

Two names and one title for a she-demon A note on the 'queen of the demons' in TestSal(ar)*

[Dos nombres y un título para una demonia. Una nota sobre la 'reina de los demonios' en TestSal(ar)]

Juan Pedro MONFERRER-SALA
University of Cordova
ff1mosaj@uco.es

Resumen: En este artículo nos ocupamos del nombre al-Ardamīs y del título *Malikat al-ġinn* que la versión árabe del Testamento de Salomón (TestSal[ar]) da a una demonia, con la intención de ofrecer una hipótesis sobre el posible original de ambas denominaciones.

Abstract: Our aim in this article is to offer a hypothesis about the origin of both the name al-Ardamīs and the title *Malikat al-ġinn* given to a she-demon in the Arabic version of the Testament of Solomon (TestSal[ar]).

Palabras Clave: Apócrifos. Árabe. Al-Ardamīs. *Malikat al-ġinn*.

Key Words: Apocrypha. Arabic. Al-Ardamīs. *Malikat al-ġinn*.



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Introduction

The apocryphal work known as the Arabic Testament of Solomon (TestSal[ar]) represents one of the numerous versions known in the Christian Orient,¹ where this legendary text enjoyed great popularity.² In the Christian Arabic tradition a quite different version from the Greek Διαθήκη or 'Testament' has survived. The various recensions transmitted by the Greek textual tradition³ are famous for the demonological element contained in this apocryphal work,⁴ a narrative feature which is obviously based on the esoteric power attributed to King Solomon in the Jewish and Christian traditions,⁵ although in the Islamic one as well.

However, although TestSal(ar) does not focus specifically on demonology, but on other narrative elements, some of them narrated in the Greek *Vorlage* or in motifs which are exclusive of TestSal(ar),⁶ several demonological references are gathered in the Arabic text. Among these demonological references that occur in TestSal(ar) we find the allusion to a she-demon, to which two names and a title are given assigned by the author of the Arabic text which will be briefly analyzed below.

¹ Juan Pedro MONFERRER-SALA, *Testamentum Salomonis arabicum*. «Studia Semitica» 5 (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Córdoba, 2006), pp. 16-19.

² Jean-Baptiste CHABOT, *Les langues et les littératures araméennes* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1910), p. 31.

³ Cf. Chester Charlton MC COWN, *The Testament of Solomon*. Edited from Manuscripts at Mount Athos, Bologna, Holkham Hall, Jerusalem, London, Milan, Paris and Vienna with introduction. «Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament» 9 (Leipzig – New York: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung – G.E. Stechert & Co., 1922), pp. 10-28 and Todd E. KLUTZ, *Rewriting the Testament of Solomon. Tradition, Conflict and Identity in a Late Antique Pseudepigraphon* (London: Darton Longman & Todd., 1983-1985), pp. 19-34. Whereas Mc Cown used sixteen MSS in his eclectic edition, FLECK's inadequate edition of 1837 is based only on one copy: MS 38 of the 'Bibliothèque nationale de France' ('anciens fonds grecs'), which was printed and translated into Latin by J.-P. MIGNE, "Testamentum Salomonis", in IDEM (ed.), PG, CXXII, cols. 1315-1358. Fleck's edition was translated into English by Frederic C. CONYBEARE, "The Testament of Solomon", *Jewish Quarterly Review* 11 (1898), pp. 1-45. Cf. James H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (London: Darton Longman & Todd Ltd., 1983), I, pp. 937-939.

⁴ Cf. Søren GIVERSEN, "Solomon und die Dämonen", in M. KRAUSE (ed.), *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honor of Alexander Bohlig*. «Nag Hammadi Studies» 3 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), pp. 16-21.

⁵ Pablo A. TORIJANO, *Solomon the Esoteric King: From King to Magus, Development of a Tradition*. «Supplements to the Journal of the Study of Judaism» 73 (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 175-178. Cf. Bellarmino BAGATTI, "I Giudeo-Cristiani e l'Anello di Salomone", *Rivista di Scienze Religiose* 60 (1972), pp. 151-160.

⁶ Cf. J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, *Testamentum Salomonis arabicum*, pp. 10-14.

