

**“BECAUSE HE LOVES HER ...”
THE FIGURE OF THE DEMON IN THE BOOK OF TOBIT**

Ida Fröhlich

Pázmány Péter Catholic University, Piliscsaba

During my work on Qumran magical texts I often consulted Sándor on various questions raised by the texts. Our favourite topic was demonology, especially the question of demons as obstacle to a marriage. He referred to me cases known by him from contemporary Near Eastern practice. Girls who for some reason do not want to marry refuse the marriage proposal under the cover that they are already married to a demon. In order to get married to a human the girl should first divorce from her first husband. Gerda Sengers' book portrays similar cases from modern Egypt, where mental and physical health problems of married women are interpreted as consequences of an invasion of demons called *ġinn/asyād*. Women are obsessed by demons who have entered the body through “openings”. The spirit resides in the body of the woman and raises obstacles in family life. Healing usually results from the *zār* ceremony and Koran healing (Sengers 2003).

The Book of Tobit relates, among others, the story of the exorcism of a young woman obsessed by a spirit who means to be an obstacle to her successful marriage to a human. The story is known from the Greek versions of the *Septuagint*, the longer version GI, and the shorter and later version GII. The book embraces the life stories of three persons: Tobit, a pious man exiled to Nineveh from the northern kingdom of Israel; his son Tobiah, and Sarah, a young girl from the Jewish diaspora of the far Media. She is the only child and heir of her father. She enters into the story when praying to God for death because she is no longer able to support her fate. She had been given to marriage already seven times, but the demon Asmodeus killed all her bridegrooms in the bedroom, before their marriage had been consummated. Sarah was accused by neighbours to have killed her bridegrooms (Tob 3:7–15). She is finally saved by Tobiah, son of Tobit who is on his way to Media, in order to get his father's ten talents of silver deposited there by a client. Tobiah is guided by the angel Raphael whose identity is not recognized by him during their common travel. Approaching to the destination of their travel the angel informs the boy that they shall spend the night at the home

THE ARABIST. BUDAPEST STUDIES IN ARABIC 37 (2016)

<https://doi.org/10.58513/ARABIST.2016.37.4>

of Raguel who is a relative of Tobit. Raphael speaks about Raguel's only daughter and heiress Sarah. He informs the young man that he is the closest relative of the girl, a cousin, so it is he who has the hereditary right to her, and through the marriage he has the right to inherit her father's estate (Tob 6:10–12a).¹ Besides, Raphael recounts the girl's good qualities, mentioning at the end her remarkable beauty: "the girl is sensible, brave, and very beautiful" (Tob 6:12b). The angel is ready even to mediate the marriage negotiations with her father (Tob 6:13). When proposing to Tobiah the marriage plan with Sarah the angel refers to the Mosaic Law which prescribes endogamous marriage. Raguel cannot withhold his daughter from Tobiah or promise her to another man without incurring the death penalty (Tob 6:13). Tobiah is familiar with Sarah's story, "that she has already been given in marriage seven times, and each man has died in the bridal chamber" being killed by a demon (Tob 6:14).² Also he knows the demon does not harm Sarah "*because he loves her*" (Tob 6:15). Raphael now refers to a paternal instruction that Tobiah should "marry a woman on your father's side" (Tob 6:16). He informs Tobiah about the means to expel the demon from Sarah, and assures him about divine protection (Tob 6:17–18). He repeats emphatically that Tobiah should not be afraid; "for Sarah was destined for him before the world existed, and it is Tobiah who will rescue her (Tob 6:18)."³ On the wedding night Tobias, following Azariah's advice put the fish's heart and liver on the burning incense. Asmodeus fled to Egypt, a land distant from Media. The angel Raphael had power over the demon since he followed him, and "at once bound him there hand and foot (*kai edēsen auto ho angelos*)" (Tob 8:3). Therefore there was no obstacle to the consummation of Sarah's and Tobias's marriage (Tob 7:1–8:21). The Septuagint version GII relates differently the banishment of the demon Asmodaeus; the demon gets divorced from his victim by the angel Raphael: the angel sets "free (*lūsai*) the wicked demon Asmodaeus from her" (Tob 3:17).⁴ The binding of the demon is to be found in both recensions (Tob 8:3).

