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Demonology in Rabbinic Literature

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of  
Requirements for Ordination

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New York, N.Y.

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Referee: Professor Norman Cohen

To my parents  
Robert and Ann Marx

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Keys

# A. Key to Hebrew Transliterations

The following key to the Hebrew transliterations used in this thesis was taken from Werner Weinberg's Guide to Hebrew Transliteration According to Israeli Pronunciation (New York: UAHC, 1977).

## A. Consonants

ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	ב
t	ch	z	v	h	d	g	v	b
פ	פ	ס	נ	מ	ל	כ	כ	י
f	p	s	n	m	l	ch	k	y
		ת	ת	ש	ש	ר	ק	צ
		t	t	s	sh	r	k	ts

The ך and ם are disregarded, except sometimes in the middle of a word where they may be indicated by an apostrophe for better enunciation of the word. The ה at the end of a word is represented by an h.

## B. Vowels and Diphthongs

—	Ɀ	—	=	a
(Kamats	<u>katan</u>	Ɀ)	=	o
	Ɀ		=	u
Ɀ	Ɀ	Ɀ	=	e
Ɀ			=	i
Ɀ	—		=	ai
Ɀ	Ɀ		=	oi
Ɀ	Ɀ		=	ei or e

## C. Sheva

Silent sheva (sheva nach) is not represented. Vocal sheva (sheva na) is represented, when sounded, by the letter "e."

## D. Strong Dagesh

Strong dagesh (chazak) is not represented, except in words where the doubled letter has become widely accepted through usage.

## E. Prefixes

Prefixes are written together with the word. If the word proper begins with Ɀ or Ɀ the resulting two vowels are separated by an apostrophe.

## F. Common Biblical Names and Terms

For common Biblical names, the transliteration of the Jewish Publication Society has been followed.

II. Key to Abbreviations

ARN	-	Avot de Rabbi Natan
Ash.	-	Asher
A.Z.	-	Avodah Zara
Ba.R.	-	Bamidbar Rabba
B.B.	-	Baba Batra
B.K.	-	Baba Kama
B.M.	-	Baba Metzia
Bek.	-	Bikkurim
Ben.	-	Benjamin
Ber.	-	Berachot
I Chron.	-	I Chronicles
II Chron.	-	II Chronicles
II Cor.	-	II Corinthians
D.R.	-	Devarim Rabba
Deut.	-	Deuteronomy
Ecc.	-	Ecclesiastes
Eicha R.	-	Eicha Rabbati
Eruv.	-	Eruvin
Ex.	-	Exodus
Gen.	-	Genesis
Git.	-	Gittin
Hag.	-	Hagigah
Hab.	-	Habakkuk
Hos.	-	Hosea
Hul.	-	Hullin
Is.	-	Isaiah
Iss.	-	Issachar
Jer.	-	Jeremiah
Jub.	-	Jubilees
Jud.	-	Judges
K.R.	-	Kohelet Rabba
Ker.	-	Keritot
Ket.	-	Ketubot
Kid.	-	Kiddushin
Lam.	-	Lamentations
Lek. Tov	-	Lekach Tov
Lev.	-	Leviticus

Mak.	-	Makkot
Martyr. Is.	-	Martyrdom of Isaiah
Matt.	-	Matthew
Mech.	-	Mechilta de-Rabbi Ishmael
Meg.	-	Megillah
Me'il.	-	Me'ilah
Mid. Ag.	-	Midrash Aggadah
Mid. Teh.	-	Midrash Tehillim
Naph.	-	Naphtali
Ned.	-	Nedarim
Nid.	-	Niddah
Num.	-	Numbers
Onk.	-	Targum Onkelos
Pes.	-	Pesachim
P.R.	-	Pesikta Rabbati
PRE	-	Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezar
PRK	-	Pesikta de-Rav Kahana
Prov.	-	Proverbs
Ps.	-	Psalms
1 QM	-	1 Qumran
1 QS	-	1 Qumran Scroll
R.H.	-	Rosh Hashana
I Sam.	-	I Samuel
II Sam.	-	II Samuel
San.	-	Sanhedrin
Sh.R.	-	Shemot Rabbah
Shab.	-	Shabbat
Shek.	-	Shekalim
Shir. R.	-	Shir Hashirim Rabbah
Slav. Enoch	-	Slavonic Enoch
Sof.	-	Soferim
Suk.	-	Sukkah
Ta'an.	-	Ta'anit
Tan. Buber	-	Tanhuma Buber
Tan. Hanidpas	-	Tanhuma Hanidpas
Tar. Job	-	Targum Job
Tar. Sheni	-	Targum Sheni
Tar. Shir.	-	Targum Shir Hashirim
Tar. Tech.	-	Targum Tehillim
Ter.	-	Terumot
Test. Patr.	-	Testament of the Patriarchs
V.R.	-	Vayikra Rabbah

Wisd. Sol.	-	Wisdom of Solomon
Yal. Sh.	-	Yalkut Shimoni
Yev.	-	Yevamot
Yon.	-	Targum Yonatan
Zech.	-	Zechariah



Introduction

The culture of a people is determined not only by momentous events in its history, but by the elements which comprise its daily life as well. Legal codes, religious practices, communal institutions and the like, help determine the unique aspects of a given community. So too, do the more "mundane" elements in the culture, including culinary traditions, healing practices, and day to day practical beliefs. By examining the practical beliefs of a given society, its people may come to life for us in a way not always possible by examining its institutions.

In this thesis, we will examine Rabbinic demonology, one area of concern for the Jewish people. Specifically, we will analyze the role the belief in demons played in the lives of Jews living in Babylonia and Palestine between the 2nd and 11th Centuries C.E. In doing so, we will attempt to explore the ways in which Jews in Palestine and Babylonia believed the world worked and demonstrate how even their practical beliefs supported and were consistent with the loftier Rabbinic moral principles of their time.

In investigating Rabbinic demonology, this thesis will utilize both archeological discoveries and the sacred literature of Jewish and non-Jewish cultures and religions. Its primary focus, however, concerns Rabbinic Literature from the 2nd to 11th Centuries. Specifically, Rabbinic midrashim found in collected works, and aggadot found in the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds will be analyzed.

I chose to focus my attention on the midrash because midrashim tend to reflect in great detail information about daily life. Not only are specific demonological statements given in midrashim, but who said it, where it was said and under what circumstances it took

place, are included as well. Midrashim are the perfect source for exploring aspects of Rabbinic daily life. Furthermore, since midrashim are often of great length, they allow us greater room to spot demonological beliefs of other cultures imbedded within Rabbinic demonology.

Though there exists a significant amount of material concerning demonology in Rabbinic sources, surprisingly little direct attention has been paid to it. This is not because demonology as a subject has been ignored either. Much attention has focused on Ancient Near Eastern demonology, especially in the area of amulets. In addition, Christian scholars have thoroughly examined the demonological beliefs found in the New Testament and in Apocryphal and Pseudopigraphic literature. Jewish scholars, in turn, have contributed to our understanding of demon references in the Bible.

In contrast, little attention has been paid to Rabbinic demonology. Gershom Scholem makes mention of it in his Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition (New York:1960), in relation to Heichalot literature. Similarly, Joshua Tractenburg, in Jewish Magic and Superstition (Philadelphia: 1939), has many references to Rabbinic demonology, but only insofar as they relate to Medieval Jewish beliefs. Short articles by Cyrus Gordon in Orientalia make mention of Rabbinic demonology in relation to uncovered magical bowls. Only Jacob Neusner, in his work, A History of the Jews in Babylonia (Leiden: 1966), directly discusses Rabbinic demonology, especially as it reflects Jewish life in Babylonia. Neusner, however, only selected demonological statements from the Babylonian Talmud. In contrast, Louis Rabinowitz, in his article on demonology in the Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem: 1971), does present material from

Palestinian midrashim, though only a limited number of specific examples. This thesis, then, is really the first attempt to examine and analyze in detail, demonological statements from Targumim, Palestinian midrashim as well as the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds, i.e., the whole range of aggadic literature.

The demonological statements found in the Rabbinic sources were initially uncovered using concordances on individual midrashim.<sup>1</sup> Three terms were employed vis a vis concordances: shed (demon), mazik (demon), and ruach (spirit). They are the most commonly used words to describe demons in the Rabbinic sources and are used interchangeably throughout the centuries. The initial sources which were uncovered often contained specific demon names as well. These names were subsequently applied to the concordances to yield further sources. The use by the Rabbis of Biblical verses, which appeared in the growing collection of demonological statements, was traced through verse indices, and subject indices in midrashic compilations were utilized as well to uncover still additional sources.<sup>2</sup> Finally, compilations of Talmudic aggadot, general and topical midrashic anthologies and various dictionaries and lexicons were utilized to yield further sources.<sup>3</sup>

The gathered material then was analyzed according to subject, Rabbinic source, tradent, time and location, and organized into chapters. Chapter I will present a general introduction to demonology as well as demonological beliefs from non-Jewish cultures. The demonological beliefs found in the Bible, Apocryphal and Pseudopigraphic literature and the New Testament will be presented as well. Chapter II will investigate the Rabbinic beliefs concerning the

origin, appearances and habitations of the demons, while Chapter III will explore the characteristics of the demons. Their beneficent and malevolent natures will be discussed. Specific demons and their interaction with mankind will be presented in Chapter IV and the various methods of protection which the Rabbis employed against the demons will be explored in detail in Chapter V. Chapter VI will concern itself with various analytical considerations, including the investigation of certain traditions and specific demonological sources. Finally, Chapter VII will sum up the gathered material and present certain conclusions concerning Rabbinic demonology.

Chapter I

Jewish and Non-Jewish Influences on

Rabbinic Demonology

Demonism, the notion that spirits inhabit all parts of the world, is found in the primitive beliefs of all tribes and races throughout history. In its original sense, the demon may be broadly defined as an anonymous god. That is, the term was originally used to personify vague, less specific powers who existed alongside known gods. The demons could be beneficial or injurious. The Iranian term "daeva," for example, originally meant "spirit," and only later became known as a word for an evil force. The Assyrians spoke of both good and evil demons. This seems to have held true, at one point, for most polytheistic religions.<sup>1</sup>

In its later stages, however, demonism became identified as the belief that "there exist evil spirits which are more or less responsible for the misfortunes which assail men."<sup>2</sup> This belief occurs as the result of a process in which the known gods were seen to be beneficent, while anonymous gods became seen as injurious to mankind. This is because the known gods could be appeased through sacrifices at their temple, while the demons had no specific name by which they could be called, nor a temple at which humans could offer gifts of appeasement. The absence then of interaction between humans and demons caused, over time, the demons to be viewed as strangers who were to be feared and whose habitations were to be shunned.

A concomitant process occurs when a god loses prominence. That god no longer has any fixed interactions with mankind, and thus tends to become viewed as a demon. The same process also occurs to the gods of a conquered populace. Their gods are no longer believed to be powerful, are no longer worshipped, and tend to become identified with demons.<sup>3</sup>

Demons are not, however, always identified as anonymous gods. In some cultures, they are depicted as departed human spirits who are often hostile, i.e., dead relatives whose family has not buried them properly or failed to make proper offerings for their well-being, or the spirits of one's enemies. In other cultures, demons are identified as part human spirit and part god.<sup>4</sup>

From a religious/psychological point of view, we may say that demonism is the process whereby inner human experiences are projected outward onto an external source. Feelings, moods, emotions and physical ailments, which today we describe as primarily internally generated, in demonic belief are portrayed as forces placed upon an individual. Experiences such as ecstasy, rapture and insight, were seen as visitations from the outside. (We still speak today of epileptic seizure, as though one has been seized by an external force).<sup>5</sup>

Before examining in detail the demonology of the Israelites, there are several cautionary points we must keep in mind. First, we must be aware that demons often survive as figures of speech long after they have stopped being objects of belief, (i.e., epileptic seizure). Though a demon name may appear in a text, that is not necessarily proof of belief in that demon at that time. Second, we must be aware that since demons were believed to cause various bodily ailments and catastrophes, they were often named after the ills which they caused. It thus becomes difficult to determine whether a word is to be taken as a common noun or as a proper name of a demon. II Sam. 1:9, for example, states: "cramp has seized me." Is this the physical ailment, or the demon which is causing the pain?



These cautionary points are applicable to demonology in all the cultures and historical periods which this paper will cover.<sup>6</sup>

#### A. Demonology in Foreign Cultures

Since, as mentioned above, demonology is common to all peoples, there are inevitable elements which all groups share in common. For this reason, in our examination of the demonology of other nations, parallels will be found with both Biblical and Rabbinic demonology. It is impossible, however, to assert with surety that a particular belief found in Rabbinic demonology was influenced by a similar belief in an older system. As will be seen, demonological beliefs are quite ubiquitous, and thus one system may have freely borrowed from a number of other cultures, or may simply be expressing a common cultural phenomenon.

Summerian demonology (which is ancient Babylonian and Assyrian demonology) contains three types of demons: disembodied human spirits, half-human-half-demon, and non-human.<sup>7</sup> Babylonian-Assyrian demonology knows of a class of demons called shedim. The singular, shedu, is probably derived from a root meaning "to be violent." Shedim may be good or evil spirits and are frequently found in the form of winged bulls guarding the entrances to temples. In addition, we find in Babylonian-Assyrian demonology the male demon Lilu and the female demonesses Lilitu and Ardat Lili, both of whom were said to have intimate relations with men.<sup>8</sup> Other specific demons which are not as prevalent include:

1. Utukku - the spirits of dead men who haunt deserts and graveyards.
2. Alu - one-half human/one-half animal demons, who haunt ruins and dark corners.
3. Ekimmu - spirits of the dead who died a violent death and who are active at night.
4. Rabisu - of terrible appearance, associated with nightmares.
5. Laburtu - female demons with the head of a lion, who drink blood and eat the flesh of humans.
6. Ashaku - demons who cause burning fever.
7. Namtar - the demon of plague.<sup>9</sup>

In general, Babylonian and Assyrian demonology believed that demons were numerous and lived everywhere. They inhabited burial grounds, fields, deserts and ruins. They frequently assumed animal forms (serpents, scorpions, and fabulous shapes), were invisible and could possess men and women. If demons were ingested with food, liquid, or were breathed in, they could cause sickness and disease.<sup>10</sup>

Demons could be protected against by the use of amulets, which were often hung at the door. Exorcisms by priests were also utilized. The priest would touch the possessed with a piece of iron, the hair of certain animals or specific plants, to drive out the demons. Spittle was also used, and often an incantation naming the demon and invoking the power of a specific god was recited by the priest. Finally, sympathetic magic also was employed to drive away the demons. An animal, for example, was sometimes substituted for the sufferer in a

particular ceremony.<sup>11</sup>

Another possible influence on Rabbinic demonology was Persian mythology and demonology. According to the Persian religion, Zoroastrianism, in the beginning of creation there were two primeval spirits, independent of and opposed to one another. Ahura Mazda chose the good realm and created heaven; Angra Mainya (tormenting spirit), later known as Achriman, chose the evil realm. Everything in the world consists of these two opposites and the powers they represent: good/evil, light/dark, health/sickness and life/death. Ahura Mazda encourages men to goodness, Achriman seduces them into evil. However, at some time in the future, men will all reject evil and embrace goodness. Achriman will flee or be slain and Ahura Mazda will rule forever.<sup>12</sup>

Achriman, as the originator of evil, is also chief of the daevas (demons), whom he created. There are an uncountable number of demons in the world, most of whom are males, though some females exist as well. They live in the north and are invisible, though they may appear in human form if they so choose. The demons can be driven off by virtue, by the light of day, or through exorcism.

There exist several classes of demons in Persian mythology. One class consists of departed human spirits, while another is the personification of sickness and of various evils and miseries. Specific demons include:

1. Aeshma - demon of rage and anger, often described as a wounding spear.
2. Druj - the female personification of wickedness.

### 3. Azi Dahaka - half-demon/half-human.<sup>13</sup>

There do seem to be strong influences of Persian belief on the demonology of the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha. Certainly, as mentioned earlier, these works do reflect some form of dualism involving the chiefs of evil forces (Satan, Belial, etc.), who will, in the end, be overthrown by God. Like the Persian demons, the demons in the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha also seduce and lead men into evil.<sup>14</sup>

Arab demonology, to some degree, may also have influenced Biblical and Rabbinic demonology. The usual Arabic word for demon is jinn, "covert" or "darkness". For the Arabs, demons were numerous and found everywhere, though they usually dwelt in desolate places, burial grounds, refuse spots and the desert. They were abroad at night, from twilight to cockcrow, and assumed different corporeal, but invisible forms, such as snakes, lizards, owls and flying serpents. Often, they were depicted as hairy beings and were viewed as responsible for sickness, disease, madness and death.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, Greek demonology may have had some influence on Rabbinic demonology as well. Greek demonology may be traced in several clear stages. The word daimon, in its earlier stage, probably meant "divine". It was used to mean any type of influence from an other-worldly source (Pythagoreans). In the second stage (post-Homeric), the demons were seen as the intermediaries between gods and men. For example, they were responsible for prophecy (Plutarch and Plato). Over time, as the gods were viewed as loftier beings, having less involvement with the world, all that was injurious to mankind was now viewed as the province of the demons. They were seen as imperfect beings, some good, others

evil (Philo and Xenocrates). In the last stage, the demons were seen as evil creatures, originating from the souls of deceased humans.<sup>16</sup>

Among the demons in Greek demonology were:

1. Harpies - long-haired winged female demons.
2. Gorgons - underworld demons.
3. Sirens - mermaids, demonic creatures of the sea.
4. Keres - ghosts or spirits, pictured as tiny winged creatures.