1. Ta'udūrā and al-Ardamīs

In the narrative of the she-demon named Ta'udūrā, i.e. from Greek Θεοδώρα (“God’s gift”), the author of TestSal(ar) says that this she-demon is known by two names. Paradoxically, the theophoric Ta'udūrā,⁷ according to the Arabic author, was the name by which she was known among the demons,⁸ since people knew her under the name al-Ardamīs.

At first glance, one notices that Ta'udūrā is a Christian anthroponym used in the Byzantine Middle East,⁹ whereas al-Ardamīs is a pagan name. This feature is rather remarkable and perhaps it is the result of (copyist's) *lapsus calami* of a scribe who could change the order of the names because of an *homoioteleuton*. Two hypotheses are probable: the first one (comes from the possibility) is that Ta'udūrā was the name used by the people to refer to the she-demon, whereas al-Ardamīs was the form used for the demons to call her. This hypothesis is based on the idea that perhaps the author featured? this story by taking the OT motif of the fallen angel. In this case, the original name of the she-demon would be Ta'udūrā, but after she fell down from heaven it was changed into al-Ardamīs. As for the second hypothesis, there seems to be another explanation, since after the fall of the she-demon the demons under her power still followed using the name Ta'udūrā, whereas people changed it into al-Ardamīs, because of her fall and the subsequent loss of her divine gift.

Be it as it were, the identification of the Arabic form al-Ardamīs is not easy to be explained. At first glance, it seems to be that Ardamīs represents a transliteration of the Greek Ἄρτεμις (also known as Diana),¹⁰ the name of the

⁷ On this popular feminine name known in the 4th-5th c. both in the pagan and in the Christian milieu: Alexander P. KHAZDAN (ed. in chief), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), III, p. 2039.

⁸ *Testamentum Salomonis arabicum*, ed., trans. & study by J.P. MONFERRER-SALA, «Studia Semitica» 5 (Córdoba: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Córdoba, 2006), pp. 157 (Arabic text), 77 (Spanish trans.).

⁹ Cf. Yiannis E. MEIMARIS, *Sacred Names, Saints, Martyrs and Church Officials in the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri Pertaining to the Christian Church of Palestine*, «Meletēmata» 2 (Athens: Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity – The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 1986), p. 54 (n° 315a).

¹⁰ Cf. L. KAHIL, “Artemis”, in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae. Bildlexicon der antiken Mythologie*, «Forschungsstelle der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften» (Zürich: Heidelbergder Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), II, pp. 618-753.

goddess of the hunting and the nature, and lady of the beasts as well in Greek mythology.

However, another possibility arises through the *lectio mendosa* al-Ūdīs, a name which as far as we know has no correspondence in Greek. Perhaps, the form Ūdīs could represent the name Ūriya[n]s due an error of the scribe as a result of the shift /d/ < /r/ and the ellipsis of the *nūn* for the lack of the dot. If this hypothesis is correct the *lectio* Ὀρτενς could represent the original Greek form, since this name is attested in the Greek Testament of Solomon (TestSal[gr] C X,15).¹¹

All in all, this is not the only possibility for explaining the Arabic form al-Ardamīs. If we take into consideration that the consonants /w/ and /d/ both represent a misreading or an error of the scribe instead of an only /r/ we have the reading al-Arīs, i.e. the Greek Ἄρης, the name of the god Mars, the son of Hera and Zeus.¹² Together with the previous hypothesis, this possibility seems to be quite likely, since the reading *al-Arīs* can be related to the form אורוש (ʿŪrūs), which is attested in Arabic by the Ps. Mağrīfī.¹³ Since Hera was the goddess of the menstruation, we certainly wonder if an association of Hera with the impure/unclean things (as the demons are described in the NT and in Christian works)¹⁴ would be another feature in favor of this hypothesis,¹⁵ since this association occurs in demonological contexts.¹⁶

¹¹ Cf. C. C. MC COWN, *The Testament of Solomon*, p. 79*.

¹² On god Ἄρης, see Ph. BRUNEAU, "Ares", in *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, II, pp. 479-492.

¹³ Joseph NAVEH & Shaul SHAKED, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1985), pp. 202-203 (18) and 213 (17).