¹ I.e. Raguel had no other patrilinear heir. For this reason his daughter should marry to her next of kin, a case similar to levirate marriage. The case is unknown in the Mosaic Law. On heritage law and levirate, see Moore 1996:203; Davies 1981.

² Earlier narrative (verses 10–13) does not lead one to suppose Tobiah's informations about Sarah. The inconsistency may be a result of redaction.

³ Greek *ētiomasmenē* „appointed for". Compare Gen 24:44, where it is said that "the Lord had appointed" [LXX *ētoimasen*] Rebekah to be Isaac's wife. The conformity of endogamy and law is repeated in Raguel's words when he gives Sarah as a wife for Tobiah: "Take her as your wife in accordance with the law. In accordance with the decree written in the Book of Moses she is your wife..." (Tob 7:12).

⁴ Ego 2006: esp. 374.

The book of Tobit is composed of material originating from various sources and representing various literary genres, including folkloristic ones.⁵ The plurality of the genres of the sources composing the book makes it difficult to define the genre of the whole work. Narrative parts are intertwined by short blocks of wisdom sayings. Despite the heterogeneity of its literary material the Book of Tobit is a consistent narrative, with several levels of meanings. Tobit is the best labelled as a “wisdom tale” and “Diaspora novella” – a story that gives a model for life-style and ethics to those living in the diaspora. Both the sayings and the narrative express ethical teachings. One of the ideals of the author is the idea of endogamic marriage, prescribed, by the author of the book of Tobit, by the Mosaic Law as a law incurring the death penalty (Tob 6:13). In view of the overall purport of the book any literary and folkloristic element of the story should be considered in the light of these ideas and ideals.

Until recently Tobit had been known only in Greek translations. The library found in the Qumran caves offered fragments of four Aramaic and one Hebrew copies of the book of Tobit.⁶ Along with them fragments of the original Hebrew or Aramaic texts of other apocryphal works (Ben Sira, 1Enoch, and Jubilees) were found. It is to be supposed that Tobit was composed in Aramaic, and translated into Hebrew, the holy language. The number of the copies and the fact of the translation indicate that the book had a special authoritative status in the community, similar to that in the Enochic collection (partly identical with the apocryphal book known as Ethiopic Enoch or 1Enoch) the Aramaic fragments of which were found in Qumran.⁷ The earliest part of the Aramaic manuscripts tradition from Qumran dated to the end of the 3rd century BCE contains the story of the fall of the Watchers (1En 6–11) relating the history of the intermarriages of a group of heavenly beings (two hundred Watchers) with earthly women.⁸ The motive of the Watchers’ descending to the earth was their lust aroused by the women. Consequences of the intermarriages were, first of all, the males becoming

⁵ Huet 1915. Nickelsburg (1996) assumes even material of Greek origin.

⁶ The Aramaic text is represented by frgs. 4Q196–199, the Hebrew text by 4Q200. All the copies were written between 100 and 50 B.C.E. A linguistic analysis defined the Aramaic of Tobit as Middle Aramaic, the Hebrew as late postexilic Hebrew, see Fitzmyer 1995a. The Aramaic and Hebrew fragments were edited by Fitzmyer (1995b). A commentary in the light of the Aramaic fragments is Fitzmyer 2003. On the text tradition of Tobit, in the light of the Aramaic and Hebrew fragments, see Weeks *et al.* 2004; Hallermayer 2008.

⁷ The Aramaic fragments of the book were edited by Milik 1976. Before the finding of the Aramaic fragments 1Enoch was known in a shorter Greek and a longer Ethiopic (Ge’ez) translation.