They were said to be found in every house and were believed to cause plagues, blindness, madness and nightmares, often by entering into the meat eaten by humans.<sup>17</sup>

#### B. Demons in the Bible

It must be stated from the outset that though the Bible seems to contain explicit references to demons, at no time does it attempt to formulate a specific hierarchy of demons, nor does it even attempt to place them into categories. Furthermore, the Bible does not present any specific theological statements concerning the demons. Who they are and their place in the universe in relation to God and mankind, must be reconstructed from the vague hints the Biblical text provides.

One possible type of demon in the Bible is the shed. They are mentioned only twice; once in Deut. 32:17, where it is stated that the Israelites roused God to jealousy by offering sacrifices to shedim, who were "no-gods," and once in Ps. 106:37, which relates that Israel sacrificed their sons and daughters to the shedim. Based on context alone, the shedim might be identified only with foreign gods or idols

who were rivals of Yahweh. Comparisons, however, with other Ancient Near East cultures, can help provide us with a more detailed meaning for shedim.

In Akkadian, the word sedu, means demon (good or bad), and was usually represented as a winged bull or colossus. In Babylonia and Assyria, shedim was a general term for spirits. In Chaldean mythology, the seven evil deities were also known as shedim, and were associated with storms.<sup>18</sup> There may also be a possible etymological link with the Hebrew root ShDD, meaning, "to devastate, ruin, deal violently with."<sup>19</sup> Though the shedim occur frequently in Rabbinic sources which concern demons, they are barely mentioned and are only vaguely defined in Biblical references.

Another possible type of demon found in the Bible is the se'ir. The word often can simply mean "goat" (Lev. 17:7). The se'irim are said to inhabit ruins together with some type of night creature (Is. 34:14). II Chr. 11:15 mentions that Jeroboam appointed priests for the high places to serve the se'irim and calves that he had made. Just as the calves represented some god, it may possible that the se'irim did too.<sup>20</sup> Since the se'irim were fancied as hairy creatures who haunted ruins, the Rabbis had no hesitation in identifying them as demons. The Bible, however, does not give us enough information to positively identify them as such.

Azazel, another possible demon, is mentioned in Lev. 16. On the tenth day of the new year, the High Priest was commanded to bring two goats before Yahweh at the door of the Tabernacle and cast lots for them. One was chosen for Yahweh and the other for Azazel. The goat for Yahweh was slain as a sin-offering for the people.

The High Priest then put his hands on the one for Azazel and confessed the sins of the people. The goat was then led into the wilderness and released.

Just who or what was Azazel, the Bible does not state. However, Azazel is known as a Babylonian deity and is also found in Mandaean, Sabeian and Arabian mythology. As discussed earlier, it may be that Azazel is a demoted god from another culture who has become the demon of the wilderness. Again, the Bible provides us with scant details.<sup>21</sup>

Lillit is the name of a creature mentioned in Is. 34:14 who haunts ruins, together with the se'irim, wild beasts and unclean birds. Lillit, which is in the feminine form, comes from the Sumerian, lil, "wind/spirit." She is the Mesopotamian succuba, tempting men in sexual dreams. By the 8th Century B.C.E. she is mentioned in texts as a child-stealer. As Lillith, she appears often in Rabbinic sources as the original consort of Adam and as the seducer of men. Yet, in the Bible, her demonic associations are not clearly stated.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, mention must be made, however briefly, of Satan. In the Bible, satan is a common noun meaning "adversity" (I Sam. 29:4; I Kings 5:18, 11:14,23,25). As a possible demon, satan is found in Zech. 3 and in Job 1-2. In Zech. 3, the satan acts as a prosecutor in the celestial court. In Job 1 and 2, the satan questions Job's integrity. Yet, in both of these books, the satan is clearly subordinate to God. It is not an independent character, for it cannot act without God's permission. The satan is not to be viewed as an opponent of God either. Though in Zech. 3:1-2 the satan is an adversary of the High Priest, it still is acting according to God's wishes.



Only one exception to the above occurs in the Bible, which is in I Chr. 21:1. There, Satan is used as a proper name, and seemingly acts independent of God in inciting David to take a census of Israel. It must be kept in mind, however, that Chronicles is written later than the majority of books in the Bible, and thus may already be reflecting Zoroastrian influences.

Though Satan, in the Apocrypha, Pseudopigrapha, New Testament and Rabbinic Literature, will become the fallen angel, associated with the evil impulse and viewed as the powerful opponent of God and ruler of the demons, he does not, in the Bible, assume any of these roles.<sup>23</sup>

Another demon who appears often in the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha, but who merits but scant mention in the Bible, is the demon chief Belial. Like Satan, Belial does not appear in the Bible as a distinct entity. Rather, the term belial refers to anyone opposing the established authority (I Sam. 10:27; Judges 19:22).<sup>24</sup>

There are other terms which occur in the Bible which are even more ambiguous concerning their identification with demons. Prov. 30:15, for example, refers to the alukah which, though it means "leech" in Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac, is used as a term meaning "vampire," in Arabic literature. Then there is the term mavet, usually translated as "death." The term, however, is also the proper name of the Canaanite god of the underworld, Mot. In Prov. 16:14, the "messengers of Mavet," parallel the "servants of Nergal," who is the king of Hades and the god of pestilence and fever in Chaldean mythology. Identifying mavet as a Canaanite god, even if he is the god of death, does not necessarily identify him as a demon, unless we assume that he is a demoted or conquered god turned demon. No proof of this is available, however.<sup>25</sup>



The term, pachad lailah, fear of the night, which occurs in Ps. 91:5 and Song of Songs 3:8, may be a term for a night demon, though this cannot be clearly shown. It has also been suggested that the term "avnai ha-sadeh," stones of the field, found in Job 5:23, be rendered: "adonai ha-sadeh," lords of the fields, that is, some type of field demons. Again, this cannot be clearly shown.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, there are diseases named in the Bible which may also be the proper names of the demons who cause them. Dever, usually translated as "pestilence," comes from a root meaning "cast prone." It seems to be personified in both Hab. 3:5 and Ps. 91:5-6. If it is a demon, Dever still does not operate as an independent agent. Ex. 9:3 and 12:39 explain that it is the Lord who sends Dever. Ketev is often found together with dever. It comes from a root meaning "cut off." Ketev may have been the personification of the storm-wind or, more likely, of the noonday heat. It appears in Deut. 32:24, Is. 28:2, Hosea 13:14 and Ps. 91:6. Though Ketev, for the Rabbis, is a distinct demon, it is unclear in the Bible whether ketev represents a demon or a hot wind. Reshef, plague, was a major god in Canaanite religion and was known as the god of plague and pestilence in much of the Ancient Near East. In Hab. 3:5, reshef is paired with dever as attendants of Yahweh when He goes to war. Reshef may appear as an individual entity in Deut. 32:24 and Ps. 76:3, though it is unclear whether it appears as an anonymous demon or a specific god. Mention should be also made of chetz, fiery arrow, who appears in Job 6:4, 34:6 and Ps. 91:5. In folklore, disease and misfortune are often linked to the arrows of demons, though whether chetz is a demon cannot be clearly demonstrated here.<sup>27</sup>

In regard to ancient Israelite methods of warding off the demons, we must keep in mind, as mentioned earlier, that it is difficult to determine whether a specific action was consciously understood at that time to help protect from demons, or whether its original, anti-demon meaning had been lost. We may only tentatively suggest then that the bells on the High Priest's robe were used to ward off demons by their loud sounds (Ex. 28:33-35). Perhaps the sounding of the horn on sacred occasions was used also for this purpose (Ex. 19:16 and Lev. 25:9). Smearing the doorposts with blood (Ex. 12:7) as well as putting the color blue on the hem of one's garment (Nu. 15:38), may have also defended against demons. The burning of incense may have been another way of warding off the demons (Lev. 16:12-13).<sup>28</sup>

As mentioned earlier, we can formulate an idea of Biblical demonology only by piecing together the scant hints that the references provide us. If some of the terms mentioned above are names for specific demons, then we may say that, according to Biblical demonology, demons live in deserts or ruins, inflict sickness, trouble the mind and are deceivers. Yet, they are under God's control. However, we will see how, as time went on, the demons began to take on more and more individual power.

### C. Demons in the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha

In the last centuries before the Common Era, Judaism, as expressed in some of the Apocryphal and Pseudopigraphic literature, took on the appearance of a "mitigated dualism." In much of this literature, we find God and goodness posed against the forces of evil. However, unlike Persian dualism, these forces of evil were never given a totally

independent character. God's absolute sovereignty and power remained unthreatened and unquestioned. In addition, vague demon allusions in the Bible are "fleshed out" during this period. The demons are no longer anonymous gods, but rather are distinct forces of evil who attempt to seduce mankind into error and sin.<sup>29</sup>

In this period, the connection is made between fallen angels and demons, both of whom are led by various chiefs. Often, the chiefs of the fallen angels become princes of the evil spirits. There is such a close interweaving which occurs between angelology and demonology, that it is almost impossible to separate out the strands clearly and gain some sense of chronology, or even hierarchy. Though it is tempting to say that demons come from fallen angels, the truth is that both angelology and demonology developed side by side and borrowed liberally from one another during their development.<sup>30</sup>

Six demon princes stand out in particular in this literature: Satan, Belial, Azazel, Asmodeus, Mastemah and Samael. Their names are often used interchangeably and all share roughly the same characteristics.

Satan as an evil power, separate from God, is found within Apocryphal and Pseudopigraphic literature. He is the author of all evil (Wisdom of Solomon 2:24), hurled down from heaven for seducing Eve (Slavonic Enoch 29:4 and 31:3) and rules over an entire host of fallen angels (Martyrdom of Isaiah 2:2).<sup>31</sup>

Belial, as mentioned above, serves much the same function as did Satan. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, his name is used most often as the leader of the demons. Belial is identified as the spirit of darkness (Test. Patr. Levi 19:1) whose will opposes God

(Test. Patr. Naph. 3:1). He holds sway over the world (1QS 1:18, 24) and he or his spirits cause men to do evil (Test. Patr. Asher 1:8). He is the father of all idolatrous nations (Jub. 1:20 and 15:32) and wields a sword which causes bloodshed, death and panic (Test. Patr. Ben. 7:1-2). Ultimately, there will be a final war in which he and his band will be chained by God or cast into the fire.<sup>32</sup>

Azazel is linked in Apocryphal literature with the fall of the angels. He was the leader of the rebellious giants before the Flood and is said to lead men astray into wickedness and impurity.<sup>33</sup>

Mastemah also takes on many of Satan's functions. He is the prince of the evil spirits (Jub. 11:5, 11) and it was he who proposed to God that Abraham be tested through the Akedah. He was also the one who sought to slay Moses when he left Midian.<sup>34</sup>

Samael, who appears in 3 Baruch and the Martyrdom of Isaiah, seems to be interchangeable with Satan. In the Ascension of Isaiah, he is identified with Belial.<sup>35</sup>

Asmodeus is an evil spirit who seeks to harm mankind (Tobit 3:8 and 6:14). His name may come from the Hebrew root ShMD, "to destroy," or from the Persian word, Aesmadiy, "the spirit of anger." Asmodeus will later surface in Rabbinic literature as the demon Ashmedai.<sup>36</sup>

In the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha, we find for the first time, speculation regarding the origin of the demons. First Enoch offers several possibilities. In one version, the angels descend and have intercourse with the daughters of men. Giants were born from that union who, when they died, became evil spirits (15:8). In another version, the union of the angels and the daughters of men produced

demons directly (10). Finally, a third version states that the union of the angels with the daughters of men produced spirits who led mankind astray, convincing them to sacrifice to demons (who are viewed as already in existence).<sup>37</sup>

#### D. Demons in the New Testament

While the New Testament represents a theological break from both Israelite religion and Rabbinic Judaism, and while it is not possible to determine if Rabbinic sources were influenced by, or were a reaction to its demonology, nonetheless, it may be said that the New Testament contains much information about demons which must have been shared by the general population of Palestine in the First Century C.E. Accordingly, we will examine the demonology of the New Testament for the light it may help to throw on Rabbinic sources. While there are some differences amongst the canonical books of the New Testament concerning their demonological beliefs, nonetheless, an examination of the Synoptic Gospels will provide the major elements of New Testament demonology.

Unlike the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha, the origins of the demons are never discussed in the Synoptic Gospels nor in the entire New Testament. However, the Synoptic Gospels do give evidence of their existence. The number of demons, who were known also as evil or unclean spirits, was believed to be infinitely large. They were often associated with desolate locations, such as tombs or deserts (Luke 8:26 and 11:24). The Synoptic Gospels state again and again that demons are responsible for the physical ills that effect humankind: deafness, blindness, epilepsy, convulsions, raving, etc.<sup>38</sup>

The Synoptic Gospels also place much emphasis on the fact that demons possess individuals and often talk through them (Mark 1:32, 39 and 6:7, 13).<sup>39</sup> Concomitantly, exorcism is also found within their pages (Mark 1:27). Several examples are given of Jesus casting out demons from individuals and giving his disciples the power to do the same.

While various demon chiefs are found within the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha, the New Testament knows of only one chief: Satan. Satan is regarded as the author of all evil and is a power totally independent of God. It was he who tempted Eve and brought death into the world. However, as in the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha, at the Last Judgement, Satan and his minions will be cast into eternal fire (Matt. 25:4). Satan appears in the New Testament under several names: devil, adversary, old dragon and Belzebub. Though he is destined to be defeated by God, he is seen as a powerful, independent opponent, and the representation of all evil.<sup>40</sup>

Chapter II

Origins, Appearances and Habitations of the Demons

### A. Origins

Rabbinic sources contain several explanations regarding the origins of the demons. In all cases, however, the origin of the demons was linked to God or to one of God's creations. The demons were not products of a separate entity which opposed God, as found in Persian dualism. In general, three main opinions, not necessarily exclusive of one another, emerge from the sources: God created the demons on the eve of the sixth day; Adam sired them; and the generation of the Dispersion was changed into them.

In the Rabbinic tradition, items associated with miraculous events were said to have been created at twilight on the sixth day, since the work of Creation ended with the coming of the Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Other manifestations also found in the world, which were not specifically listed in the story of Creation, were said to have been created at this time (the rainbow, for example). Thus, it would be quite natural to assign the origin of the demons to this time as well. It is also not surprising that the demons were said to have been created at twilight, for the demons were often linked in tales with transitional times, i.e., midnight, noon and dawn, as well as with interstitial locations, i.e., between the sun and the shade.<sup>2</sup> Several Rabbinic sources also suggest that the sudden onset of the Sabbath caused the demons to be only one-half completed. Note, for example, the following midrash: "Rabbi said: The Holy One, Blessed be He, created the souls of the demons, but since the holiness of the Sabbath began, He did not create their bodies."<sup>3</sup> This then, serves to explain why the demons are invisible. In addition, the creation



of the demons on the sixth day may help explain why the demons share several characteristics with mankind.<sup>4</sup>

Other Rabbinic texts state that the demons were created as a result of Adam's union with various female demons who were assumed to have been created on the sixth day. During the 130 years that Adam separated from Eve, following the death of Abel, female ruchot came to him and through them, he produced mazikim.<sup>5</sup> Another source states that Adam gave birth to shedim and lillin as well.<sup>6</sup> Finally, a third source of this subject suggests that Eve was approached by male ruchot and bore demon children too.<sup>7</sup> Lest one would think that their activities were adulterous, Tanhuma Buber, Bereshit 27 explains that one who lies with ruchot is not guilty of unchastity.