¹⁴ Cf. Loren T. STUCKENBRUCK, "Jesus' Apocalyptic Worldview and His Exorcistic Ministry", in Gerbern S. OEGEMA & James H. CHARLESWORTH (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins. Essays from the Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas*, New York – London: T&T Clark, 2008, pp. 74-75. So, for example, in the Ethiopic magic book known as *Arde'et*, i.e. 'the disciples', cf. Enno LITMANN, "Arde'et: The Magic Book of the Disciples", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 25 (1904), p. 30.

¹⁵ Cf. Wilhelm Heinrich ROSCHER, *Studien zur vergleichenden Mythologie der Griechen und Römer. I. Apollon und Mars* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1873), pp. 38-39.

¹⁶ See this motif extensively analyzed in the Islamic milieu by D. A. SPELLBERG, "Written the Unwritten Life of the Islamic Eve: Menstruation and the Demonization of Motherhood", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28:3 (1996), pp. 305-324. Cf. Robert GORDIS, "The Significance of the Paradise Myth", *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 52:2 (1936), pp. 86-94. See also Robert DANKOFF, "Kāšgarī on the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Turks", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95:1 (1975), p. 76.

2. *Malikat al-ğinn*

The title *malikat al-ğinn* (“the queen of the demons”) used for naming the aforementioned she-demon in TestSal(ar)¹⁷ is, as far as we know, neither attested in the Greek textual tradition of the Testament of Solomon, nor in the Old and New Testaments, nor in the apocryphal literature.

As in the Sumero-Akkadian pantheon demoniacs are planet-gods,¹⁸ in some ancient Near Eastern iconographical representations, the term “queen” can be ascribed in parallelism with the word “goddess” for referring a goddess of the demons or the evil spirits.¹⁹ For instance, the title “goddess” is used to describe a she-demon in a Babylonian incantation text,²⁰ and a Babylonian goddess is known under the name Allat, who has a servant-demon called Namtar, the Akkadian demon of the plague.²¹ It must not be forgotten that in (the) old Mesopotamian beliefs demons played an important role in the social life and they had titles of specific officials.²²

On the other hand, one of the earliest mentions of a she-demon appears in a Sumerian king list. In rabbinical literature, for instance, Noah’s Naamah is described as one of the seductive she-demons who tempted Solomon.²³ The aforementioned she-demon of the Sumerian king-list, which is called *Lilitu* (*Lilith*), belonged to the group of the storm-demons that later (they) became (in) night-demons as a result of a wrong etymology.²⁴ Later on, the formula “queen of the demons” applied to the she-demon Igrath is found in a fifteenth century text BC.²⁵ As it is known, the influence of Mesopotamian demonology trespassed frontiers and

¹⁷ *Testamentum Salomonis arabicum*, pp. 154-155 (Arabic text), 75-76 (Spanish trans.).

¹⁸ Cf. Julian OBERMANN, “Two Magic Bowls: New Incantation Texts from Mesopotamia”, *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 57:1 (1940), p. 16.

¹⁹ See the discussed clay plaque studied by Pauline ALBENDA, “The “Queen of the Night” Plaque—A Revisit”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125:2 (2005), pp. 171-190. Cf. Raphael PATAI, “Lilith”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964), p. 295.

²⁰ Cf. R. Campbell THOMPSON, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 2 vols. (New York: Luzac and Co., 1903-1904), II, pp. 158 (Babylonian text) and 159 (English trans.). On demonology in Babylonian and Assyrian texts, see I, pp. XXIV-XLII.

²¹ François LENORMANT, *La magie chez les chaldéens et les origines accadiens* (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie., 1874), p. 34, and n. 2.

²² A. L. OPPENHEIM, “The Eyes of the Lord”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 88:1 (1968), p. 177.

²³ Francis Lee UTLEY, “The One Hundred and Three Names of Noah’s Wife”, *Speculum* 16:4 (1941), p. 451.

²⁴ R. PATAI, “Lilith”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964), p. 295, see also 303.

