SECTUALLY TRANSMITTED DEMONS

SECTUALLY TRANSMITTED DEMONS:

CATEGORIZING THE APOTROPAIC DEAD SEA SCROLLS

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of primary sources follow those in the SBL Handbook of Style, 2d ed. For all other abbreviations, see below:

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	Anchor Bible Dictionary
AJEC	Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity / Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
ANE	*Annali di storia dell'esegesi*
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
ANRW II	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt II
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BASORSup	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplement Series
BEvTh	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie
Bib	*Biblica*
BibSac	Bibliotheca Sacra
BJW	Brown Judaic Studies
BRLJ	Brill reference library of Judaism
BWANT	Beitrage zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CEJL	Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature
DDD	Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible. Leiden; Boston; Köln; Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: Brill; Eerdmans, 1999.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
DSSSE	García Martínez, Florentino, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. "The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition (translations)." Leiden; New York: Brill, 1997–1998.

EJL	Early Judaism and Its Literature
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
Expo Time	*The Expository Times*
FRLANT	Forschurgen zur Religion und Literatur des und Neuen Testament
HALOT	Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, M. E. J. Richardson, and Johann Jakob Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament: Aramaic*. The Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon of the Old Testament. Leiden; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994–2000.
HDR	Harvard Dissertations in Religion
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HSMS	Harvard Semitic Monograph Series
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JAJ	*Journal of Ancient Judaism*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JQRMS	Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigraph: Supplement Series
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies

LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
Numen	*Numen International Review for the History of Religions*
OTP	Charles, Robert Henry, ed. Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913.
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumrân*
SBF	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
ST	*Studia Theologica*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha
Tarbiz	*Tarbiz Journal for the Study of Judaism*
TWNT	Gerhard Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher für Wissenschaft
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenshaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
WUNT 2	Wissenshaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament II
WZNT	Wissunt Zum Neuen Testament
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirch*

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

In her 1990 article "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," Carol A. Newsom responded to Norman Golb's claims that the scrolls found at Qumran did not belong to a particular sectarian library, typically identified as the Essenes.[1] The title "Sectually Explicit" was meant to highlight the question of whether there was indeed language that was useful for identifying a text as sectarian among the scrolls. In the following dissertation, I have used the title "Sectually Transmitted Demons" for similarly emphatic purposes. The meaning is actually twofold. On the one hand, I am interested in the way that evil can be transmitted to members of the Qumran sect from the outside, either by non-sectarians or by evil spiritual powers. On the other hand, I am also interested in the prophylactic rituals that the sect used to protect themselves from evil. What kind of apotropaic rituals did those who lived at Qumran use and how were they thought to work?

Second Temple literature reflects a growing concern among Jews for protection against, and deliverance from, evil spirits. Defense against these malevolent forces came in various forms, though they broadly fall under the categories of apotropaism and exorcism. A handful of texts among the Dead Sea Scrolls contains an assortment of exorcistic and apotropaic prayers and rituals. These activities include curses aimed towards demons and their leaders (e.g., 4QCurses, 4QBerakhot), praise to God intended to frighten away evil spirits (e.g., 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]), and rules for community members to obey in order to resist the influence of evil powers (e.g., 1QS, CD). The Scrolls portray the covenant community as participants in a cosmic

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[1] Carol Newsom, "Sectually Explicit Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters*, ed. W.H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D.N. Freedman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167-187.

war against the head demonic force Belial and his lot.[2] The community members actively confess sin (1QS I, 24), curse Belial and his human and demonic lot (1QS II, 1-10; 1QM XIII, 2-5; 4Q286 7 II, 1-5), and supplicate God to protect them from evil spirits (4Q511 10, 9-11).[3]

In addition to the threat of evil spirits, the scrolls are concerned with protection from sin and internal and external forces that may cause disobedience. Thus, some texts call upon God to ward off generic evil (e.g., 4QAramaic Levi[b]), petition him to protect the speaker from the return of evil (e.g., Ps 155), or ask for strength for the reader to withstand temptation (e.g., 1QH[a] IV, 33-37).