Several midrashim state that God changed some members of the generation of the Dispersion into apes, and others into shedim, ruchot and lillin.<sup>8</sup> A curious origin for shedim is given in Baba Kama 16a, which states that the male hyena over the years, undergoes various transformations: from a hyena to a bat to a thorn, and finally to a shed.<sup>9</sup>

The Rabbinic sources also mention that the ruchot and mazikim are the souls of the Refa'im, the giants of the generation of the Flood.<sup>10</sup> An opposite point of view, vis. that the demons were the fathers of the giants, is found in Midrash Tehillim 73:2. Commenting on Ps. 73:6, ("Therefore pride is as a chain around their neck"), it translates the verse as: "Therefore pride makes them like the giants, whose mothers had intercourse with the demons and thus gave birth to them who were violent."<sup>11</sup>

### B. Appearances

Rabbinic sources are filled with various descriptions of the demons. According to one view, the demons consisted only of spirit.<sup>12</sup> Since they had no body, they were invisible.<sup>13</sup> This may have been advantageous because the demons were so terrible in appearance that any creature who saw them would die.<sup>14</sup> For this reason, in some sources the demons are depicted as wearing masks over their features. When a man's sins warranted it, they lifted the mask and gazed upon him, producing sickness.<sup>15</sup>

Demons had the power to change their appearance at will, which explains why they were depicted in so many different guises.<sup>16</sup> They could appear as men or women, even casting the shadows of humans.<sup>17</sup> Other sources state that though they had arms and legs, their legs were similar to those of roosters.<sup>18</sup> The demons could appear as a seven-headed dragon, a calf with a horn growing out of its head, or a scaly creature full of hair and eyes.<sup>19</sup> In addition, they were often depicted with wings.<sup>20</sup>

In some sources, the demons are described as being small in size. A thousand of them could fit into a tiny piece of land.<sup>21</sup> In other sources, they are described as heavy enough to cause bruising of the feet, weariness of the knees and wearing out of the clothes of those who continually brushed against them.<sup>22</sup>

### C. Habitations and Haunts

Being so numerous, demons were believed to inhabit all places on the earth. In fact, any area the size of a portion of land sown with one-half pint of seed (a very small area) contained thousands of demons. They surrounded man on all sides just like a ridge surrounds a field. Every human being had one thousand demons on his left hand, and ten thousand on his right.<sup>23</sup>

Though demons inhabited all places, there were specific locations where they were sure to be found. According to several Rabbinic sources, the demons came from the north. Yalkut Shimoni specifically states that shedim, mazikim and ruchot came from there.<sup>24</sup> This may be due to the general negative associations the Rabbis had with the north. The north was believed to be the source of all darkness. (This may be because all the major luminaries were believed to be situated in the south, except for Ursa Major). From the north came earthquakes, winds, lightening and thunder. Thus, it is not surprising that demons are linked with the north, which was already identified as a source of evil manifestations.<sup>25</sup> Another possibility is presented in Chapter 3 of Pirke deRabbi Eliezar: "God created the north quarter (of the world), but He did not complete it, saying, "Anyone who says" 'I am a god!,' let him come and complete this quarter which I have left incomplete, and then all will know he is a god."<sup>26</sup> Since, as mentioned earlier, the demons were seen as half-completed creatures, it would be natural for the Rabbis to see their abode in the north, which was also only one-half completed.<sup>27</sup>

Although their original abode may be in the North, as mentioned above, the demons are found wherever mankind lives. One specific place with which they are frequently associated is the privy. It is not surprising that the feared demons were associated with unclean places. Ber. 62a tells of a certain privy in Tiberias in which, even if two people entered together in the daylight, they were harmed by a demon. A known demon of the privy was Bar Shirika Panda. The demon Ketev Meriri was mainly to be found in the shadows of the privy.<sup>28</sup> After leaving the privy, one must be careful, since the demon followed for at least one-half mile. If one had drink an even number of cups of any type of liquid (which was regarded as a dangerous action), he was liable to be attacked by demons if he entered the privy.<sup>29</sup>

The association of demons with the privy may help explain a strange aggadah in Ber. 62b: "R. Safra entered a privy and R. Abba came and cleared his throat at the entrance. Safra said: 'Let the master enter!' When Safra came out, Abba said to him: "You have not yet been turned into a goat, but you have learned the manners of a goat." If we keep in mind that se'ir, goat, was often interpreted as demon, and that modesty and silence were believed to be one form of protection against the demons who haunted the privy, then Abba's statement becomes clearer: "You have the manners of a goat (for inviting me into the privy while you were inside it). Yet, fortunately, in spite of your indiscretion (in speaking), you have not been turned into a satyr (by the demons of the privy)."<sup>30</sup>

Besides privies, the demons were also found in bath-houses. One aggadah tells of a bath-house whose demons attacked its users during the day. Another midrash relates that R. Samuel b. Nachman met an

argonaut (a demon of the water) in a bath-house. It also was related of Solomon that he used female demons to heat his bath-houses.<sup>31</sup>

In addition, demons were found in or near certain types of trees. In general, it was believed that demons haunted any tree which had many branches and/or hard thorns. For this reason, R. Kahana avoided all shades. The only exception was the karumsa tree, whose shade was not harmful. Several trees were specifically mentioned in connection with demons. Ruchin were believed to dwell in the shade of caper trees, as did a certain demon without eyes, while shedim lived in sorb-bushes. One aggadah relates that a sorb-bush near a particular town had sixty shedim living in it. The demon Ketev Meriri was known to dwell in the shadow of the shrub plant, when the shadow was less than one cubit. The shade of kanda and willow trees was also regarded as dangerous.<sup>32</sup>

The tree most often associated with the demons, however, was the palm tree; especially a solitary one. If one rested his head on the stump of a palm tree, the demon Zarada seized him. If one attended to his bodily needs on the stump, the demon Palga attacked him. Stepping over a cut-down or uprooted palm tree could cause one's death. The palm tree also figures in several aggadot concerning demons. It is thus probably by design that R. Yochanan b. Zakkai was said to know the language of shedim and of palm trees.<sup>33</sup>

Demons are also found near sources of water. The association of demons with bath-houses has already been discussed. In addition, demons were found in wells and near drain pipes.<sup>34</sup> Frequently they rested on jugs of water and even hovered over cups of liquid.<sup>35</sup> Demons also dwelt on the narrow paths outside of inhabited areas, and lived in ruins and deserts as well.<sup>36</sup>

While the demons were to be found in many places, they were believed to be the strongest at night. Night was the time in which they wandered to and fro.<sup>37</sup> Igrat bat Machalat, a demoness, was said to be active during Wednesday and Friday nights.<sup>38</sup> The chief of the demons accosted R. Chanina b. Papa during the night.<sup>39</sup> Solomon, in his old age, was said to need protection from pachad lailah (dread of the night), which the Rabbis understood to be demons.<sup>40</sup> R. Yochanan cautioned that one should not greet another at night for fear that he may be a demon, and the Rabbis warned that one should not drink water in the night because the demon Shabriri may be present.<sup>41</sup> Scholars studying at night were said to need special protection against attack.<sup>42</sup> Rabbinic sources also mention that the demon Shimadon attacked a child who ventured out at night, but was rendered powerless by the coming of the dawn.<sup>43</sup> Concomitantly, it may be due to the presence of the sun that demons were said to reside in the shadows of trees, bushes and privies during the daylight hours.<sup>44</sup>

Chapter III

Character of the Demons

As described in the Rabbinic sources, demons shared certain characteristics with humans and with angels. One of the ways in which they were said to be like human beings was that they were susceptible to death.<sup>1</sup> They could be killed by humans or other demons. Note, in this regard, how Midrash Tehillim relates that Abba Jose b. Dosai and his disciples distracted an evil demon in order that a friendly demon would be able to kill it.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, Baba Batra states that the demon Hormin bar Lillit was put to death by the government.<sup>3</sup>

Another element of similarity between demons and humans was that demons consisted primarily (but not exclusively) of two sexes. The Rabbinic sources indicate that they propagated like human beings as well.<sup>4</sup> We have mentioned earlier that Adam was said to have had sexual relations with female ruchot, through which he sired demon offspring. Male demons who sired children are also known in the sources.<sup>5</sup> Mention is made as well, of a pious man who was seduced by a demoness on Yom Kippur and of Ashmedai, king of the demons, who had sex with Solomon's harem after disposing him from the throne.<sup>6</sup>

There are other areas in which the demons were said to be similar to humans. They ate and drank, and they spoke; either in the language of man or in a special language which only the wise could understand.<sup>7</sup>

The demons were also said to share certain similarities with angels. For example, they flew like the angels.<sup>8</sup> R. Berechiah described a certain demon which shot like an arrow and flew like a bird. The Rabbis also described a water demon who transported two rabbis from Tiberias to Paneas.<sup>9</sup> Like the angels, the demons were said to fly from one end of the world to the other.<sup>10</sup> Another similarity between the demons and the angels was that the demons also knew of heavenly decrees. Apparently they listened from behind the Veil.



Ashmedai was said to fly up to heaven every day and thus knew proclamations concerning mankind. The demoness Igrat bat Machalat also knew of heavenly proclamations.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the reason that the demons were said to be consulted by the Rabbis may have been due to the heavenly decrees of which they were aware.<sup>12</sup>

The character of the demons was regarded by the Rabbis to be essentially harmful. It has already been mentioned in Chapter II that they were said to originate from the north, a place associated with evil occurrences.<sup>13</sup> The demons are described in the Rabbinic sources as raging throughout the world, afflicting mankind.<sup>14</sup> They were also responsible for causing illness.

As mentioned earlier, demons were often associated with illnesses. The Bible seems to associate demons with plagues and other sicknesses, as did the New Testament. Other cultures, too, frequently linked the demons and disease.<sup>15</sup> However, sometimes it is difficult to determine whether the name of the illness is being given in a specific Rabbinic text or the name of the demon who has caused the illness. Gittin 67b, for example, tells of a man who is seized by kordiakos. In the discussion that follows, it appears that the Rabbis are unsure themselves whether kordiakos was the name of the sickness or the name of the demon of dizziness. Similarly, Berachot 44b mentions ruach ketzarit. It is not clear if this is asthma or the demons which produce this illness. Finally, Yoma 83a states: "One who is seized by bulmus, we feed him (even on Yom Kippur) until he is satisfied." Again, was bulmus a ravenous hunger, or the demon who produces such pangs? This same dilemma applies to the sources which speak of ruach zarada (associated with vertigo), ruach palga (associated with headache) and ruach tzara'at (associated with leprosy).<sup>16</sup>

Another "gray" area in the Rabbinic sources which speak of demons and illness is the Rabbis' concern with washing. The Rabbis were very scrupulous regarding the washing of hands, believing it protected from demons. Whether this was to protect against illness that the demons caused, or was to protect against the demons themselves, is not clear.<sup>17</sup>

There are, however, clear examples of demons who caused illness in the Rabbinic sources. Ben Temalyon was a demon who entered into the emperor's daughter and caused her to become sick. Ben Nefalim was a demon believed to cause asthmatic spells.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the demon Shabriri was thought to have been the cause of blindness, while the demoness, Bat Melech, caused eye diseases.<sup>19</sup> The demons were also said to indirectly cause bruising of the feet and fatigue in the knees.<sup>20</sup> Epilepsy was a disease often attributed to the demons. If one had sexual intercourse while a demon hovered over him, he would sire epileptic children.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, it was thought that one who saw the demon Ketev Meriri would have an epileptic seizure.<sup>22</sup> The demons were also believed to cause fatal illnesses. In several sources they are identified with plague and rabies.<sup>23</sup> It was said that if the mazikim removed the mask which covered their features and gazed at a man, he would fall sick and die.<sup>24</sup>

Demons were also believed to cause direct injury to humankind. They attacked those who went to study Torah for the first time.<sup>25</sup> They attacked animals as well, causing horses to bolt and killing any beast that looked upon them.<sup>26</sup> The demons also harmed those who drank even numbers of cups. In fact, Ashmedai, the king of the demons, was the one who punished for this offense. Those who drank two cups, whether deliberately or accidentally, put their life in direct jeopardy.

Those who drank four cups accidentally were left alone, but were hurt by the demons if they drank them deliberately.<sup>27</sup> The only exception to drinking four cups was at the Seder, for the night of Passover protected against the demons.<sup>28</sup>

The demons also were liable to attack those who paired other objects. One who paired eggs, nuts or cucumbers placed himself in danger. R. Dimi of Nehardea had a wine barrel which burst because he had put an even number of marks on its side.<sup>29</sup>

It should be noted that not all the Rabbinic sources are in uniform agreement concerning pairs. Some believed that the drinking of pairs was only dangerous if one intended to set out on a journey. Other Rabbis, however, stated that the demons attacked those who drank in pairs and then went to the privy, or who fell asleep, or who stayed at home, especially if they were important people.<sup>30</sup> Some believed that only pairs put one in danger from the demons, while even numbers such as four, six, eight, etc., put one in danger only from witchcraft. Nevertheless, the Rabbis cautioned that one should still be careful concerning one's drinking habits.<sup>31</sup>

Demons were also believed to take possession of people. One of the ways in which the Rabbis defined the demon was as a creature who entered into a person, possessed him, and made his life miserable.<sup>32</sup> Often, possession by a demon produced illness.<sup>33</sup> Note, for example, the cases in the Rabbinic sources in which a demon entered into a person and compelled him to eat unleavened bread during Passover, or forced one to travel beyond the permissible Sabbath limit.<sup>34</sup>

Imma Shalom, the wife of R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos, in describing the passionate love-making of her husband, stated that it was as if "he was compelled by a demon."<sup>35</sup>

The Rabbinic sources also describe the nature of the demons as malicious. For example, they were said to cause wine-barrels to burst.<sup>36</sup> The demons also were believed to be liars, and it is for that reason that an agunah was not permitted to remarry on the basis of a demon's declaration that her husband had died. If a voice was heard from a pit, declaring that he is the husband of a certain woman and wishes to divorce her, a get was not written for the wife, for suspicion that the voice belonged to a lying demon.<sup>37</sup> The Rabbis stated that a dream which came true was brought by an angel, while a false dream was brought by a demon.<sup>38</sup>

While the demons were considered to be dangerous and harmful, occasionally they could be mastered. R. Papa was said to have had a demon in his service.<sup>39</sup> Solomon is viewed in the Rabbinic sources as master of the demons.<sup>40</sup> He ruled over male and female shedim, using the latter to heat the public bath-houses.<sup>41</sup> He captured Ashmedai, the king of the demons, and forced him to deliver the Shamir, a creature that would cut through rocks.<sup>42</sup> After he sinned in his old age, however, Solomon was afraid of the demons, and needed to be protected by threescore mighty men.<sup>43</sup>

Not all demons were harmful, however. The Rabbinic sources mention several demons who divulged helpful information or who engaged in beneficial activities. The demon Joseph, for example, instructed R. Papa in the rules concerning "pairs," and traveled from Sura to Pumpedita to deliver Rabbinic rulings to Raba.<sup>44</sup> The demon Jonathan disclosed to R. Chanina that demons cast shadows, and an argonaut delivered Rabbi and R. Samuel b. Nachman from Tiberias to Paneas so they could arrive in time for a meeting with the emperor.<sup>45</sup>

Though the demons were generally viewed as malevolent creatures, at no time were they believed to be totally independent of God. Several midrashim state that God did not give the demons any sort of independent power.<sup>46</sup> The demons were also limited in their creative powers. R. Eliezar stated that the demons could not create any object smaller than a barley-corn.<sup>47</sup> Other rabbis, however, disagreed, and stated that the demons could not even create large objects. They could only transport already created objects from place to place, and had the power to help magicians perform their secret arts.<sup>48</sup>

Demons are occasionally seen in the Rabbinic sources as the messengers of God. Thus, their appearance was sometimes viewed as a sign of divine favor. In the case of the argonaut, mentioned earlier, who aided two rabbis, R. Samuel b. Nachman said: "Its coming heralds a miracle." The same thing was said of the demon Ben Temalyon, who met R. Simeon b. Yochai and R. Eleazar b. R. Yose on the road to Rome. R. Simeon wept, however, stating that while a handmaiden of Abraham (Hagar) was found worthy of meeting an angel three times, he was only accounted worthy enough to meet a demon. Apparently, the appearance of helpful demons signified a "lower class" of divine favor.<sup>49</sup> It should be kept in mind that the appearance of the demon was not always a favorable sign from heaven. When a man's sins warranted divine punishment, the mazikim lifted off the masks from their faces, and gazed at him, causing sickness and death.<sup>50</sup>

As servants of God, the demons were also linked to the construction and protection of the Temple. Several Rabbinic sources relate that the ruchot and shedim helped in the building of the Temple.<sup>51</sup> During the siege of Jerusalem, 60,000 mazikim were said to have stood by the gates, ready to engage the enemy in battle.<sup>52</sup>

Finally, the demons are sometimes viewed in the Rabbinic sources as bound by the same ethical standards as Israel. If the demons found lost objects lying on the road, they did not touch anything which was tied up, sealed, measured, or counted.<sup>53</sup> Both the demon Ashmedai and the demoness Igrat bat Machalat respected the decrees they had overheard in heaven. When, on one occasion, Igrat bat Machalat met R. Chanina b. Dosa, she said to him, "Had they not made an announcement concerning your learning in heaven, I would have injured you."<sup>54</sup> Ashmedai guided a lost blind man back to the main path, because he had heard it decreed in heaven that the blind man was regarded as totally righteous.<sup>55</sup> Both Ashmedai and the chief of ruchot were said to quote Scripture.<sup>56</sup> Like Israel, the demons were said to call upon God's Name and were careful not to utter it in vain.<sup>57</sup>

Chapter IV

Specific Demons



Although the majority of the demons mentioned in Rabbinic Literature are shedim and mazikim, other categories of specific demons are found in the sources as well. Since they, too, are important in forming a picture of Rabbinic demonology, we will examine them briefly.