⁸ Gen 6:1–4 is a parallel to the story.

impure. The teachings of the Watchers (preserved also in the Greek text as sorcery, spellbinding, and 'cutting of roots' (*rizotomia*) – given to women were again the origin of further impurities.⁹ Another consequence of the unequal marriages was the subversion of the natural order: the offspring originating from the mixed marriages were monster giants who devoured everything, and committed bloodshed and blood-related sins of impurity. The punishment of the Flood in 1En 6–11 was, ultimately, a retribution for the sins of the Watchers and their offspring originating from intermarriages. The story of the Watchers is about the origin of the physical evil, shaped by a community in terms of disobedience to divine laws, intermarriage of divine beings and humans being a striking example of it. At the same time the story of the Watchers serves as an aetiology to the origin of the demons, representatives of the physical and ethical evil in the world. Further pieces of the Enochic tradition (1En 15) originate the evil spirits from the Watchers: it was the spirits of the Giants killed in the Flood that became evil spirits.¹⁰

The Enochic story is reflected in several points of the narrative in the book of Tobit, and one can say that Tobit is a kind of counter-story to the Enochic tradition. The motif of the lust of the Watchers for the earthly women leading to intermarriages is counterpointed in Tobit by the ideal of the marriage preordained by the Law. Tobiah's decision for the marriage was made on the effect of the demand of endogamy, the legal reason of the marriage, and not by the call of his own senses and emotions. Tobiah's feelings are aroused not by his senses but by his love for the Torah and by his understanding the Torah's prescription: "When Tobiah heard the advice of Raphael, and learned that she was a relative on his father's side, 'he loved her very much, and his heart was drawn to her' (*hē psukhē autou ekollēthē autē sphodra*)" (Tob 6:18).¹¹ Tobiah refuses the direction of senses and does not superimpose himself on the commandment of endogamy (Deselaers 1990:132–33). His marriage with Sarah is preordained from creation (Tob 6:18).

The motif of overpowering demons is another substantial element of the book of Tobit. Endogamy was an effective means for overpowering demons originating

⁹ Terms reconstructed by Milik as *hršh*, *kšph*, and *mqṭ' šršyn*. Dt 18:9–12 forbids foreign forms of magic (among them *kšpym* – cf. Akk *kišpu*), and not generally magic, according to modern understanding; Lev 20:27 forbids necromancy. What is called *rizotomia* in Greek wording is often synonymous with witchcraft, see Luck 2006:506; Dickie 2001:14; Erskine 2003:459.

¹⁰ Cf. 1 En 15.

¹¹ The Aramaic text contains here the expression *wlb <dbq> bh l[hd]* 'and his heart <clung> to her [exceeding]ly' (4Q197 f4 iii:1). The mentioning of "heart" refers again to Tobiah's mind and not to his feelings. In ancient Jewish thinking heart is the center of the mind and thinking – and not that of the emotions; see, Wolff 1974:40.

from intermarriages. Demons are represented in Tobit by the figure of Asmodeus.¹² Asmodeus is called “an evil demon (*Asmodaios to ponēron daimonion*)” who kills Sarah’s husbands (Tob 3:8a). Nothing is told here about the demon’s nature, his origin, and habitat, and there is no information about his relation to Sarah. It is repeatedly mentioned that the demon “kills (*apekteinēn*) anyone who desires to approach her” (Tob 6:15). Together with this the narrative stresses upon that the demon does not harm Sarah, “because he loves her” (Tob 6:15; NRSV 6:14). Exorcising the demon goes on with the help of prayer and *materia magica*.¹³ Demons were supposed to be spiritual beings, and as such to be able to fly in the air since after having been exorcised from Sarah, Asmodeus fled to Egypt, a land distant from Media.¹⁴ The angel Raphael had power over the demon since he followed him, and “at once bound him there hand and foot (*kai edēsen auto ho angelos*)” (Tob 8:3).¹⁵

As it was mentioned GI and GII reflect different concepts about the idea of the banishment of the demon Asmodeus, and GII reports that the demon gets divorced from his victim by the angel Raphael. In virtue of the remark “because he loves her” and the divorce motif B. Ego thinks that both concepts are linked to the idea that Asmodeus is in love with Sarah, and that the demon’s aggressiveness and violence can be understood against this background. She labels the demon Asmodeus as an *incubus*, i.e. a demon who desires sexual relationship with his victim, while Sarah represents the type of the killer-wife who means a danger for her husband(s). Any sexual contact with such a wife can prove deadly. Worse still: a killer wife is viewed as being directly responsible for the death of her husbands (Ego 2015:75). The killer wife is an international folk motif, known also as the narrative motif in catalogues of international folklore as “The Monster in the Bridal Chamber”.¹⁶

¹² The noun *aēšma* is derived from the Persian. The word means “wrath” in Younger Avestan texts, both metaphysically, as a distinct demon, and psychologically as the function and quality of that demon realized in man. See, *Elr* 1985: I, 479.