²⁵ R. PATAI, “Lilith”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964), p. 303.

reached other areas and cultures, like it occurred with the ‘Islamic’ she-demon called *Umm al-ṣibyān*, who is described as “the mother of the devils”.²⁶

In TestSal(ar), as occurs in other Christian apocryphal texts like in ApBar(sir),²⁷ the descriptions are similar to those of the Babylonian texts: the desert storm winds or the southern wind associated to the demons,²⁸ like for example the Babylonian Pazuzu, king of the wind demons;²⁹ or the existence of a place of rest in the desert for the demon,³⁰ as it occurs with Lilith to agree with the episode narrated in the Sumerian Gilgamesh fragment.³¹

Another possible referent of the Arabic expression *malikat al-ḡinn* is Mt 9:34 ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων “the head of the demons”, which was literally rendered in the Pešīttā as ܐܪܚܘܢ ܕܕܝܡܘܢܝܘܢ, “the head of the demons”. The NT formula is also attested in Mt 12:24, and in Lk 11:15, where δαιμόνιον is the favourite term for Luke’s author to express the agent of possession.³² In Mt 12:24 and Lk 11:15 (cf. Mk 3:22) the expression represents a construction in apposition to the name Βεελζεβοὺλ (Pešīttā ܒܥܠ ܙܒܘܠ < OT בעל זבוב),³³ which is used like the accusation against Jesus as it was noted by Campbell, who discussed the expression with reference to Luke’s Gospel.³⁴

²⁶ W. IVANOW, “Muhammadan Child-Killing Demons”, *Man* 26 (1926), p. 196.

²⁷ Cf. James H. CHARLESWORTH (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, I, p. 624. Cf. Philip S. ALEXANDER, *The Targum of Lamentations, translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus and Notes*, «The Aramaic Bible» 17B (Collegeville, Min: Liturgical Press, 207), p. 58.

²⁸ *Testamentum Salomonis arabicum*, p. 71. Cf. R. Campbell THOMPSON, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, I, XLV-XLVI. The wind or the blows are elements associated to the demons to attack people, as in 1En 69:12, cf. *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch. A New Edition in the Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments*, ed. by Michael A. KNIBB in consultation with Edward ULLENDORF, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), I, p. 202 (Ethiopic text), II, pp. 161-162 (English trans.).

²⁹ Greg J. RILEY, “Demon”, in Karel VAN DER TOORN, Bob BECKING, Pieter W. VAN DER HORST (ed.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible (DDD)*, second extensively revised edition (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 1999), p. 236b.

³⁰ William W. HORREL, “The Demon of Noonday and Some Related Ideas”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 38 (1918), p. 162.

³¹ R. PATAI, “Lilith”, *The Journal of American Folklore* 77 (1964), p. 296.

³² Colin CAMPBELL, *Critical Studies in St Luke’s Gospel: Its Demonology and Ebionitism* (Edinburg – London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1891), p. 50.

³³ *B’l zbwł* should be rendered like “Baal the Prince” (William F. Albright, “Zabûl Yam and Thâpîṭ Nahar in the Combat between Baal and the Sea”, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 16 [1936], pp. 17-20) and not like “the Lord of the flies” as commonly interpreted (cf. *A list of the Proper Names Occurring in the Old Testament with Their Interpretation*, principally compiled by Simonis and Gesenius [London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1850], p. 25b).

³⁴ C. CAMPBELL, *Critical Studies in St Luke’s Gospel*, pp. 84, 89, 90, 149.

The translation of the noun masc. ἄρχων (“ruler; lord; prince”) as the fem. *malikah* (“queen”) does not represent any difficulty, since the author of TestSal(ar) seems to have simply adapted the New Testament figure to his own interest. In Eph 2:2 the devil is described like a “prince” or “ruler” (ἄρχων) in the syntagm τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος (“the ruler of the power of the air”). At the same time, the term *ḡinn*, which is obviously a reminiscence of the primitive Semitic demonology which was adapted in the Arabic milieu,³⁵ is used for rendering the Greek δαιμόνια FUENTE and represents obviously the Aramaic *gennayē* of the North-Arabian areas.³⁶