Ashmedai was often viewed by the Rabbis as king of the demons. He had arms and legs (though his legs probably resembled a rooster's), and like humans, had bones which could break. He slept, wept and laughed, and could become drunk. Ashmedai also had wings with which he flew up to heaven and either eavesdropped on heavenly decrees or on the conversations in the Academy on High. He was responsible for punishing those who drank an even number of cups. Solomon used him to fetch the Shamir, though later he disposed Solomon, ruling for a time in his place. Ashmedai is pictured in the Rabbinic sources as the most human of the demons, not only in his appearance and mannerisms, but also in his beneficent actions towards them. In general, he does not appear as a frightful, dangerous being.<sup>1</sup>

Shimdon (destruction) was a specific demon who attacked a child of the generation of the Flood but who backed off, since dawn had broken. He proposed to Noah after the Flood that the two of them become partners in a vineyard.<sup>2</sup>

Igrat bat Machalat was a demoness who traveled by chariot and was accompanied by 180,000 destroying angels. She was abroad on Wednesday and Friday nights, and haunted the narrow paths which led into towns. She, like Ashmedai, over-heard proclamations made in heaven.<sup>3</sup>

One of the more interesting demons described in the Rabbinic sources is the demon Ketev Meriri. Its name originally appears in Deut. 32:24 in connection with other possible demons, and is identified



with some type of evil. The word ketev also appears in Ps. 91:6, and is linked with destruction at midday. From these two verses, the Rabbis fashioned a conception of a demon, terrible in appearance, who sought to injure mankind. Punning on its name, the Rabbis stated that the demon embittered (merir) the lives of all it encountered.<sup>4</sup>

The Rabbinic sources provide various descriptions of Ketev Meriri. It is described as looking like a calf covered with obsidian who has one horn growing out of its forehead.<sup>5</sup> Other versions state that it is covered with scales, eyes and hair, or has one eye centered over its heart, by which it sees.<sup>6</sup> Still another version sees the two Biblical sources as describing separate creatures and states that Ketev Meriri looks like a ladle stirring a jug of milk and bread-crumbs, while Ketev Yashud Tzaharayim looks like a goat's horn surrounded by wings.<sup>7</sup> Ketev was said to move by rolling, either like a jug or a ball.<sup>8</sup>

Ketev Meriri was so terrible to look at, that all who saw it, whether man or animal, fell down dead or had epileptic seizures. Several individuals, however, were said to have seen it and were not stricken.<sup>9</sup> It was said to be active from the 1st to the 16th of Tammuz, or from the 17th of Tammuz to the 9th of Av. During these days, it was at the height of its power between either 10AM to 3PM or 12PM to 3PM.<sup>10</sup> In commenting on the origin of its name, R. Aba bar Kahana and R. Levi both agreed that Ketev was active at this time. One stated that Ketev ("break") Meriri breaks into the greater part of the day (and ruins it), while the other stated that it breaks into the studies of schoolchildren during the noon hours (and disrupts their classes)."

Putting the above threads together, Ketev Meriri may be identified as the demon of sunstroke, for it is active during the hottest time of year and the hottest part of the day. Its victims do not gradually fall ill and die, but rather are smitten immediately or have epileptic-like convulsions.

Ketev Meriri is said to be found in the shadows of shrubs which are less than a cubit in length, in the shadows formed by the rising or setting sun, or in the shadows of privies. Some said, however, that it was found on the border between the sun and shade. While the shade would not seem to be the place to find the demon of sunstroke operating, Midrash Tehillim explains that Ketev Meriri has power only when it is hot in the sun and hot in the shade. It may also be that the demon lurked in the places where people were most likely to take shelter from the heat.<sup>12</sup>

Not only did Ketev Meriri strike down those who saw it, but also caused damage by its very presence. It was described as standing with an iron rod behind a man who was ready to strike his neighbor with a stick. Had not R. Abbahu restrained the man, Ketev Meriri would have intensified the blow with its iron rod, killing the neighbor. It was for this reason that elementary school teachers were prohibited from beating their students with a strap during the days and hours that Ketev Meriri was active.<sup>13</sup>

Other specific demons included:

- 1) Shabriri - the demon of blindness, who lurked near water in the night.<sup>14</sup>
- 2) Shibeta - the demon of unclean hands, who caused disease.<sup>15</sup>

- 3) Lillit - a demoness with long hair and wings, who was the later personification of the lillin, a class of demons occasionally mentioned in connection with shedim and mazikim.<sup>16</sup>
- 4) Hormin bar Lillit - a demon who was able to jump enormous distances and run at great speeds.<sup>17</sup>
- 5) She'iyah - a demon who haunted uninhabited premises and who could cause great damage.<sup>18</sup>
- 6) Ben Temalyon - a demon who caused illness and who is said to have helped several scholars.<sup>19</sup>
- 7) Bat Melech - a demoness who caused diseases of the eye.<sup>20</sup>
- 8) Jonathan - a demon who disclosed to R. Chanina that demons cast shadows.<sup>21</sup>
- 9) Joseph - a beneficent demon who disclosed the rules of drinking pairs to R. Papa and who flew through the air from Sura to Pumbedita to deliver Rabbinic rulings to Raba.<sup>22</sup>

In addition to specific demons, there were also demons who were closely linked with the diseases that they caused. These included:

- 1) Ruach Palga - a demon who lived in a palm tree and who caused headaches.
- 2) Ruach Zarada - a demon who gave vertigo to one who laid his head on a palm stump.
- 3) Ruach Tzara'at - a demon of leprosy.
- 4) Kordiakos - a demon of delirium.

5) Ben Nefalim - a demon who caused asthma.<sup>23</sup>

There also appear in Rabbinic Literature anonymous individual demons. These include a certain mazik who haunted a schoolhouse in the guise of a seven-headed serpent, an argonaut found in a bath-house, who tempered for two rabbis the deadly heat of a bath which the emperor had prepared for them, and the chief of the ruchot who accosted R. Chanina b. Papa.<sup>24</sup>

Besides specific demons, there are also found different classifications of spirits in Rabbinic Literature. In addition to shedim, mazikim and ruchot are found:

- 1) Mezaye'ei - frightening ones.
- 2) Tzafirei - morning demons.
- 3) Tiharerei - midday demons.
- 4) Telanei - night demons.<sup>25</sup>
- 5) Malachei Chabalah - angels of destruction who were abroad on Wednesday and Friday nights, and who waited to attack those who let someone with unclean hands pour water over their hands. They also were responsible for meeting a wicked person after his death, and were responsible for removing the crowns which Israel had received at Sinai, after they built the golden calf.<sup>26</sup>
- 6) B'nai Reshef - demons who flew, haunted rooftops, and were responsible for carrying out witchcraft. They were identified with mazikim.<sup>27</sup>
- 7) Se'irim - satyr-like demons, identified with shedim, who caused sickness. Israel was said to have sacrificed to them in Egypt.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, the Rabbinic sources also mention several types of anonymous demons. Gittin 68a relates that in the town of Sichin alone, were to be found over 300 types of demons. R. Berechiah described a type of demon who shot forth like an arrow and flew like a bird.<sup>29</sup> The Rabbis also made mention of certain ruchot, who were blind and who haunted caper trees.<sup>30</sup>

Chapter V

Protection from the Demons

The Rabbis devised many ways to protect oneself from the demons, dependent on one's locale, the time, and the specific demons involved. Several types of individuals were regarded as needing special protection: the sick, midwives, grooms, brides, mourners, and scholars in the night time.<sup>1</sup> Due to their great happiness, sadness or deep concentration, they were very vulnerable to attack by the demons, and thus were in need of special protection.

The time which provided the greatest amount of safety from the demons was the daylight hours. Even the first glimmer of dawn usually rendered them powerless.<sup>2</sup> The best time, of course, was at noon, when the sun was at its height. Nonetheless, one still had to be cautious, since the demons were powerful and greatly to be feared.<sup>3</sup>

One method of protection against the demons was the recital of certain formulae. Against a demon found in a privy, one recited:

On the head of a lion and on the snout of a lioness  
did we find the demon Bar Shirika Panda. With a  
bed of leeks I hurled him down, with the jawbone of  
an ass I smote him.<sup>4</sup>

A general formula against a shed was:

You were closed up, closed up were you.  
Cursed, broken and destroyed be Bar Tit,  
Bar Tame, Bar Tina...<sup>5</sup>

Against Shabriri, the demon of blindness, one recited a formula in the second person:

You, \_\_\_\_\_, the son of \_\_\_\_\_, your  
mother has warned you to guard yourself against  
Shabriri, briri, riri, iri, ri, who prevails in  
blind vessels.<sup>6</sup>

Besides these specific formulae, there were also well known prayers which protected against the demons. Psalm 91, for example, was believed to be an especially powerful prayer.<sup>7</sup> The recital of the Shema, as

well as the Priestly Benediction was also regarded as efficacious. In general, invoking heavenly mercy through prayer helped to deliver one from the evil spirits, or to recover from their attack. Whenever God's name was used, it was helpful in putting the demons to flight.<sup>8</sup>

Since demons were also connected with illnesses, reciting formulae in the presence of the sick, helped cure them. R. Simeon cured the emperor's daughter by crying out: "Ben Temalyon leave her, Ben Temalyon leave her."<sup>9</sup> Against ulcers, one recited: "A drawn sword and a prepared sling, its name is not Joheb, sickness and pains."<sup>10</sup>

Another way of protecting oneself from attack by certain demons was the use of amulets and charms. A chain, upon which was written the Divine Name, when thrown around the neck of the demon Ashmedai, helped to subdue him.<sup>11</sup> The demon Kordiakos, who caused delirium, would not attack a person who had an amulet containing his name.<sup>12</sup> Sixty demons who haunted a sorb-bush were driven away after an amulet was written against them.<sup>13</sup> The mezuzah and tefillin, since they have the name of God written upon them, also served as effective amulets to ward off the demons.<sup>14</sup>

There were other objects which could be used for protection as well. When in the privy, for example, rattling a nut in a brass dish kept away the demons. Drinking water from a copper or gold tube also protected one. Valuables placed inside an iron tube which was then sealed with an iron signet ring kept them safe from the demons' tampering.<sup>15</sup> Sitting by the karumsa tree kept the demon away, as did eating the morning bread.<sup>16</sup> Burning incense or blowing a shofar also caused the demons to leave.<sup>17</sup> Rablinic sources also relate that the Tabernacle, when it stood, provided protection against the demons.



Before the Tabernacle was built, mazikim used to attack the human realm. Once it was erected, however, the mazikim stopped their attacks.<sup>18</sup> Other sources state that once the Tabernacle was built, demons came to an end in the world.<sup>19</sup>

It was helpful, of course, to know whether demons were present before engaging in various protective measures. Mazikim could be discovered by sprinkling fine ash around one's bed in the evening, and in the morning, looking for their footprints. Another method involved roasting in the fire the after-birth of a first-born black female cat whose mother was also black and first born. If one ground it into powder and then put some of the powder in his eye, he was able to see the demons.<sup>20</sup>

One could also be protected from the demons through certain pious actions. Being well-versed in Torah and engaging in good deeds was protective. It was related of R. Chanina b. Papa that when he encountered the chief of the ruchot, he drove it away by reciting a verse of Torah.<sup>21</sup> If you sent away the mother bird before taking her young, then God would protect you from a mazik who flew like a bird.<sup>22</sup> Being modest and silent in the privy also protected one from demons, as did circumcision.<sup>23</sup> Both Chanina b. Dosa and Abaya, because of their piety, were protected from the demoness, Igrat bat Machalat.<sup>24</sup>

Other specific actions could also serve as protection. Knocking on the cover of a jug of water before drinking from it, scared away the demon, Shabriri.<sup>25</sup> Pouring off a little water from the jug before drinking it, protected one as well.<sup>26</sup> Dismissing children from school between 11AM and 3PM from the 17th of Tammuz until the

9th of Av protected them from danger, since the demon Ketev Meriri was active during this time and might cause the teacher's blows with the strap to become intensified.<sup>27</sup>

One could also be protected against the demons by washing, especially by washing one's hands. R. Nathan said: "The demon insists on remaining on the hands until they are washed three times."<sup>28</sup> R. Ishmael b. Elisha said:

...Do not let water be poured over your hands  
by one who has not already washed his hands...  
because a company of demons lie in wait for a  
man and say "When will he do this so that we  
may catch him?"<sup>29</sup>

Washing the hands specifically protected against the demon Shibeta.<sup>30</sup>

Since the demons attacked one who drank an even number of cups, one had to be very scrupulous in one's drinking habits. The Rabbinic sources thus warn against drinking in pairs. Raba, for example, counted the beams in his house, one for each cup he drank, so that he would not drink an even number. When Abaye drank one cup, his mother would offer him two additional cups, to make an odd number. After each cup, R. Hanania b. Bibi used to go outside and then come back in. (It would then be as if he was starting over). If one was careless, however, and drank an even number of cups, he could still protect himself by grabbing his thumbs in the fists of the opposite hands and reciting: "Two thumbs and me make three!" If he heard a voice (of a demon) say: "...and me makes four!", he had to quickly say: "...and me makes five!"<sup>31</sup>

Being in the company of another person frequently protected one from the demons. When Raba entered the privy, his wife put her hand through a small hole in the wall, and rested it upon his head. Thus,

the presence of two was established.<sup>32</sup> If two were sleeping together in a room, they could drink freely from a jug of water, without worrying about the demon Shabriri's presence.<sup>33</sup> Occasionally, a place inhabited by demons is described in Rabbinic sources as so dangerous that even if two people entered, they would be harmed.<sup>34</sup> This is unusual, however. Generally, if three people were present, the demon would not even show himself. A lit torch could be used as the equivalent of one person and, if there was moonlight present, that counted as two people.<sup>35</sup>

Sometimes, God renders direct and automatic protection against the demons. During the time that Adam and his descendents gazed upon the presence of the Shechinah which was revealed to them, they were protected from the mazikim. (After the generation of Enosh, however, mankind became vulnerable to the demons, because they worshipped idols).<sup>36</sup> God has also assigned the angels to protect mankind from the demons.<sup>37</sup> While several sources hint that the angels protected mankind only if people put on tefillin and practiced mitzvot, one source states this clearly:

If one fulfills one mitzvah, then one angel is assigned to him. If he engages in two mitzvot, then two angels are assigned. If he engages in all the mitzvot, then many angels are given to him.<sup>38</sup>

Yet, a different view states that since all human beings were created in the image of God, they were automatically assigned a procession of angels, who move before them in the world and protect them from the demons.<sup>39</sup> God has also established that the eve of Passover is a night which protects against the demons, and stated that He Himself guards Israel, the apple of His eye, and will protect them from the evil spirits.<sup>40</sup>

Chapter VI

Analytical Considerations

### A. Tradents

The tradent associated most frequently with stories and activities concerning demons is R. Yochanan b. Nappacha, a second generation Palestinian Amora. Yochanan was born ca. 180 C.E. and died ca. 279 C.E. Yanai, Hoshiah and Chanina b. Chana were said to be his teachers. He first taught in Sepphoris and then presided over the academy in Tiberias for perhaps fifty or sixty years. Among his contemporaries were R. Simeon b. Lakish (who was married to Yochanan's sister) and Rav Kahana, a Babylonian pupil of Rab, who moved to Palestine.<sup>1</sup> R. Yochanan was said to have mastered Merkavah mysticism and was regarded as a leading aggadist. This may help explain why his name is linked so often with matters pertaining to demons.<sup>2</sup>

Among the information concerning demons which is attributed to R. Yochanan is:

1. 300 types of demons were to be found in Sichin.
2. The erection of the Tabernacle protected from the demons.
3. God protects from the mazikim through his declaration of peace.<sup>3</sup>
4. Children should be let out of school at certain times to protect them from Ketev Meriri.
5. Ketev Meriri is covered with eyes and hair.