Apotropaism at Qumran has garnered increased attention with various articles written on the preventative methods and rituals used for protection against evil in the scrolls.[4] These articles are built upon an assumption of both what apotropaism *is* and which texts can be classified *as* apotropaic. The criteria for these categorizations stem from previous attempts at studying apotropaism, such as those conducted by David Flusser and Esther Eshel, which attempted to identify a series of common elements within the texts typically catalogued as either apotropaic or

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[2] Belial's "lot" can refer to human beings under his control (e.g., 1QS II, 1-10) or to evil spirits (4Q286 7a II, 1-6).

[3] The Maskil (משכיל) played an important role in the community and the term is usually translated as "instructor" or "sage" (e.g., 1QS III, 13; 1QSb I, 1; 1QM I, 1; 1QH[a] XX, 14; CD XII, 21; 4Q510 I, 4). In some texts the Maskil is described as having received supernal knowledge and a position of spiritual authority within the community (1QS IX, 12-21; 4Q511 18 II, 8). This authority extends not only to the instruction of the community members about the nature of humanity and the cosmic war (1QS III, 13 - IV, 26), but also to the warding off, aversion, or eviction of evil spirits (4Q510 1, 4-6).

[4] Joseph Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511)," *DSD* 19.1 (2012): 1–27, argues that apotropaism in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] is not actually a form of "magic," but the result of the community's transformed mind. Andrew Krause, "Protected Sects: The Apotropaic Performance and Function of 4QIncantation and 4QSongs of the Maskil and Their Relevance for the Study of the Hodayot," *JAJ* 5.1 (2014): 25–39, has suggested that the apotropaic "magic" found in 4QIncantation and 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] is connected with God's election of his people, his eschatological promises, and the use of angelic liturgy among other tactics. Miryam T. Brand, "Belial, Free Will, and Identity—Building in the Community Rule," in *Das Böse, der Teufel und Dämonen—Evil, the Devil, and Demons*, ed. Jan Dochhorn, Benjamin G. Wold, and Susanne Rudnig-Zelt, WUNT 2/412 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 77–92, has written on free choice and identity formation in regards to demonology in 1QS and CD, arguing that the rhetoric of these scrolls enforces boundaries between insiders and outsiders, aiding in continued obedience to the sect's rules. Cecilia Wassen, "Good and Bad Angels in the Construction of Identity in the Qumran Movement" in *Gottesdienst und Engel im antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum*, ed. J. Frey and M.R. Jost (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 71–97, discusses good and bad angels at Qumran and how the protection against evil is tied in with identity formation as well, noting that Qumran's existence as a kind of temple is important for keeping evil at bay.

exorcistic. As will be highlighted below, Eshel's and Flusser's criteria serve only to identify a number of common traits shared amongst a group of texts, but do not actually give definitions or guidelines for defining and identifying whether a text is to be understood as apotropaic or exorcistic. This dissertation seeks to remedy this deficiency by:

1) *Examining the texts typically classified as either apotropaic or exorcistic based on the criteria of proximity and time*: Following the insights of Philip Alexander, I argue that, at the most basic level, the difference between apotropaism and exorcism is the time in which the ritual is meant to be effective for the target and the proximity of evil to the human being. Apotropaic rituals, I demonstrate, are set up to protect human beings *before* evil approaches. Exorcistic rituals, on the other hand, are utilized only *after* evil has invaded. While this temporal aspect cannot always be demonstrated from the texts, the criterion of *proximity* is useful for classification. Apotropaic rituals attempt to deal with external forces that seek to affect humans. Exorcistic rituals, however, coax evil to leave spaces that they have already infiltrated.