¹³ On exorcising demons, see Moore 1996:211–215.

¹⁴ Egypt was renowned as the land of magic, cf. Ex 7:11, 1QapGen 20:20. The Giants, demon-like beings originating from the fallen Watchers are said to be capable of flying according to some Aramaic fragments belonging to the Enochic collection in Qumran (4QEnGiants/b) III.4–5). Demons usually were imagined as wind-like beings, cf. 1En 15.4–12.

¹⁵ The method of making demons inoffensive and harmless is binding them. According to 1Enoch the archangels Gabriel and Raphael bind the chiefs of the fallen Watchers; Asael is bound by Raphael (1Enoch 10.4–6; see also 88.1) while Shemihazah is bound by Michael (1En 10.10–12, see also 88.3). Cf. also Rev 12:7–9. Raphael, together with Michael is addressed in several magical texts, see Stuckenbruck 1995:194–195.

¹⁶ For the type of the killer-wife, see Schüngel-Straumann 2000:82, 86; Ilan 2012.

However, the motif of the killer wife and the demon's status in the book of Tobit is to be reconsidered in the light of the Near Eastern belief system. The group *lilû*, *lilîtu*, and (w)*ardat lilî* are well-known figures of Mesopotamian incantation texts and catalogues of demons.¹⁷ They are repeatedly mentioned in the texts of the Aramaic and Mandaean magic bowls, originating from late antique Mesopotamia.¹⁸ The texts written inside the bowls served apotropaic purposes. The name and the function of the *lilîtu* can be identified with that of Lilith. It is a dangerous female demon, attacking, above all new-born babies, sucking their blood and eating their flesh. Her characteristics are very similar to those of the Mesopotamian female demon Lamaštu. Her numerous representations show her with a lion head, a female body, bird's legs, holding snakes in her hands, and suckling a dog and a swine. The *lilû* and (w)*ardat lilî* are male and female night demons, types of *incubus* and *succubus*. They tend to victimize persons of the opposite sex having intercourse with them and withering their life force. These demons were believed to be recruited from among young persons who died young and childless just before marriage and attempted at getting sexuality and children from the living. Neither cuneiform nor bowl texts refer to attacks against the consorts of their victims, thus, there is no base to equal them with the „monster in the bridal chamber”.

The enigmatic comment “because he loves her (*hoti daimonion philei autēn*)” (Tob 6:15) does not necessarily refer to sexual relationship between the demon and the girl. The Greek verb *phileō* (used in both GI and GII versions) means “to like, be fond of, cherish”.¹⁹ The Aramaic text used here the root *rḥm*: [*dhl 'nh mn šd' dn*] *dy r[h]m lh* (4Q196, frg. 14 i; 1.4). This part of the text is not contained in the Hebrew fragments. It is to be supposed that the Hebrew text rendered it with a derivative form of the root *'hb* which has a multiple meaning, including (1) human love for human object (including sexual relation), (2) appetite for food, drink for object, food, etc., and (3) love for God. Group (2) includes a very special meaning “to be mindful of, to attend to, to care about”. Such is the meaning of the verb in 2Chron 26 relating the rule of the king Uzziah, who “had farmers and vine-dressers in the hill-country and in the fertile lands, for he loved the soil (*ky-'hb 'dmh hyh*)” (2Chron 26:10). The Septuagint renders the same construction with a derivative of the verb *phileō* (*philogeorgos*). On the basis of the above arguments there are good reasons to suppose that the demon was rather the protector and

¹⁷ The best studied series of Mesopotamian incantations is Meier 1937. The comprehensive catalogue of demons *utukkū lemnūtu* was edited by Geller 2007.