6. Stibium cures disease caused by the demoness Bat Melech.<sup>4</sup>
7. One should not greet his fellow man at night for fear he is a demon.
8. The demons are similar to humans and angels in four ways.
9. Mazikim and ruchot come from the Refa'im.<sup>5</sup>

Yochanan's influence was far-ranging, for his disciples also are pictured as being concerned about demons. Among his disciples are included:

1. Levi - Commented on what hours Ketev Meriri was active; stated that the world was filled with demons and that angels accompany mankind to protect them from demons. Also told of the demon Shimdon who attacked a child of the Flood and identified se'irim with shedim.<sup>6</sup>
2. Abba b. Kahana - Commented on what hours Ketev Meriri was active.<sup>7</sup>
3. Abbahu - Saw Ketev Meriri standing behind a man, waiting to strike. Taught that the angels protect against mazikim.<sup>8</sup>
4. Simeon b. Lakish - Identified Ketev Meriri as having one eye set over its heart. Stated that the Priestly Benediction protects against attacks from demons.<sup>9</sup>

5. Berechia - Identified a demon that flew like a bird and shot like an arrow. Told of a friendly ruach which lived in a well.<sup>10</sup>
6. Isaac - Related that the angels protect from the demons those who wear tefillin, and that the Shema also provides protection. Stated that mankind became susceptible to demons in the generation of Enosh.<sup>11</sup>
7. Assi - Taught that silence and modesty in the privy protects from demons.<sup>12</sup>
8. Eleazar - Stated that the Tabernacle caused demons to be eliminated from the world and that shedim can't create less than a barley-corn.<sup>13</sup>
9. Ammi - Knew how to protect himself from demons in the privy.<sup>14</sup>

Aside from R. Yochanan and his disciples, there is only one other tradent who appears with any frequency in the Rabbinic sources. This is R. Joshua b. Levi, a first generation Palestinian Amora. He lived in the first half of the 3d Century and was known as an outstanding aggadist.<sup>15</sup> Included among the statements attributed to him are:

1. A procession of angels accompanies mankind to protect from the demons.
2. One should not greet his fellow man at night for fear he is a demon.
3. 60,000 demons protected Jerusalem against attack.<sup>16</sup>

R. Simon, a pupil of Joshua, is credited with teaching that Adam sired demon progeny.<sup>17</sup>

Of the 72 identifiable tradents found in the sources examined by this thesis, over one-half lived in Palestine, while only one-third lived in Babylonia. Though, as will be discussed shortly, the Palestinian Talmud contains few references to demons, it is obvious from these figures that there was widespread belief in demons among the Palestinian Rabbis. This does not rule out the possibility that Babylonian demonology influenced Palestinian conceptions. Both R. Samuel b. Isaac and R. Samuel b. Nachman, who were known for their statements concerning demons, visited Babylonia for a period of time. Ten other Palestinian tradents who make comments concerning the demons, were known to have emigrated from Babylonia.

When we examine the Palestinian tradents, we discover that one-third of them are Tanna'im who were active from 20-200 C.E. The other two-thirds of the Palestinian tradents are Amora'im, active from 200-400 C.E. It is in the third generation, however, the period in which Yochanan and his disciples were active, that the largest number of tradents is to be found.

The percentages given above seem to indicate that attention must be focused on Palestine as a center for demonological beliefs rather than on Babylonia, as has been the case up to now.<sup>18</sup> While Babylonian influences on Rabbinic demonology must continue to be investigated, Hellenistic influences must now be considered as well. Though it is unclear why Tiberias in the 3d Century C.E. was a major center for demonological teachings, it is certain that R. Yochanan and his disciples must be considered major contributors to Rabbinic



demonology. Their non-demonological statements should now be re-examined with a critical eye, in order to uncover possible influences on their demonological beliefs.

### B. Sources

Several Biblical verses are frequently utilized in Rabbinic Literature concerning demons. It seems that they tend to have a life of their own, i.e., mention of the verse in a non-related topic triggers off discussion of demons.

The most frequently quoted Biblical text comes from Ps. 91, a psalm which Moses was said to have recited to protect himself from demons.<sup>19</sup> Verses five and six are used often in the sources as proof of the existence of an anonymous demon who shoots like an arrow and flies like a bird, and of Ketev Meriri:

Thou shalt not be afraid of the terror by night,  
nor of the arrow that flies by day; of the  
pestilence that walks in darkness, nor of the  
destruction (ketev) that wastes at noon.<sup>20</sup>

Verses seven, ten and eleven are also utilized within Rabbinic sources to support the contention that God protects from the demons:

A thousand may fall at thy side, and ten thousand  
at thy right hand; it shall not come close to thee...  
neither shall any plague come close to thy tent.  
For He will give His angels charge over thee, to  
protect thee in all thy ways.<sup>21</sup>

Another frequently cited Biblical source is Deut. 32. The chapter first caught the Rabbis' attention, in all probability, due to verse 17: "They sacrificed to shedim." Verse 24, in giving a list of the evils which God will send as punishment, mentions ketev meriri. Verse two speaks of the se'irim, which, though in this context clearly means goats, is understood by the Rabbis to refer to demons.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, verse ten was occasionally utilized to prove God's protection of Israel from the demons: "He protected him (Israel) as the apple of His eye."<sup>23</sup>

The Rabbinic sources which mention demons span more than a thousand-year period (100-1400 C.E.), and include the Targumim, Mishnah, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, aggadic and halachic midrashim and midrashic anthologies.<sup>24</sup> Though many of the midrashim examined in this thesis appear in several of the above sources, an examination of the material contained in each source can yield important information regarding the development of demonology in Rabbinic literature.

Targum Onkelos, the oldest (100 C.E.) Rabbinic source examined by this thesis, identifies se'irim as shedim and ketev meriri as a demon, either a shed or a ruach ra'ah. It also identifies pachad as a mazik that roams in the night and chetz as an angel of death that roams during the day.<sup>25</sup> Already present in Targum Onkelos are the majority of the associations which the Rabbis will make between the Biblical texts and the demons.

When we examine early midrashic texts (400-500 C.E.), we find that they refer to shedim, mazikim, ruchot and se'irim. Bereshit Rabba, Vayikra Rabba and Eicha Rabbati speculate on the origins of the demons and refer to their connection with night and bodies of water. Specific demons, such as Shimdon and Ketev Meriri, are also mentioned.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Sifra and Sifre also contain original material. These works tend to focus on the character of the demons, and ways to protect oneself from them. Mention is made of the demons possessing people and new information is given about Ketev Meriri.<sup>27</sup>

Pesikta deRabbi Kahana and Shir Hashirim Rabba, compiled approximately one hundred years later (Sixth Century), mention, for the first time, that the ruchot and shedim were under Solomon's control, and that the construction of the Tabernacle helped drive away the demons.<sup>28</sup> In short, many of the concepts regarding demons which are found in later Rabbinic sources are already present in these early midrashic works.

When we examine the Babylonian Talmud, we find that it provides much explicit information about specific demons. Aside from mazikim, shedim and ruchot, ruach ra'ah, malachei chabalah, Igrat bat Machalat, Ashmedai and Lillit, to name but a few, are also mentioned.<sup>29</sup> The connection of demons with illnesses is made repeatedly in the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>30</sup> So, too, is mention made of the privy and shades of trees as favorite haunts of the demons.<sup>31</sup> The Bavli contains the majority of references regarding protection from the demons, "pairs," and the connection of the demons with water.<sup>32</sup>

Though the Bavli was finally redacted in the same period as the midrashic sources mentioned above, it clearly contains much more specific information about the demons than do these other sources. One tentative explanation for this is given by the Bavli itself. Apparently, certain beliefs about demons in Babylonia were not followed in Palestine. Pes. 110b states: "In the West (Palestine) they were not particular about pairs." Git. 68a relates that while shidah and shidot were translated as "male and female demons" in Babylonia, they were translated as "carriages" in Palestine. Thus, the midrashic sources, written in Palestine, would not reflect the detailed demonology of the Babylonian Talmud.

When we examine the Palestinian Talmud, we find that not only does it lack detailed references to demons, but that it contains few references to demons at all. This is surprising, especially in light of the fact that the most frequently mentioned tradent in the Yerushalmi is Yochanan b. Nappacha, who, as mentioned above, is the tradent most often associated with demons in the Bavli and midrashic sources. Why then the Yerushalmi is not filled with demonic references is unclear.<sup>33</sup> The Yerushalmi does not list any specific demons, knowing only of mazikim, ruchot, and shedim.<sup>34</sup> Those statements the Yerushalmi makes concerning demons are generally terse and are usually attributed to a specific tradent. Of the tradents mentioned, approximately one-half are Babylonian. The Yerushalmi shares several parallel passages with the Bavli. Among them, are references to a seductive ruach, and to a dog possessed by demons.<sup>35</sup>

In later midrashic works, what is most curious is that only general reference is made to shedim, mazikim and ruchot. The sources do not go into great detail regarding specific demons, illnesses and demon haunts, with the exception of Bamidbar Rabba and Devarim Rabba, which add several new pieces of information to Rabbinic demonology. Bamidbar Rabba goes into great detail about Ketev Meriri and mentions Igrat bat Machalat. It also relates that the angels will protect those who wear tefillin, and describes the mazik which shoots like an arrow.<sup>36</sup> Devarim Rabba relates that the demons fill the world and that mazikim wear a mask to cover their awful features.<sup>37</sup> The majority of traditions in Bamidbar Rabba and Devarim Rabba, however, as in Tanhuma Hanidpas and Tanhuma Buber, are also found in earlier sources. This is the case with Midrash Tehillim, Midrash Aggadah,

Midrash Hagadol and Yalkut Shimoni as well.

### C. The World of the Rabbis

When we examine the Rabbinic sources that refer to demonology, we find that the Rabbi was often regarded as a master of the demons. It was the Rabbi who was able to exorcise demons, banish them, or utilize them for his own needs.<sup>38</sup> It was the Rabbi who offered practical advice concerning protection or who fashioned amulets to help ward off the demons.<sup>39</sup> Yet, the Rabbi was not a magician. He did not concern himself in his studies with sorcery or witchcraft. He was not principally a wonder-worker. Rather, the Rabbi relied upon his knowledge of Torah, and in some cases, his piety to help control the demons. His "skill" in this area was largely a matter of divine favor. The power to protect from the demons ultimately rested in God. By studying God's Word as expressed in the Torah, the Rabbis, to some extent, were able to exercise control over the demons.<sup>40</sup>

The Rabbinic sources which deal with demonology also show that the Rabbis took the existence of the demons for granted. They do not express disapproval of the belief in demons or the methods of protection against them. In fact, the various formulae, charms, amulets and objects utilized by the Rabbis to drive off the demons, were probably perceived as the scientific methods of their time.<sup>41</sup> In Neusner's words, to reject these advanced scientific methods, the Rabbis would have had to "ignore the most sophisticated technological attainments of contemporary civilization."<sup>42</sup>

The Rabbinic sources treating demonology also tell us that the most powerful form of protection against the evil powers of the world

was Torah, in all of its manifestations. Reciting words of Torah could drive away demons. One who was steeped in Torah knew how to fashion amulets against specific demons. The study of Torah kept the demons away, and one who followed the teachings of Torah, not only was protected from the demons, but could force them to do his bidding.<sup>43</sup>

The Rabbinic sources which contain demonological references relate that the existence of demons was used by the Rabbis to explain various forms of illness. As explained earlier, the demons were said to cause epilepsy, dizziness, asthma, and mental illness. They were also used by the Rabbis to account for inexplicable incidents, such as wine barrels suddenly bursting, or voices which seemed to come from nowhere.<sup>44</sup> Accidents and incidents of bad luck were also attributed to the demons. Thus, it may be said that for the Rabbis, who carefully observed the world around them, the demons accounted for all the random and capricious events which took place in God's orderly world. It should be kept in mind, however, that even these capricious elements were believed to be under the control of God. For the Rabbis then, despite the existence of unordered elements, the world was ultimately ordered and moral.

This picture of the role which demonology placed in the lives of Jews can be supplemented from non-Rabbinic sources. For example, in regard to the Jews of Palestine, the Church Historian Justin Martyr wrote: "Now assuredly Jewish exorcists make use of craft when they exorcise, even as the Gentiles do and employ fumigations and incantations."<sup>45</sup> The Jewish historian Josephus also wrote of Jewish exorcists. So it seems that Jews in the first few centuries C.E. had a reputation for magical practices, which included the ability

to drive off demons.<sup>46</sup>

In regard to the Jews of Babylonia, archeological information taken from the Dura synagogue and from the discovery of Babylonian magic bowls has indicated the tremendous influence which Babylonian culture had upon the Jews, especially in the realm of demonology.<sup>47</sup> The magical bowls which were found, were said to have been in use in Babylonia from ca.300-ca.600 C.E. They were utilized as a domestic defense against demons by the average person. These bowls were used not only by Jews, but by Christians, Mazdeans and Mandeans as well. Some were prepared by Jews for Jewish clients, while others were prepared for non-Jews.<sup>48</sup>

The magic bowls contain repetitive statements which were meant to drive off demons and call upon help from God or God's messengers. The following piece contains information typical of that found in the bowls:

Geyonai b. Mamai was disturbed by lilliths in his bedroom...Dadbeh b. Asmanduch and his wife, sons and daughters wished to be preserved from demons, devils, plagues, satans, curses, lilliths and tormentors...Isbandarmed b. H...dora bound Lilith not to come, using the words of the Shema as part of a charm...Geniba bought a charm against evil spirits.<sup>49</sup>

While the bowls do not express any particular "Jewish" concerns, they do illustrate that belief in demons was common in Babylonia and that protection against the demons and from illness was a concern of the "common" Jewish householder.<sup>50</sup> The bowls indicate, in the words of Neusner, that Jews and non-Jews: "believed demons had a particularly ill affect...and both looked forward to a salvation which consisted of good health,...and normal daily life unmarred by inexplicable accidents or bad luck."<sup>51</sup>



While the bowls do not reflect the special role which the Rabbis played in protecting from the demons, they do reflect the involvement of the Jewish "masses" with demonology in Babylonia. The bowls serve to illustrate that Jewish involvement with demonology was even more pervasive in Babylonia than the Rabbinic sources indicate. However, given the seeming popularity of the magic bowls, it is odd that none of the Rabbinic sources, which list various types of objects used for protection against the demons, mention the bowls. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, the concerns expressed in the bowls and the concerns expressed in Rabbinic sources regarding the demons are identical.



Chapter VIIConclusions

In this thesis we have seen that belief in demons was a universal phenomenon. While ancient cultures throughout the Near East had their own particular demonological systems, nonetheless, these demonologies had several elements in common: demons were believed to be invisible, they assumed various forms and often sought to injure mankind.

The Jewish people have also had a belief in demonology. While the names of specific demons from other cultures may be found in the Bible, it is unclear whether or not they were perceived to be demonological names by the Israelites. The Bible, however, does refer to one class of demons, the shedim, several times. Jewish Apocryphal and Pseudopigraphic literature contain many references to specific demon chiefs and classes of demons. The demons are described as opponents of God who, as the sworn enemies of mankind, seek to harm or seduce both men and women. The New Testament also contains many demonological references, especially to Satan and to demon exorcism, which may reflect Jewish demonological beliefs of the 1st Century C.E.

When we examine Rabbinic texts which were compiled over a one thousand year period, we find that demonological beliefs remained remarkably constant. Demons were believed to have been created by God and, in later years, to have been sired by Adam as well. They were invisible and, though they could assume any form, were often thought to have terrible features and wings. Demons were to be found in all places, but were known to frequent privies, bath-houses and the shady areas under various trees. In addition, they were thought to have been most active at night.

Various classes of demons were mentioned in Rabbinic Literature, such as shedim, mazikim and ruchot. Specific demons were also known

to the Rabbis. They include Ashmedai, Ketev Meriri, Joseph and Shabriri. Some of these specific demons were friendly and helpful, while others were to be feared and avoided.

As in other demonological systems, Rabbinic demonology believed that the demons were essentially evil in nature. For example, they caused various types of illnesses and physical defects. They directly attacked mankind, especially those who were not on their guard. They were also known to take possession of people. Mankind, however, was not totally defenseless against the demons. Various means of protection were known to the Rabbis, including formulae, amulets, cleanliness, personal piety, as well as the direct intervention of God. Ultimately, the demons were believed to be under God's control.

The Rabbinic demonological beliefs stated above are consistent with the demonological beliefs expressed by non-Jewish sources and archeological evidence. Together with the Rabbinic sources, they portray a world which believed in the existence of demons and used the most up-to-date scientific means for ridding and protecting themselves from the demons. While not magicians, the Rabbis, by virtue of their piety and their knowledge of Torah, were able to control and teach others about controlling the demons. Demons were a natural part of the Rabbinic world and were believed to be susceptible to control.

In examining the sources which contain demonological references, we find that a limited number of Biblical texts were used repeatedly as the proof texts for demonological speculation. While early sources know, in general, of classes of demons, the sources found in the 5th and 6th Centuries C.E., most notably the Babylonian Talmud, reflect the greatest diversity and detail concerning individual demons.

Later sources either echo the demonological exempla found in the Babylonian Talmud or provide additional information concerning general classes of demons. Quite often, however, they do not include the richness of detail found earlier. This may not necessarily reflect a diminished belief in demonology, but rather a lessening of emphasis upon certain individual demons and on certain methods of protection.

When the tradents to whom demonological statements are attributed are examined, we find that the names of Yochanan b. Nappacha, a 3d generation Palestinian Amora, and his circle of disciples are mentioned most often. Consequently, though Babylonian Jewry was certainly influenced by Babylonian demonological beliefs, greater attention should be paid to the Hellenistic influences on Palestinian demonology. While demonological beliefs are to be found within Palestinian midrashim, they are curiously lacking in the Palestinian Talmud. This is all the more odd when we consider that Yochanan b. Nappacha is the tradent most often quoted in the Yerushalmi.

Thus, Rabbinic demonology exhibits many of the same characteristics as other demonological systems. The appearances, characteristics and specific functions of the demons are quite similar to those of other cultures. Yet, Rabbinic demonology also reflects the uniqueness of Jewish beliefs as well. The demons are not totally separate evil entities, but are under the control of God. In fact, they are sometimes bound by the same ethical standards as are Jews. The Rabbis who control them are not magicians, but rather their power is attained through knowledge of God's Word as expressed in the Torah. All Jews can apprehend the evil, invisible powers which surround them, and can control those powers through personal piety and ethical conduct.

