the Gospel.