¹⁸ The majority of the bowls originate from the Jewish community of Nippur. Their edition is Montgomery 1913; Geller 1986. Other bowl texts are continuously edited.

¹⁹ The Aramaic seems to support this reading of GI (*hoti daimonion philein autēn*) and GII (*hoti philei autēn*): [*dhl 'nh mn šd' dn*] *dy r[h]m lh* (4Q196, frg. 14 i; 1.4). On the motif, see Ego 2003.

defender than the lover of the girl, since – paradoxically enough – his role in the story is to impede Sarah’s non-endogamic marriage, by killing the girl’s bridegrooms. Thus, against pretence Sarah is not a killer wife.²⁰

Nevertheless, her family and neighbourhood take her for dangerous. The servant-girl openly accuses her of having sexual relation with a demon and killing her husbands: “It is you who kill your husbands! You have already been given in marriage to seven, and you have not borne the name of any one of them. Why punish us because they are dead? Go and join your husbands! I hope we never see any son or daughter of yours!” (Tob 3:8b–9). She considers the unnatural death of Sarah’s husbands to be a danger for the human community she lives in.²¹ Her mention of children – “I hope we never see son or daughter of yours!” – is a possible reference to a case when earthly women brought forth demonic children from spiritual beings, the Watchers. The motif of the danger of the birth of demonic children recalls again the tradition of the Watchers, a tradition which might have been well known to Tobit’s author.

Getting rid of a demon is offered in two ways in the book of Tobit: binding it by an angel, and divorcing it – again, with the help of an angel. Both motifs are well known in the ancient Near Eastern written tradition. According to the Enochic tradition the Watchers, originators of the evil demons were punished and made ineffective by binding.²² Figures bound represented on the bottom of Aramaic and Syriac magic bowls from late antiquity represent demons overpowered by the incantation written inside the bowl. Incantation texts written on the bowls often contain divorce formulae. Although much later than the book of Tobit these texts are good references for the idea of overpowering demons. Divorcing from the demon is a frequent motif in apotropaic incantations, especially in magic bowls from late antiquity – but the practice is well known also from Talmudic literature.²³ In order to get rid of a demon, a get (divorce letter) is given to it. The document is necessarily issued by an authority, in most of the cases a rabbi (Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥiah was taken such an authority), while other

²⁰ Her situation is similar to that of Tamar of Gen 38 who is thought by her family to be a killer-wife, although her husbands die because of their own sins, cf. Gen 38:6–9.

²¹ Raguel, Tobiah’s future father-in-law calls the young man’s attention to the danger, see Tob 7:11; Raguel is convinced that Tobiah will die in the wedding room, see Tob 8:10–12.

²² The archangels Gabriel and Raphael bind the chiefs of the fallen Watchers; Asael is bound by Raphael (1Enoch 10.4–6; see also 88.1) while Shemihazah is bound by Michael (1En 10.10–12, see also 88.3). Cf. also Rev 12:7–9. Raphael, together with Michael is addressed in several magical texts, see Stuckenbruck 1995:194–195.

²³ A collection of Aramaic magic bowls with divorce formulae in the Schøyen Collection were recently edited by Shaked *et al.* 2013. On the use of the legal formulae of literature in the divorce letters in Talmud, see Manekin Bamberger 2015.

texts refer to an angel (usually Gabriel).²⁴ People who give a divorce letter to a demon are in most cases married couples like “Gundas, son of Raševandukha and Makdukh, daughter of Nevandukh” (JBA 14:3–4, 7; 15:9–10). In some cases the letter is given by a sole male person (Abusamka, son of Sibta, JBA 13:3, 7), while some of them are issued by women (JBA 37, Dukhtbeh, daughter of Gušnasp-fri). The letters obligate demons to leave the house of the sender(s) of the *get* (JBA 13:7; 15:9).