The world, it is true, contains elements of disorder and capriciousness, but ultimately the disturbing elements can be brought under control by God and/or God's servants, the Rabbis, for the benefit of mankind.

Notes

## Notes

### Introduction

1. Among the concordances used were H.J. Kassovsky's Ozar Leshon ha-Tannaim: Concordantiae Verborum qua in Sifra aut Torat Kohanim Reperiuntur (Jerusalem: 1967-9), and Ozar Leshon ha-Tannaim: Concordantiae Verborum qua in Mechilta d'Rabbi Ishmael Reperiuntur (Jerusalem: 1965-6).
2. Aaron Hyman's Sefer Torah ha-Ketuvah u'Mesorah 'al Torah, Nevi'im u'Ketuvim (Tel Aviv: 1936), was utilized extensively to locate demonological statements based on Biblical verses. Boaz Cohen's Index to Louis Ginzberg's Legends of the Jews (Philadelphia: 1938), was among the subject indices useful in finding demonological statements.
3. Moshe Gross's Ozar ha-Aggadah (Jerusalem: 1954) and Moshe Saver's Mikhlol ha-Ma'amarim v'ha-Pitgamin (Jerusalem: 1962), were particularly helpful anthologies. Marcus Jastrow's A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Bavli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature (New York: 1895-1903), was extremely useful as well.

Notes

Chapter I

1. Delbert Roy Hillers, "Demons, Demonology," Encyclopedia Judaica 5:1521; Kaufmann Kohler, "Demonology," Jewish Encyclopedia 4:514; T.H. Gaster, "Demon, Demonology," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible 1:817.
2. W.T. Davies, Magic, Divination and Demonology Among the Hebrews and Their Neighbors (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1969), p. 7.
3. Edward Langton, Essentials of Demonology (London: The Epworth Press, 1949), pp. 32-34. From a religious/psychological point of view, it is interesting that the defeated gods of the conquered nation, remain feared powers to the conquerors.
4. Langton, op. cit., pp. 1-4, 35.
5. Gaster, op. cit., p. 818. For examples of an outside spirit causing states of ecstasy in the Bible, see Judges 14:6; 1 Sam. 10:6, 11:6.
6. Hillers, op. cit., p. 1523; Gaster, op. cit., pp. 818-819.
7. Langton, op. cit., p. 13.
8. Langton, op. cit., pp. 16-17. An inscription of one Assyrian king reads: "In this palace," may the gracious shedu, the gracious colossus guardian of the steps of my royalty... continue his presence always" (Langton, op. cit., p. 17).
9. Langton, op. cit., pp. 13-15, 20-22.
10. Langton, op. cit., pp. 11-13, 20-22.
11. Langton, op. cit., pp. 24-32.
12. Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, 7 vols. (Phil.: Jewish Publication Society, 1938) 5:64 and Langton, op. cit., pp. 64-68.
13. Langton, op. cit., pp. 63, 64, 71-77.
14. Hillers, "Demons, Demonology," Encyclopedia Judaica 5:1525; Gaster, "Demon, Demonology," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible 1:821, "Belial," Encyclopedia Judaica 4:429, Langton, op. cit., pp. 68-71, and Leo Jung, Fallen Angels in Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan Literature, (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1974), p. 155. It must be kept in mind, however, that unlike Achriman, Satan, Belial and the others are creations of God and are not separate, independent powers.



15. Langton, op. cit., pp. 4-8.
16. Langton, op. cit., pp. 83-89, 98-103. Note that Greek demonology also follows the general pattern of development sketched earlier: from anonymous creatures to specific individuals of evil.
17. Langton, op. cit., pp. 81-82, 98-99. It is interesting to note that there are no sea demons in Israelite demonology. For the Israelites, the desert was the place of the demons' habitation. In Rabbinic literature, however, mention is made of water-sprites. See B.R. 63:8 regarding this.
18. Hillers, loc. cit.; Langton, op. cit., pp. 51-52; Gaster, op. cit., p. 818; Kohler, op. cit., p. 515.
19. It has been suggested that Job 5:21 ("...nor shall you be afraid of the shod when it comes") may refer to a storm demon. See Kohler, loc. cit. We will see later that for the Rabbis, the root ShDD serves to alert them to demonic links in a text. Ps. 91:6, for example, tells of "ketev yashud tzaharaiyim" (the destruction that devastates at noon).
20. Hillers, loc. cit.; Kohler, loc. cit.; Gaster, op. cit., p. 818.
21. Kaufmann Kohler, "Azazel," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:365-366. This is not the only time that unpure things are sent into the wilderness. See Lev. 14:7, where a bird is released into the open field after a leper is healed from his illness.
22. Hillers, op. cit., pp. 1523-1524. Lilit has been translated as screech-owl, perhaps being simply seen as a word for another type of bird.
23. Langton, op. cit., pp. 52-59; Editor, "Satan," Encyclopedia Judaica 14:902-903; Ludwig Blau, "Satan," Jewish Encyclopedia 11:68-69.
24. Gerson B. Levi, "Belial," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:653; Kaufmann Kohler, "Belial," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:659. See Deut. 13:14; I Sam 2:12; Prov. 19:28; Job 34:18; Deut. 15:9 for other occurrences. Cheyne, in The Expository Times, 1897, p. 423, seeks to identify Belial with the Babylonian goddess Belili. He then suggests that her name was used as a dysphemism, but this is uncertain. Various suggestions have been offered to explain the meaning of belial. The Rabbis suggest bli ol: "without a yoke." Gesenius suggests bli yo'il: "without advantage." Ibn Ezra and others suggest bli ya'al: "never to rise." None of these suggestions are certain, however.

25. Hillers, loc. cit.; Gaster, op. cit., p. 820; Kohler, "Demonology," Jewish Encyclopedia 4:516. Mavet may occur as a proper name in Is. 28:15; Jer. 9:20-21; Hosea 13:14; and Job 18:13, 28:22.
26. Kohler, "Demonology," Jewish Encyclopedia 4:515.
27. Hillers, op. cit., p. 1524; Gaster, op. cit., p. 819-821; Langton, op. cit., pp. 37-50.
28. Hillers, op. cit., pp. 1521-1523; Gaster, op. cit., p. 821.
29. Hillers, "Demons, Demonology," Encyclopedia Judaica 5:1525; R.J. Zvi Werblowsky, "Dualism," Encyclopedia Judaica 6:243-244; Gaster, "Demon, Demonology," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible 1:821.
30. Langton, op. cit., pp. 105 and 119. In the New Testament, all these demon chiefs are represented by Satan.
31. Blau, "Satan," Jewish Encyclopedia 11:69 and Louis I. Rabinowitz, "Satan," Encyclopedia Judaica 14:903. Satan may have originally appeared in other Apocryphal works, though his name was replaced by other equivalents, such as Belial. Enoch 53:3 and 54:6 also mention a chief Satan, who ruled over the other satans. See Langton, op. cit., pp. 113-114.
32. See Test. Patr. Levi 18:12, Iss. 7:7; 1 QM. 1:5, 15:3. See also Hillers, loc. cit.; Gaster, "Belial," Encyclopedia Judaica 4:428-429, and Kohler, "Belial," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:659.
33. Kohler, "Azazel," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:366 and Langton, op. cit., pp. 116-117.
34. Hillers, op. cit., pp. 1525-1526 and David Flusser, "Mastema," Encyclopedia Judaica 11:1119-1120. In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the noun mastema is found in connection with Belial. See Flusser, loc. cit.
35. Kohler, "Belial," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:659.
36. Hillers, loc. cit.; Langton, op. cit., pp. 120-122; Editor, "Asmodeus," Encyclopedia Judaica 3:754-755; Louis Ginzberg, "Asmodeus," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:217-218. In later Rabbinic literature, Asmodeus is a gay creature who tends to be mischievous.
37. Langton, op. cit., pp. 108-111. This last version makes reference to Deut. 32:17.

38. See Mark 9:7, 25, 1:26, 5:5, Luke 4:35, 11:14, and Matt. 12:22 in this regard. This notion is also to be found in Rabbinic demonology. See as well, Hillers, "Demons, Demonology," Encyclopedia Judaica 5:1526.
39. Langton, op. cit., pp. 152-153.
40. See Luke 10:19; Matt. 4:1-11, 13:39. See also Rabinowitz, "Satan," Encyclopedia Judaica 14:904 and Hillers, loc. cit. Only one reference is made to the other chiefs mentioned in Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha. Belial occurs in 2 Cor. 6:15. Belzebub is, in all probability, another term for Satan. See Langton, op. cit., p. 165-167 and Blau, "Satan," Jewish Encyclopedia 11:69.

## Notes

### Chapter II

1. P.R. 6:5 states clearly that God created the demons. See also Pes. 54a.
2. See B.R. 36:1; V.R. 5:1; Ba.R. 12:3.
3. B.R. 7:5; Tan. Buber, Bereshit 17; Yal. Sh. to Gen. 1:24, remez 12. For examples of demons created at the twilight of the Sabbath, see Sifre Devarim, piska 355; Mishnah Avot 5:6; and Pes. 54a. The demons are also referred to as "delayed ones," since they were the very last creatures created. See PRK 7:2 and P.R. 17:1 in this regard.
4. See Tan. Buber, Bereshit 17; P.R. 6:5 and Hag. 16a.
5. Tan. Buber, Bereshit 26.
6. Eruv. 18b.
7. B.R. 20:11; Mid. Teh. 73:2; Yal. Sh. to II Sam. 7, remez 146.
8. Mid. Teh. 1:13 and San. 109a. Midrash Aggadah to Gen. 11:8 expands the explanation given in these two earlier sources and states that those who were dispersed to the desert were turned into shedim, while those dispersed to the sea became water spirits.
9. It is interesting to note the connection of shedim with scavenger desert animals, such as the hyena, or with winged creations, such as the bat. This reflects common demonological conceptions, as discussed earlier in this paper. John Boswell, in his work, Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality (Chicago, 1980), states that in the First Century C.E. there existed the belief that the hyena changed its gender annually (see pp. 138-139). Perhaps this popular conception influenced the midrash.
10. PRE Chapter 34 and Yal. Sh. to Is. 26:14, remez 429. This conception is also found in the Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha. See I Enoch 15:8-11 and Jubilees 10:1-8 in this regard. Both relate that the ruchot came from the giants of the Generation of the Flood.
11. The play here is on "anakatemo" (neck-chain), reading it as "anak" (giant). This is a fascinating midrash because of the associations it produces. The word "shit" (garment) in Ps. 73:6 is identified as "demon." In Is. 5:6, it means "thorns." It is possible that the author had in mind B.K. 16a, whereby the hyena changes into a bat, then a thorn and finally a demon. Could the word it is linked to in Is. 5:6, "shamir," be taken not as "thorns,"

but as the Shamir used by Solomon in the building of the Temple and fetched for him by the demons? Perhaps the author saw the word "shit" as similar to the Aramaic "shuta" (destruction)? Ps. 73:5, with which this midrash begins, also refers to the fact that the wicked are not plagued ("yenuga'u") like other men. This may have reminded the author of the demons, for Ps. 91:10 ("No evil shall befall you, neither shall any plague ("naga") come into your tent") is frequently quoted in reference to demons.

12. See n. 3 above and n. 25 below.
13. PR. 6:5; Lek. Tov Num. 23:22; ARN (Version A) 37:3. Yal. Sh. to Ps. 104:24, remez 862 states: "The demons see men, but men do not see the demons."
14. Eicha R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:7, remez 842; Ber. 6a.
15. D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8 and 55:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 55, remez 772.
16. ARN (Version A) 37:3; Yoma 75a.
17. Tan. Buber, Bereshit 27; Yoma 84a; Yev. 122a; Git. 66a.  
The last two sources also explain that the demons can cast a human shadow, but not the shadow of a shadow. While Yevamot attributes this information to the demon Jonathan, Gittin has R. Chanina attribute it to his son, Jonathan. Yevamot's attribution is probably the correct one.
18. Ber. 6a; Git. 68a; B.B. 73a-b.
19. Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Kid. 29b. Note also how Eruv. 100b states that the demoness Lillit has long hair.
20. ARN (Version A) 37:3; Hag. 16a; Pes. 111b; Git. 68a; Mid. 24b. Pes. 111b describes one demon as looking like "a ladle turning in a jug of breadcrumbs and milk." See Chap. V, n. 7.
21. D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8 and 55:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 55, remez 772.
22. Ber. 6a.
23. D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8; Ba.R. 11:5; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:7, remez 842; Ber. 6a.
24. Yal. Sh. to I Kings 7:25, remez 185; Jer. 1:14, remez 263; Job 26:5, remez 913. See also PRE Chapters 3 and 7. The proof text used in from Jer. 1:14: "Out of the north shall break forth the evil upon all the inhabitants of the land."

25. PRE Chapters 3, 7; Ba.R. 2:10. In Mid. Teh. 17:8, the text used to prove that God will make the demons be at peace with mankind is "and there fell some of Manassah to David" (I Chr. 12:20). This only makes sense when we remember that Manasseh came from the north.
26. See also Yal. Sh. to Jer. 1:14, remez 263 and to Job 26:5, remez 913.
27. See n. 3 above.
28. Shab. 67a; Pes. 111b. See also Kid. 72a where the Arabs of Babylonia are compared to demons of the privy.
29. Pes. 110a; Git. 70a.
30. See V.R. 22:8 and Ber. 62a in this regard. Note that Abba, at the door of the privy, does not speak, but rather clears his throat.
31. B.R. 63:8; K.R. 2:8; Kid. 39b.
32. Pes. 111b. The shade cast by a ship was also regarded as dangerous, but this may simply be the confusion of the word arevata, ship, with areva, willow.
33. Pes. 111b; Suk. 28a; B.B. 134a. See also Pes. 110b and Git. 68a (the tale of Ashmedai and palm tree). Similarly San. 101a tells of Isaac b. Joseph who was swallowed up by a cedar tree.
34. Mid. Teh. 20:7; Tan. Buber, Kedoshim 9; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 20:3, remez 680; Git. 6:8; Hul. 105b.
35. Ber. 51a; Pes. 110b; Yoma 84a; A.Z. 12b; Hul. 105b.
36. Tar. Yon. to Deut. 32:10; Mid. Ag. to Gen. 11:8; Ber. 3a; Pes. 112b-113a.
37. Tar. Ps. 91:5; Ba.R. 12:3.
38. Pes. 112b-113a. See also Ba.R. 12:3.
39. Y. Peah 8:9; Y. Shek. 5:6.
40. Sh. R. 30:16; Shir. R. 3:6; PRK 5:3; P.R. 15:3; Ba.R. 11:3.
41. Meg. 3a; San. 44a; A.Z. 12b.
42. Ber. 54b.
43. B.R. 36:1; V.R. 5:1.
44. See for example, Pes. 111b.

## Notes

### Chapter III

1. ARN (Version A) 37:3; Tan. Buber, Bereshit 17; Hag. 16a.
2. Mid. Teh. 20:7; Tan. Buber, Kedoshim 9; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 20:3; remez 680.
3. B.B. 73a-b. See also Kid. 29b where a mazik in the form of a seven-headed dragon is killed by the prayers of R. Acha b. Jacob, and Pes. 110a, 111b and Hul. 105a for examples of demons bursting.
4. See n. 1 above, as well as Shir. R. 3:6; Mid. Teh. 78:12; and Kise Ve'ipodromim Shel Shlomo Hamelech in A. Jellinek's Bet HaMidrash, 5:34. This last midrash specifies that the demons have sex and bear children like humans. It should be kept in mind, however, that not all demons are classified in the Rabbinic sources by sex.
5. See Chapter II, nn. 5, 6 and 7. For male demons siring children, also see Pes. 111b.
6. For the 'demon seductress,' see Tan. Buber, Bereshit 27 and Y. Shab. 1:3. An interesting discussion of this midrash is found in Gershom Scholem's Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism and Talmudic Tradition (New York: The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960), pp. 72-74. For Ashmedai and Solomon's queens, see Git. 68a. It should be noted that the demons do not seem to be deterred by "uncleanliness," since Ashmedai was said to have had intercourse with the queens during their time of separation.
7. For demons eating and drinking see ARN (Version A) 37:3; Hag. 16a and Git. 68a. I Enoch 15:11 states, to the contrary, that the demons eat no food and do not thirst. This is an early work, however. Suk. 28a and Sof. 41b both relate that Hillel and his disciple Yochanan b. Zakkai both knew the language of demons. In addition, there are numerous examples of the demons conversing with men. See, for example, B.R. 36:3; 63:8; Eruv. 43a; Pes. 110a.
8. See Chapter II, n. 20.
9. B.R. 63:8; D.R. 6:6. See also Tar. Job 5:7; Ber. 5a; Eruv. 43a. It may be that Hormin bar Lillit was able to jump from one bridge to the other by flying (see B.B. 73a-b).
10. ARN (Version A) 37:3; Pes. 112b; Hag. 16a; Git. 68a.
11. San. 101a.
12. ARN (Version A) 37:3; Hag. 16a.