On the other hand, as it occurs with the expression ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων Mt 9:34 and par., *malikat al-ḡinn* assumes in TestSal(ar) the idea that the evil kingdom is seen like an army in which the ἄρχων is the chief of a host of demons (cf. Lk 11:18,26; Eph 6:12), like in the apocryphal psalm of 11Q11 (11 QapocrPs), col. II,4,³⁷ used to defeat the powers of evil and for exorcism,³⁸ where the chief of the demons is called שר המשטמה, i.e. “the prince of animosity”.³⁹ The leader of the fallen angels is ‘Azāzēl, which together with Šemīḥazah was identified as the devil,⁴⁰ although the latter received a variety of names in the apocrypha and in rabbinical literature like the chief of the demons or the evil spirits: thus for

³⁵ Cf. T. Witton DAVIES, “Divination, and Demonology among the Semites”, *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 14:4 (1898), pp. 244, 250; Samuel Ives CURTISS, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day. A Record of Researches, Discoveries and Studies in Syria, Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, Chicago – New York – Toronto: Fleming H. Revell, 1902, p. 60; Ignazio GUIDI, *L’Arabie antéislamique* (Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1921), p. 38.

³⁶ Cf. for instance J. P. MONFERRER-SALA, “Remarks on a Palmyrene Aramaic inscription (‘National Museum’, Damascus, C954)”, *Helmantica* 58 (2007), pp. 191-192.

³⁷ Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ & Eibert J.C. TIGCHELAAR (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden – New York – Köln: Brill, 1999), pp. 1200-1201.

³⁸ Cf. C. D. ELLEDGE, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, «Society of Biblical Literature» 14 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), p. 198; Catherine M. MURPHY, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (Leiden – Boston – Köln: Brill, 2002), pp. 252-253.

³⁹ The idea of the demons army is present in the Babylonian text of *Enūma Eliš* under the vision of a horde, cf. Anna Maria Gloria CAPOMACCHIA & Marta RIVAROLI, “The knowledge of tradition: a textual and iconographic interpretation”, in Robert D. BIGGS, Jennie MYERS & Martha T. ROTH (eds.), *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago July 18-22, 2005*, «Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization» 62 (Chicago, Ill.: The Oriental Institute, 2008), p. 258.

⁴⁰ P. D. HANSON, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11”, *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1977), pp. 195-233; *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, ed. by J. T. MILIK with the collaboration of Matthew BLACK (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 314, cf. 317.

example, among others Šātān, Maštēmāh (Jub 10:7-8), but also Sam·mā'ēl and Bēliyya'al (being Βελιάρ a by-form), both names cited in MartIs(gr) 1:8.⁴¹ These four names are used for referring “the chief of the demons”. Moreover, in Dn 12:1 the term שר (*šār*) “officer; prince” is used with the meaning of “angel” for referring Michael as “the great prince [of the angels]” (השר הגדול) in parallelism to the word רב.⁴²

By way of conclusion

Looked this way round, and as a conclusion of the present note, our perception rules out any possibility that the Mesopotamian background had a direct influence on the expression that we currently know through the TestSal(ar). Of course, the Mesopotamian background does always exist in form of common lore, but it does not represent the immediate source of the story narrated in TestSal(ar).

At this point, although considering probable echoes of this common Semitic background, all the indications are that the origin of the Arabic expression *malikat al-ġīn* can be explained through the NT formula ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων. However, as it occurred with the Mesopotamian goddess Lamaštu,⁴³ it should be taken into consideration for the present case a possible combination of the NT referent with a cultural interference from (the) Greek mythology through the figure of the goddess Hēra (Ἥρα), who played an important role in Greek mythology as the “queen of the gods”.

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⁴¹ Cf. R. H. CHARLES (ed.), *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, pp. 28 and 159 (and critical apparatus) respectively.

⁴² Cf. H. TORCZYNER, “A Hebrew Incantation against Night-Demons from Biblical Times”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6:1 (1947), p. 23.

⁴³ B. PATZEK, “Die mesopotamische Dämonin Lamaštu im orientalisierenden griechisch kolonialen Kulturkreis: ein Armutett aus Poggio Civitate und Ilias 21, 479 ff.”, *Oriens Antiquus* 27:3-4 (1988), pp. 225-229.