The demons expelled can be both male and female. Frequent are the appellations “male lili and female lili”, “demons, no-good ones, liliths”, “demons, *dēv-s*” (JBA 14:2, 5–6, 8). Other texts call them „satans and lilis”, “demons, sorcerers, *dēv-s*, satans, idol spirits” (JBA 13:3, 6). Some of the texts were written against “the three (four, five) liliths”, called also “the grabber and the snatcher” (JBA 15:3), and called also “the fornicating singing girl” (e.g. JBA 54:6). The lilith is described as a naked female, her “hair dishevelled and cast behind her back” (JBA 15:4–5; 18:3). Ašmedai is mentioned in the above set of bowls four times. The first text mentions him as “the king of demons”, along with “Ram Šad, king of the demons”, and Šeda and „all demons and dark ones that are in Babylonia” (JBA 26:3–5). Another text mentions “Ašmedai, the evil demon”, along with the “ili, [the lilith]” (JBA 48:6). The end of the text mentions “the severe angel Hafkiel” as the final authority of the divorce (JBA 48:10). In the third incantation the demon Ašmedai is expelled in the name of YHWH Sabaoth. Ašmedai is here mentioned as “the king of *dēv-s*”, along with “Lili the lilith” (JBA 49:4) as a demon faced with the “severe angels” from the Horeb (JBA 48:9). The fourth text refers to a strange case when the divorcing letter (*get*) is given “by the name of the angel Ašmedai” (JBA 58:15).²⁵

Summing up, Ašmedai is characterized in the texts by his position as the “king of demons”, and his hostility to angelic powers. Other demons in the same texts are characterized by their sexuality and devastating nature. The motif of sexuality might refer to their characters as *incubi* and *succubi*. Their aggression (especially that of the *lilith*) seems to be directed towards children, especially the new-born. The divorce letters are given to both male and female demons, from both male and female senders. Although some of the demonic figures are connected with sexuality, there is no reference to sexual relations between human signatories of the letters and their demonic addressees. The authority issuing the divorce letter (*get*) is a rabbi or an angel. It is to be noted here that the reference to the angel

²⁴ *Get-s* issued in the name of Rabbi Joshua bar Peraḥia are JBA 13–25, in Shaked *et al.* 2013:103–147. Angelic authority is referred to in e.g. JBA 21:13 (Gabriel, Michael, Raphael), JBA 50:10; 51:7 (Gabriel and other angels). Michael and Raphael are often referred to but not in a context of divorce.

²⁵ Another incantation is written in the name of Elisur Bagdana (JBA 31:1–2), the spirit mentioned most frequently as “king of demons”.

Raphael as separating Sarah from the demon (Tob 3:17) might be the earliest reference to the idea of being divorced from a demon.

Getting divorced from the demon is the end of a human-demonic relation, and not of a sexual one. The idea of the divorce letters given to demons comes from the world of legal procedures where a husband can give a divorce letter (*get*) to his wife, thus ending their relationship. Divorce letters are given exclusively by men to women – no different practice is known. As to the logic of the magical texts, humans represent here the male side of the partnership while the demons are representatives of the female side, notwithstanding their biological sex. The implication of the *get* is that the receipt of a document issued by a judicial authority means an end to a relationship and results in physical separation of the clients. This is expressed in the following way in the magic bowl texts: “Just as demons write deeds of divorce to their wives and they do not come back again. Take [your deed of divorce and] accept [your adjuration and fl]ee ...” (JBA 29:7). *Get*-s given to demons are the performative utterance of ending a relationship in a magical context – and not the expression of ending a sexual relationship. Although the bowl texts are later than the book of Tobit yet it can be supposed that all these texts reflect the same idea. Divorcing from the demon in Tobit means getting rid of a killer-demon, in order that the real end of the marriage, cousin marriage can be fulfilled.

Ancient Near Eastern cultures attributed illnesses, anxiety and psychological disorders, afflictions, epidemics, and all kinds of natural evil to the work of demons. However, spirits and demons were believed to mediate not only in physical plagues, illnesses and dysfunctions of the body and soul. Negative emotions and troubles in human relationships were similarly attributed to demonic agents. Mesopotamian texts mention the “spirit of disagreement between mother and daughter”, and the Old Testament speaks of an evil spirit sent by God “to create a breach between Abimelech and the inhabitants of Shechem” (Judges 9:22). Demons can also serve as signals of a trouble in human relationships as it is suggested in the book of Tobit by the figure Asmodeus.