13. PRE Chapter 3, 7: Ba.R. 2:10; Yal. Sh. to Jer. 1:14, remez 263 and Job 26:5, remez 913.
14. Sifra, Emor 9:5; B.B. 25a
15. See Chapter I above, nn. 27 and 38.
16. Y. Terumot 1:1; Y. Git. 7:1; Pes. 111b; Ket. 61a. See also Y. Git. 48c ("lycanthropy has seized him").
17. See Ber. 51a; Shab. 109a; Ta'an. 20b.
18. Ber. 44b; Me'il. 17b.
19. Shab. 109a; A.Z. 12a.
20. Bet. 6a.
21. Git. 70a.
22. V.R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Tan. Buber, Naso 29; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Deut. 32:24, remez 945 and Ps. 91:4, remez 842.
23. PRK 1:5; Mid. Teh. 91:5; Y. Yoma 8:5; Yoma 83b.
24. D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8, 55:3; Yal. Sh. to Is. 55, remez 772; Ber. 6a.
25. Sifre Devarim, piska 306; Yal. Sh. to Deut. 32:2, remez 942. In describing the demon's actions, various manuscripts of Sifre state: "techilah nofelet 'alay," beginning it falls upon him or "batechilah nofelet 'alay," in beginning it falls upon him. Neither of these phrases makes sense (see H.S. Horowitz and Louis Finkelstein, Sifre 'al Sefer Devarim (New York: 1969), p. 338, n. 2. Yal. Sh. begins to clear up the puzzle by describing the demon's actions as: "batechalah nofelet 'alay," in beginning it falls upon him. If we divide the first word, we arrive at the correct meaning: bat chalah nofelet 'alay, the spirit of sickness falls upon him.
26. Ba.R. 12:3; Ber. 6a; Pes. 112b-113a.
27. Pes. 110a. The reason, oddly enough, that the demons do not kill one for drinking four cups is that after three or four cups, one may lose count. They apparently excuse reasonable error!
28. Pes. 109b.
29. Pes. 110b.
30. Pes. 110a.



31. Pes. 110b. This source relates a curious event. It tells of a woman who practiced witchcraft against her former husband. One day, he was not careful of "pairs" and walked outside after drinking an even number of cups. As he was going along, an Arab met him and said: 'A corpse is walking here!' He immediately went and clasped a palm tree, which withered and he burst. We might ask why would he grasp a palm tree and why would the palm tree wither? Isn't bursting a strange sort of death? I believe that the text as we have it is a confused conflation of other sources. First of all, the mention of the palm tree should alert us that demons are involved here, since palm trees are often mentioned as their habitation (see Chapter II, n. 33). Second, demons are often described in the Rabbinic sources as bursting. See Hul. 105a and Pes. 110a in this regard. An example of a demon bursting which is also connected with a palm tree, can be found in Pes. 111b (not far from our source). It tells how a blind demon chased a scholar who, on hearing it advancing, fled. The demon, not realizing he had gone, "...embraced a palm tree, whereupon the palm-tree withered and he (the demon) burst." I believe that this text was mistakenly grafted on to the end of the story in Pes. 110b.
32. Sifre Devarim piska'ot 318 and 321; Lek. Tov, Ha'azinu (Buber, pp. 57b and 58b); Yal. Sh. to Deut. 32:17, remez 945. While Sifre, piska 318 states that the shed enters into one and compels him (kofah 'oto), Lek. Tov, (Buber, p. 57b) states that the shed enters into one and forces him on his face (kofah 'oto 'al panav), i.e., to fall down. Since, however, the text under discussion is Deut. 32:17 ("they sacrificed to shedim"), perhaps this last phrase may be taken as "forces him to bow down." Or, perhaps, this phrase should mean that the demon strikes him with epilepsy, which would make sense, since possession and illness were closely linked. See Ba.R. 12:3, where one who saw the demon Ketev Meriri was said to nikpah 'al panav, "be stricken with epilepsy."
33. Bek. 44b; Pes. 111b; Ket. 61a; Git. 67b; Me'il. 17b.
34. Er. 41b; R.H. 28a. In both cases, the individual is regarded as deprived of his senses. See Yoma 83b, where a dog possessed by a demon became mad.
35. Ned. 20a-b.
36. Pes. 110b; Hul. 105-106a.
37. Yev. 122a; Git. 66a. See also Meg. 3a and San. 44a where demons are suspected of lying. The untrustworthiness of demons can also be found in the Apocrypha. For example, Noah, in speaking to his sons after the Flood, states: "For I see that the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children..." (Jub. 7:27). An exception to the untrustworthy nature of the

demons is found in Mak. 6b, which states that the admonition given by a demon to a murderer is regarded as acceptable legal evidence in a court of law.

38. Ber. 55b.
39. Hul. 105b-106a.
40. One reason why Solomon was regarded as master of the demons may be that he knew the language of all creatures. He, therefore, knew the language of the demons as well and thus was able to rule over them. See Tar. Sheni to Esther 1:3 regarding this. An interesting parallel is provided in Suk. 28a and Sof. 41b, which states that Hillel and his disciple Yochanan b. Zakkai knew the language of demons.
41. PRK 5:3; P.R. 15:3; Shir R. 3:6; Mid. Teh. 78:12; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 68, remez 795; Git. 68a. The proof text used is from Ecc. 2:8: "I got me...male and female singers, the delights of the sons of men, male and female cupbearers (shida ve-shidot).\" The last two words are taken as male and female shedim. The sentence may also be read: "...male and female singers, delights, the children of Adam (b'nai adam): male and female demons.\" For the demons as the children of Adam, see Chap. II, nn. 5, 6. K.R. 2:8 relates how Solomon used the captured demons to heat the bath-houses.
42. Mid. Teh. 78:12; Git. 68a.
43. This is deduced from Shir. 3:7-8: "Behold, it is the litter of Solomon; threescore mighty men are about it...because of the dread in the night,\" where "dread of the night\" is understood to be the demons. See PRK 5:3; Shir. R. 3:6; Ba.R. 11:3; Sh.R. 30:16; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 68, remez 795.
44. Eruv. 43a; Pes. 110a.
45. B.R. 63:8; Yev. 122a.
46. PRK 7:2 (where se'irim is used in place of shedim); P.R. 17:1. The proof text is taken from Is. 42:8: "And my glory I do not give to another (acher),\" in which acher is taken to mean \"later.\" Since the demons were the last creatures to be made, the Rabbis regarded them as \"later ones\" (see Chapter III, nn. 1, 2).
47. Sh.R. 10:7; Mid. Hagadol to Exodus 8:15. The polemical point here is that only God can create.
48. Sh.R. 9:11; Mid Ag. to Ex. 7:11; Yal. Sh. to Ex. 7:11, remez 182, San. 67b. Two different words are used to express the term \"secret arts\" in Ex. 7. Verse 11 uses belahatehem, while verse 22 uses belatehem. The former is taken by the Rabbis to mean magic performed by sorcery, i.e., without outside help, while

the latter is taken to mean magic performed with the help of demons.

49. B.R. 63:8; Me'il. 17b. Me'ilah 17b relates that when an evil decree had been pronounced upon the Jews by Rome, R. Simeon b. Yochai and R. Eleazar b. R. Yose set out to Rome and met the demon Bar Temalyon on the way. The demon went on ahead of them to Rome and entered into the emperor's daughter, making her sick. Upon arriving in the city, R. Simeon commanded it to leave the emperor's daughter, which it did. As a reward, the evil decree was revoked.
50. See Chapter II, n. 15 above.
51. B.R. 52:4; Shir R. 1:5; P.R. 6:7; Ba.R. 14:3.
52. D.R. 1:17.
53. Pes. 105b. These are the same rules of finding lost property by which Israel is bound.
54. Pes. 112b.
55. Git. 68a.
56. Y. Peah 8:9; Y. Shek. 5:6; Git. 68a.
57. Y. Ber. 1:5, 5:1; Meg. 3a; San. 44a.

# Notes

## Chapter IV

1. Mid. Teh. 78:12; Pes. 110a; Git. 68a, as well as Ber. 6a. The name Ashmedai probably comes from the Hebrew root ShMD. Thus, there may be a link between him and another Rabbinic demon, Shimdon (see n. 2 below). Many of the details concerning Ashmedai (helping Solomon build the Temple, and ruling in Solomon's place), may be of late origin. See Louis Ginzberg, "Asmodeus," Jewish Encyclopedia 2:218-219, concerning this.
2. B.R. 36:1, 36:3; V.R. 5:1; Yal. Sh. to Job 21:11, remez 908. See also I Enoch 99:5, which presents a strange parallel to B.R. 36:1 and V.R. 5:1.
3. Ba.R. 12:3; Pes. 112b-113a.
4. Tar. Onk. to Deut. 32:24; Sifre Devarim, piska 321; Lek. Tov, Ha'azinu (Buber ed., p. 58b).
5. Tan. Buber, Naso 27; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842. The obsidian hide of Ketev Meriri may be meant as some form of scales.
6. Eich. R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 32:24, remez 945. While in V.R. and Ba.R. R. Simon b. Lakish is pictured as arguing with either R. Yochanan or R. Huna concerning whether Ketev Meriri is covered with scales, eyes and hair, or simply has one eye set in its heart, in Mid. Teh. the argument is resolved by describing the demon as having elements of both.
7. Yal. Sh. to Deut. 32:24, remez 945; Pes. 111b. It is not clear to me whether the description of Ketev Meriri means that it looks like milk and breadcrumbs when they are stirred by a ladle, or that it actually looks like the jug and ladle as well.
8. Ba.R. 12:3 states that Ketev rolls like a jug (kekad), while Mid. Teh. 91:3 and Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:3, remez 842 state that it rolls like a ball (ke-kadur). While it seems likely that Ba.R. has left out a resh, the references to Ketev Meriri as a jug may just make it possible that ke-kad was meant. See n. 7 above in this regard.
9. Eich. R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Tan. Buber, Naso 27; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 32:24 remez 945; Pes. 111b. There is an interesting problem regarding the correct identity of several rabbis in the sources above. Ba.R. states: "R. Pinchas the Kohen said: It once happened that a person saw Ketev Meriri and was seized with an epileptic attack. It is

said that Judah b. Rabbi Samuel saw Ketev Meriri and was not stricken." Eicha R. states: "...a person saw it and fell down and died. It is said (that this was) Judah b. Rabbi. Samuel saw Ketev Meriri and was not stricken." Whether it was Samuel or Judah, his son, who saw it and survived, is thus not clear. To complicate the matter further, Mid. Teh. identifies the man stricken as Hezekiah, while Yal. Sh. merges several of these sources and identifies the victim as Hezekiah b. Rabbi!

10. See n. 5 above. According to the tradition, the 17th of Tammuz is when the walls of the Temple were first breached. With the exception of Pes. 111b, all the sources give the active period of Ketev Meriri from the 17th of Tammuz until the 9th of Av.
11. Eicha R. 1:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Deut. 32:24, remez 945. The pun here is also on the word sugya, which means both "the larger part" and "studies." While Eicha R. and Yal. Sh. use the word gazaz, "cut," Ba.R. employs bazaz, "rob." It may be due to R. Levi's opinion that R. Yochanan stated that school children should be dismissed from classes during the hours and days in which Ketev Meriri was active. (See also Mid. Teh. 91:3 and Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842).
12. Tar. Yon. to Deut. 32:24; Tar. Ps. 91:6; Eicha R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 32:24 remez 945; Pes. 111b.
13. Eicha R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 32:24, remez 945.
14. A.Z. 12b. Mechilta d'Rabbi Ishmael, Yitro 6 and Yal. Sh. to Ex. 20:4, remez 286 refer to the shebririm and suggest that they may be seen. Shabriri means "blindness" in Aramaic. It could also be a conflation of the Hebrew: shover re'aya, "destroyer of sight."
15. Hul. 107b; Ta'an. 20b; Yoma 77b.
16. Tar. Sheni to Esther 1:3; Eruv. 100b; Nid. 24b. It is not until the Middle Ages that Lillit becomes the female seductress par excellence. In Rabbinic Literature, she plays a minor role.
17. B.B. 73a-b. Ultimately, we are told, Hormin was put to death by the government. Apparently it was not too powerful a demon.
18. B.K. 21a.
19. Me'il. 17b. It has been suggested that Ben Temalyon should be read as "Bar Temalyon" (Bartholomew), an apostle of whom a similar story is related. See "Ben Temalyon," Encyclopedia Judaica 4:555.

20. Shab. 109a.
21. Yev. 122a. See also Git. 66a for a parallel passage.
22. Eruv. 43a; Pes. 110a.
23. Bek. 44b; Pes. 111b; Ket. 61a; Git. 67b.
24. B.R. 63:8; Y. Peah 8:9; Y. Shek. 5:6; Kid. 29b. There is some confusion in the B.R. text regarding the rabbis involved with the argonaut, since they lived in different times. Judah Hanasi was a fourth generation Tanna, while Samuel B. Nachman was a third generation Amora.
25. Tar. Yon. to Num. 6:24 and Deut. 32:24; Tar. Shir. 3:8, 4:6. The last three demons can be warded off by circumcision and by the burning of incense.
26. Yal. Sh. to Is. 35:10, remez 441; Ber. 51a; Pes. 112b; Ket. 104a.
27. Tar. Job 5:7; Sh. R. 10:7; Ber. 5a; Pes. 111b.
28. Tar. Onk. to Lev. 17:7; Tar. Yon. to Lev. 17:7; B.R. 65:15 (where Esau, 'ish se'ir, is seen as a shed); V.R. 22:8, Sifra, Acharei Mot 9:8; Sifre Devarim, piska 306; Yal. Sh. to Gen. 27:11, remez 114, Lev. 17, remez 582, Lev. 17:7, remez 579, Deut. 32:2, remez 942. The identification of se'irim with shedim is made by first paralleling Lev. 17:7 ("and they shall no more sacrifice to the se'irim) with Deut. 32:17 ("They sacrificed to shedim"). Then, Is. 13:21 is quoted as additional proof that the se'irim are, in reality, a type of satyr: "...and se'irim shall dance there (in the ruins)."
29. D.R. 6:6; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Tan. Buber, Naso 27; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 22:7, remez 930. It is interesting to note that the word chetz precedes ketev in both Deut. 32:24 and Ps. 91:6. The former source states that God, as punishment, will use up His arrows on Israel.
30. Pes. 111b.

# Notes

## Chapter V

1. Ber. 54b.
2. Kid. 29b relates an unusual example of a schoolhouse haunted by a demon who injured even those who entered by day. See also Ber. 62a. B.R. 36:1 and V.R. 5:1 tell of a struggle between a child of the generation of the Flood and a demon, which was halted at dawn.
3. Mid. Teh. 20:7. Ketev, the demon of sunstroke, is also active at noon. See Eicha R. 1:3; Tan. Buber, Kedoshim 9; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 20:3, remez 680 and Pes. 111b.
4. Shab. 67a Note the reference here to Samson's actions.
5. Ibid.
6. A.Z. 12b. This is a fine example of sympathetic magic. Since there exists a close tie between a demon and its name, by reducing the name, the demon also disappears. When dealing with demons or with elements of danger, it was common to recite formulae in the second or third person.
7. Tan. Buber, Naso 27 and Ba.R. 12:3. Moses was said to have recited this psalm as he ascended Mt. Sinai. This psalm contains several references to demons and to protection from them. It is widely quoted in Rabbinic sources which discuss demons.
8. For the recital of the Shema as protection, see Yal. Sh. to Job 5:7, remez 898 and Ber. 5a. On the Priestly Benediction, see Sifre Bamidbar, piska 40 and Tan. Buber, Naso 27; Ba.R. 11:5. For invoking heavenly mercy, see Ber. 6a and Eruv. 41b. For the use of God's Name, see Ba.R. 12:3.
9. Me'ilah 17b.
10. Shab. 67a.
11. Git. 68a.
12. Git. 67b. Note again, the link between the demon and its name, as mentioned in n. 6 above.
13. Pes. 111b. However, the exact number of demons who haunted the bush had to have been known.