REFERENCES

A. Primary sources

Tobit ed. by J. Fitzmyer = Fitzmyer 1995b

Tobit, in: *Septuaginta*, ed. by Alfred Rahlfs. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979.

B. Secondary sources

- Davies, Eryl W. 1981. "Inheritance Rights and the Hebrew Levirate Marriage". *Vetus Testamentum* 31.138–144; 257–268.
- Deselaers, Paul. 1990. *Das Buch Tobit. Geistliche Schriftlesung*. Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag.
- Dickie, Matthew. 2001. *Magic and Magicians in the Greco-Roman World*. London: Routledge.
- Ego, Beate. 2003. "'Denn er liebt sie' (Tob 6,15 Ms. 319): Zur Rolle des Dämons Asmodäus in der Tobit-Erzählung". *Die Dämonen – Demons: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt – The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment*, ed. by A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, 309–317. Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- _____. 2006. "Textual Variants as a Result of Enculturation". *The Septuagint Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* ed. by Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, 371–378. Atlanta: SBL.
- _____. 2015. "A Self-Response to 'Textual Variants'." *A Feminist Companion to Tobit and Judith* ed. by Athalya Brenner, Helen Efthimiadis-Keith, Chapter 4A. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- EIr* = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater *et al.* London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985–
- Erskine, Andrew. 2003. *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 1995a. "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4". *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 57.655–675.
- _____. 1995b. *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert: XIX. Qumran Cave 4. XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*, 1–76. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- _____. 2003. *Tobit* (= *Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*, 8.). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Geller, Markham J. 1986. "Eight Incantation Bowls." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 17.101–117.
- _____. 2007. *Evil demons. Canonical Utukkū Lemnūtu Incantations. Introduction, Cuneiform Text, and Transliteration, with a Translation and Glossary* (= *State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts*, V.). Helsinki: University of Helsinki.
- Hallermayer, Michaela. 2008. *Text und Überlieferung des Buches Tobit*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Huet, G. 1915. "Le conte du 'mort reconnaissant' et le livre de Tobie". *Revue d'Histoire Religieuse* 71.1–29.

- Ilan, Tal. 2012. “Babatha the Killer-Wife: Literature, Folk Religion and Documentary Papyri”. *Law and Narrative in the Bible and in Neighbouring Ancient Cultures*, ed. by Klaus-Peter Adam, Friedrich Avemarie, Nili Wazana, 263–278. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Luck, Georg. 2006. *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Collection of Ancient Texts*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Manekin Bamberger, Avigail. 2015. “Jewish Legal Formulae in the Aramaic Incantation Bowls.” *Aramaic Studies* 13.69–81.
- Meier, G. 1937. *Die assyrische Beschwörungssammlung Maqlû neu bearbeitet* (= *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Beiheft 2.). Osnabrück: Biblio-Verlag. [Repr. 1967].
- Milik, Joseph T. 1976. *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*. London: Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press.
- Montgomery, J.A. 1913. *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (= *Publications of the Babylonian Section*, 3.). Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Moore, C.A. 1996. *Tobit. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (= *The Anchor Bible*, 40A). New York: Doubleday.
- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 1996. “The Search for Tobit’s Mixed Ancestry. A Historical and Hermeneutical Odyssey”. *Revue de Qumrân* 17/65.339–349.
- Schüngel-Straumann, Helen. 2000. *Tobit*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Sengers, Gerda. 2003. *Women and Demons. Cult Healing in Islamic Egypt* (= *International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 86.). Leiden: Brill.
- Shaked, Shaul, James Nathan Ford and Siam Bhayro. 2013. *Aramaic Bowl Spells. Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls, I* (= *Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity*, 1.). Leiden, Boston: Brill.
- Stuckenbruck, Loren T. 1995. *Angel Veneration and Christology: A Study in Early Judaism and in Christology of the Apocalypse of John* (= *Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 2.70). Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck).
- Weeks, S., S.J. Gathercole, L.T. Stuckenbruck, eds., 2004. *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Wolff, Hans Walter. 1974. *Anthropology of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.