14. Tar. Shir. 8:3. This midrash tells of putting lefillin on the left hand and affixing the mezuzah with the right, which is an allusion to Psalm 91:7: "A thousand (demons) will fall at your (left) side and ten thousand (demons) at your right side..." This is clearly stated in Mid. Teh. 17:8, 91:4 and Tan. Hanidpas, Mishpatim 19 and Vayetze 3. While Mid. Teh. 91:4 gives Chanina b. Abbahu as the tradent, Tan. Hanidpas, Vayetze 3 reverses his name as Abbahu b. Chanina.
15. Ber. 6a, 62a; Yoma 84a.
16. Pes. 111b; B.B. 107b.
17. Tar. Shir. 4:6 (which lists the various demons who flee from incense) and Ker. 3b. Y. Trumot 1:1, however, tells of people offering incense to the demons. See also Y. Git. 7:1 in this regard. For the power of the shofar, see Hul. 105b.
18. The proof text used is from Num. 7:1: "It was on the day that Moses finished ("kalot") setting up the Tabernacle." "Kalot" is translated as "brought to an end (the attacks of the demons)." See Mid. Teh. 91:5 and Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:11, remez 843.
19. See PRK 1:5; Tan. Buber Naso 27; P.R. 5:10; Ba.R. 12:9. The proof text used here is Ps. 91:10: "There, shall no evil thing befall thee, neither shall any plague (demon) come nigh by reason of thy Tent (Tabernacle)." The notion that the construction of the Tabernacle provided protection from the demons may have also been suggested to the Rabbis by the proximity of several verses in the Bible. Num. 7:1 follows immediately after the Priestly Benediction: "May God bless you and protect you" (Num. 6:24), which was viewed by the Rabbis as an anti-demonic blessing. Thus, the mention of the Tabernacle immediately following this blessing may have prompted the Rabbis to associate the demons with the Tabernacle. See Sifre Bamidbar piska 40; Tan. Buber, Naso 27; and Ba.R. 11:5.
20. Ber. 6a.
21. D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8; Tan. Mishpatim 19; Y. Pe'ah 8:9; Y. Shek. 5:6. While Pe'ah states that the ruach "miktefei minei," was forced by him (?), Shek. states "mistefei minei," was afraid of him, which makes more sense. In all probability, a scribal error turned the samech of mistefei into a kaf.
22. D.R. 6:6; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 22:7, remez 930.
23. Tar. Shir. 3:8; Ber. 62a.



24. Pes. 112b. See also Kid. 81a, where Satan refrains from leading several rabbis into sin because they are "of account in heaven."
25. A.Z. 12b.
26. Hul. 105b-106a.
27. Eicha R. 1:3; Mid. Teh. 91:3; Ba.R. 12:3; Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:5, remez 842 and Deut. 32:24, remez 945.
28. Shab. 109a. Yet, one must also be careful when washing, since demons also cling to liquids. See Hul. 105b.
29. Ber. 51a. See also Hul. 107b.
30. Ta'an. 20b.
31. Pes. 109b-110b.
32. Ber. 62a. This source also relates how a lamb was also brought into the privy for protection.
33. A.Z. 12b.
34. See Ber. 62a; Kid. 29b, 39b.
35. Ber. 3a, 43b.
36. Third Enoch/Sefer Heichalot 5:3-4. (According to Gershom Scholem, op. cit., p. 7, n. 19, this is a 6th Century work.) See also B.R. 24:6 and 23:6.
37. Sifre Bamidbar, piska 40 and Ba.R. 11:5. See also n. 14 above.
38. See also D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8 and 91:4; Tan. Hanidpas, Vayetze 3.
39. D.R. 4:4; Mid. Teh. 17:8 and Tan. Hanidpas, Mishpatim 19. All are agreed that humans are not obligated to feed or pay the angels for their services. See also Mid. Teh. 91:4 and Yal. Sh. to Ps. 91:7, remez 842. In a different vein, Mid. Teh. 104:24 also seems to indicate that it is through God's mercy alone that mankind is protected.
40. Sifre Devarim, piska 313; Pes. 109b and R.H. 11b. The reference to "the apple of His eye" is found in Deut. 32:10. See also Mid. Teh. 17:8.

Notes

Chapter VI

1. Hermann L. Strack, Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash, (New York: Atheneum, 1976), pp. 121-3; Ed., "Johanan Ben Nappaha," Encyclopedia Judaica, 10:145.
2. Ed., "Johanan Ben Nappaha," op. cit., pp. 145-6.
3. See Mid. Teh. 91:5; 104:24; Git. 68a.
4. See Chapter IV, nn. 6, 11; Shab. 109a.
5. See "Kise Ve'ipodromim Shel Shlomo Hamelech" in A. Jellinek's Bet HaMidrash, 5:34; Yal. Sh. to Is. 26:14, remez 429; San. 44a.
6. V.R. 1:3, 5:1, 22:8; Mid. Teh. 55:3; Tan. Hanidpas, Mishpatim 19.
7. V.R. 1:3.
8. B.R. 12:3; V.R. 1:3.
9. Mid. Teh. 91:5.
10. Tan. Buber, Kedoshim 9.
11. B.R. 24:6; Ba.R. 12:3; Ber. 5a.
12. Ber. 62a.
13. PRK 1:5; Sh. R. 10:7.
14. See n. 12 above.
15. Strack, op. cit., p. 120.
16. D.R. 1:17; Mid. Teh. 17:8; Meg. 3a.
17. B.R. 20:11.
18. See, for example, Langton, op. cit., pp. 10, 16-32.
19. Tan. Buber, Naso 29; Ba.R. 12:3.
20. See Chapter IV, nn. 4-11.
21. For the use of these verses in midrashic texts, see Chapter V, nn. 37-39.

22. See Chapter IV, n. 28.
23. See Chapter V, n. 40.
24. Bernard Grossfeld, "Bible," Encyclopedia Judaica, 4:843, 845; Moshe David Herr, "Midrash," Encyclopedia Judaica, 11:1511-12.
25. See, for example, Tar. Onk. to Lev. 17:7, Deut. 32:24. Bernard Grossfeld, (in "Bible," Encyclopedia Judaica, 4:842-3), states that Targum Onkelos is a 2nd Century C.E. work.
26. See B.R. 11:9, 21:9, 24:6, 36:1, 63:8; V.R. 22:8; Eicha R. 1:3, The dating of midrashic works is found in Herr, op. cit., pp. 1511-12.
27. Sifra Emor 9:5; Sifre Bamidbar, piska 40; Sifre Devarim, piska'ot 306 and 318.
28. PRK 1:5, 5:3; Shir. R. 3:6.
29. See Er. 41b; Pes. 112b; Yoma 83b; Git. 68a; Nid. 24b.
30. Bek. 44b; Yoma 77b; Git. 67b; A.Z. 12b; Me'il. 17b.
31. Ber. 62a; Shab. 67a; Pes. 110a-b, 111b; B.B. 134a.
32. See Pes. 109b-110b; Yoma 84a; B.M. 107b; A.Z. 12b; Ker. 3b.
33. Ed., "Johanan Ben Nappaha," Encyclopedia Judaica, 10:146.
34. Y. Ber. 5:1; Y. Peah 8:9; Y. Shab. 1:3; Y. Shek. 5:6; Y. Git. 6:8.
35. Compare Y. Tr. 1:1 and Y. Git. 7:1 with Git. 67b; Y. Shab. 1:3 with Tan. Buber, Bereshit 27; and Y. Yoma 8:5 with Yoma 83b.
36. Ba.R. 11:15, 12:3.
37. D.R. 4:4.
38. See Chapter III, p. 31; Chapter IV, p. 38; Chapter V, p. 44.
39. See Chapter V, especially nn. 13, 20, 23 and 30.
40. Jacob Neusner, A History of the Jews in Babylonia (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1966), Vol. III, p. 110 and John M. Hull, Hellenistic Magic and the Synoptic Tradition (Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, 1974), pp. 54, 60.
41. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 26, Vol. III, p. 118, Vol. IV, p. 338.

42. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 25, Vol. IV, p. 338.
43. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 118-19.
44. See Chapter III, especially n. 16. See also Neusner, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 111, 115.
45. Hull, op. cit., p. 31.
46. Hull, op. cit., pp. 30, 34. See also Chapter V, especially pp. 42 and 43.
47. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 25.
48. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 90-91, Vol. V, pp. 175, 217.
49. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 242.
50. Ibid.
51. Neusner, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 243. See also Chapter V, especially nn. 4, 5, 7, 10, 12.

Appendices

Appendix I  
Primary Sources

A. Bible

Genesis	-	2:3; 5:1; 11:8
Exodus	-	7:11, 22; 8:15; 9:3; 12:7, 39; 19:16; 28:33-35
Leviticus	-	14:7; 16:7-10, 12-13; 17:7; 25:9
Numbers	-	6:24; 7:1; 15:38
Deuteronomy	-	13:14; 15:9; 32:2, 10, 17, 24
Judges	-	19:22
I Samuel	-	2:12; 10:27
II Samuel	-	1:9; 29:4
I Kings	-	5:18; 7:51; 8:13; 11:14, 23, 25
Isaiah	-	5:6; 13:21; 28:2, 15; 34:14; 42:8
Jeremiah	-	9:20-21
Hosea	-	13:14
Habakkuk	-	3:5
Zechariah	-	3:1-2
Psalms	-	73:5-6; 76:4; 91; 106:37
Proverbs	-	16:14; 19:28; 30:15
Job	-	5:7, 21, 23; 18:3; 28:22; 34:6, 18
Song of Songs	-	3:7-8
Lamentations	-	1:3
Ecclesiastes	-	2:8
I Chronicles	-	12:20; 21:1
II Chronicles	-	11:15

B. Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha

First Enoch	-	10; 15:8-11; 53:3; 54:6; 99:5
Jubilees	-	1:20; 7:27; 10:1-8; 11:5, 11; 15:32
Martyrdom of Isaiah	-	2:2
Slavonic Enoch	-	29:4; 31:3
Testament of Patriarchs	-	Asher 1:8
Benjamin	-	7:1-2
Issachar	-	7:7
Levi	-	18:12; 19:1
Naphtali	-	3:1
Tobit	-	3:8; 6:14
Wisdom of Solomon	-	2:24
1 Qumran	-	1:5; 15:3
1 Qumran Scroll	-	1:18, 24

C. New Testament

Mark	-	1:26, 27, 32, 39; 5:5; 6:7, 13; 9:7; 25
Matthew	-	4:1-11; 12:22; 13:39; 25:4
Luke	-	4:35; 8:26; 10:19; 11:14, 24
II Corinthians	-	6:15

D. Targumim

Onkelos	-	Deut. 32:24; Lev. 17:7
Yonatan	-	Lev. 17:7; Num. 6:24; Deut. 32:10, 24
Targum Job	-	5:7
Targum Shir Hashirim	-	3:8; 4:6; 8:3
Targum Tehillim	-	91:5-6

E. Midrashim

Bereshit Rabba	-	7:5; 11:9; 20:11; 23:6; 24:6; 36:1, 3; 52:4; 54:1; 63:8; 65:15
Vayikra Rabba	-	5:1; 22:8
Eicha Rabbati	-	1:3
Mechilta de-Rabbi Ishmael	-	Yitro 6
Sifra	-	Acharei Mot 9:8; Emor 9:5
Sifre Bamidbar	-	40
Sifre Devarim	-	306, 313, 318, 321, 355
Shir Hashirim Rabba	-	1:5; 3:6
Pesikta de-Rabbi Kahana	-	1:5; 5:3; 7:2; Hachodesh (Buber ed.) 45b
Pesikta Raabati	-	5:10; 6:5; 15:3; 17:1
Avot de-Rabbi Natan	-	37:3
Sefer Heichalot	-	5:3-4
Targum Sheni	-	1:3
Kohelet Rabba	-	2:8



Pirke de Rabbi Eliezar	-	3, 7, 34
Devarim Rabba	-	1:17; 4:4; 6:6
Tanhuma Hanidpas	-	Vayetze 3; Mishpatim 19
Tanhuma Buber	-	Bereshit 17, 26, 27; Kedoshim 9; Naso 27
Shemo Rabba	-	9:11; 10:7; 30:16
Midrash Tehillim	-	1:13; 17:8; 20:7; 55:3; 73:2; 78:12; 91:3-5; 104:24
Bamidbar Rabba	-	2:10; 11:3, 5; 12:3, 9; 14:3
Kise Ve'ipodromim Shei Shlomo Hamelech	-	5:34 in A. Jellinek's <u>Bet Hamidrash</u>
Lekach Tov	-	Ha'azinu (Buber ed.) 57b, 58b
Midrash Aggadah	-	Gen. 11:8; Ex. 7:11
Yalkut Shimoni	-	Vol. I - 12, 114, 182, 286, 579 582, 930, 942, 945 Vol. II - 146, 185, 263, 429, 441, 680, 772, 795, 842, 843, 862, 898, 908, 913
Midrash Hagadol	-	Va'era 8:15

F. Mishnah

Avot	-	5:6
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G. Jerusalem Talmud

Berachot	-	1:5; 5:1
Pe'ah	-	8:9
Terumot	-	1:1

Shabbat	-	1:3
Shekalim	-	5:6
Yoma	-	8:5
Gittin	-	6:8; 7:1; 48C

#### H. Babylonian Talmud

Berachot	-	3a; 5a; 6a; 43b, 51a; 54b; 55b; 62a-b
Bikkurim	-	44b
Shabbat	-	67a; 109a
Eruvin	-	18b; 41b; 43a; 100b
Pesachim	-	54a; 109b; 110a-b; 111b; 112b; 113a
Yoma	-	75a; 77b; 83a-b; 84a
Sukkah	-	28a
Rosh Hashana	-	11b; 28a
Ta'anit	-	20b
Megillah	-	3a
Hagigah	-	16a
Yevamot	-	122a
Ketubot	-	61a; 104a
Nedarim	-	20a-b
Gittin	-	66a; 67b; 68a-b; 70a
Kiddushin	-	29b; 39b; 72a
Baba Kama	-	16a; 21a
Baba Metzia	-	107b
Baba Batra	-	25a; 73a-b; 134a

Sanhedrin	-	44a; 67b; 101a; 109a
Makkot	-	6b
Avodah Zara	-	12b
Hullin	-	105b; 106a; 107b
Keritot	-	3b
Me'ilah	-	17b
Niddah	-	24b
Soferim	-	41b

Appendix IIGeneration and Location of TradentsA. Generation of TradentsTanna'im

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	1
2	3
3	3
4	2
5	3

Amora'im

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Palestinian</u>	<u>Babylonian</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	5	3	8
2	3	3	6
3	13	5	18
4	4	3	7
5	7	3	10
6		4	4
7		1	1

B. Location of TradentsTanna'im

Palestinian	10
Babylonians living in Palestine	2

Amora'im

Babylonian	23
Palestinian	25
Babylonians living in Palestine	6
Palestinians living in Babylonia	1
Palestinians who visited Babylonia	2

Appendix III  
Specific Tradents

The following list presents the names of tradents linked with demonological sources and gives their generation and location.

Abba - 3BA, emig. to Pal.

Abba Yose b. Dosai - 3PT

Abba b. Kahana - 3PA

Abba b. Menyumi - ?

Abba b. Zeira - 4PA

Abba Benyamin - ?

Abbahu - 3PA

Abaye - 4BA

Abin II - 5PA

Acha b. Yakov - 4BA

Aibu b. Nagri - 4PA

Akiva - 2PA

Amemar - 6BA

Ami - 3PA

Ashi - 6BA

Assi - 3BA, emig. to Pal.

Bebai b. Abaya - 5BA

Benaya - 5PT

Berechia - 5PA

Chanina - 1BA, emig. to Pal.

Chanina b. Abbahu - 4PA

Chanina b. Dosa - 1PT  
Chanini b. Papi - 3BA, emig. to Pal.  
Chisda's daughter - 3BA  
Chiya b. Abba - 5BT, emig. to Pal.  
Dimi of Nehardes - 5BA  
Eleazar b. Pedat - 3BA, emig. to Pal.  
Hezekiah b. Chiya - 1BA, emig. to Pal.  
Hillel - Pre 1PA  
Huna - 2BA  
Huna b. R. Joshua - 5BA  
Imma Shalom - 2PT  
Isaac - 3PA  
Isaac b. Yoseph - ?  
Kahana - 6BA  
Levi - 3PA  
Levi b. Sissi - 5PT  
Mana - 5PA  
Mar b. R. Ashi - 7BA  
Mar Zutra - 6BA  
Meir - 3PT  
Nachman - 5PA  
Nachman b. Ya'akov - 3BA  
Natan - 4BT, emig. to Pal.  
Papa - 5BA  
Pincus - 5PA  
Rav - 1BA  
Rabba - 4BA

Safra - 3BA  
 Samuel - 1BA  
 Samuel b. Isaac - 3PA, visited Bab.  
 Samuel b. Nachman - 3PA, visited Bab.  
 Sechora - 3BA  
 Shimon b. Yochai - 3PT  
 Simeon b. Gamliel - 3PT  
 Simi - 5PT  
 Simon - 3PA  
 Simon b. Lakish - 2PA  
 Tanhum b. Chanilai - 3PA  
 Ulla - 3PA, emig. to Bab.  
 Yehoshua b. Levi - 1PA  
 Yehuda b. Shalom - 5 PA  
 Yermiyahu b. Elazar - ?  
 Yishmael - 2PT  
 Yochanan b. Nappacha - 2PA  
 Yochanan b. Zakkai - 1PA  
 Yose b. Halafta - 3PT  
 Yose of Tzetur - ?  
 Yoseph - 3BA  
 Yehoshua - 2PT  
 Yehudah - 2BA  
 Yehudah b. Chiya - 1BA, emig. to Pal.  
 Yehuda b. Yehezkel - 2BA  
 Yehudah Hanassi - 4PT



Yehudah b. Simon - 4PA

Yudan - 4PA

Zutra b. Tobiah - ?

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