2) *Offering a more accurate taxonomy for classifying texts:* Scholarly discussion around which texts ought to be considered apotropaic or exorcistic has been confusing. This is, in part, due to inconsistency in the vocabulary that scholars have used to categorize texts. Terms like "incantation" and "exorcism," for example, are sometimes used interchangeably, without explanation of *why* these words ought to be understood as such.

3) *Arguing for a number of additional works to be classified as apotropaic*: I argue that a number of neglected texts and portions of more popularly studied scrolls contain

information that is useful for reconstructing apotropaism at Qumran or affiliated communities. These works are: 1QSb, 4QMMT, 4QPrayer A?, 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a-b], 4QPrayer of Enosh, 1Q70[bis] (1QpapUnclassified frags. or 1QHe Who Brings in the Sheep), 1QHymns (1Q36), and 4QHymnic Text B? (4Q468k).

1.2 Sources[5]

The texts dealt with in this dissertation are divided into three categories:

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[5] Readers will immediately note that I have not included the works 4QPrayer of Nabonidus, Genesis Apocryphon, the so-called Tefillin and Mezuzot, and certain portions of the Cave 4 fragments of the Damascus Document among the sources discussed in this dissertation. I have excluded them from this dissertation for the following reasons:

1) The first century BCE Aramaic text 4QPrayer of Nabonidus recounts the story of a disease suffered by Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, his possible healing, and the arrival of a Jewish גזר ("diviner"; "exorcist"?). This story lacks any explicit mention of evil spirits or demons, though the possibility of an evil spirit inflicting the disease has often been suggested. The story tells how Nabonidus prayed for relief after being afflicted by God with an "evil boil" (בשחנא באישא). Due to the fragmentary nature of this work, the reconstruction of the text requires a number of interpretive considerations. The presence of the גזר, his function in the context of the narrative, and his relationship to Nabonidus's disease and conversion is ambiguous in the fragment, as is the logical succession of events from Nabonidus contracting the disease, his appeal to idols, and his possible healing. Because of the many uncertainties surrounding this text, as well as its exorcistic characteristics, it has not been included here in my study of apotropaism.

2) I have excluded The Genesis Apocryphon from this study for similar reasons to that of 4QPrayer of Nabonidus. While the evil spirit mentioned in Genesis Apocryphon is best interpreted as a spiritual entity, Abraham's actions of removing the evil spirit seem best understood as exorcistic, not apotropaic. While some texts commonly thought to be exorcistic are included in this study, I argue within those sections that there are apotropaic elements to the ritual or narrative that have either not been considered or misunderstood. Such elements are not present within the Genesis Apocrpyhon or 4QPrayer of Nabonidus.

3) The Tefillin and Mezuzot consist of scriptural quotations affixed to the hand/forehead or doorpost based on the instruction of Ex. 13:9, 16 and Deut 6:8; 11:18. The Tefillin found at Qumran mostly follow the expected passages found in later rabbinic Judaism, namely Ex. 13:10-16, Deut 6.4-9, and Deut 11.13-21, though some have been found to contain the ten commandments or other biblical texts (sometimes harmonized). The word Tefillin is often translated as phylactery, which suggests that it was used for protective purposes similar to amulets (perhaps they *were* amulets). 4Q560 was also found bound in a leather case similar to the Tefillin which points towards a prophylactic use of scrolls. Yet, it is difficult to argue that the Tefillin or Mezuzot were apotropaic in nature, since the wearers were simply trying to keep the command found in the Hebrew Bible. Their unique nature, however, requires a separate study and so they have been excluded from this dissertation. See Yehudah Cohn, "Were Tefillin Phylacteries?" *JJS* 59 (2008): 39-61.

4) 4Q266, 4Q272, 4Q273 and 4Q269 mention skin diseases seemingly caused by a "spirit". Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles*, JSNTSup 231 (New York: Sheffield Press, 2002), 213 notes, however, that "Jewish medical texts seem to have a theory about blood-flow and skin disease involving רוח in much the same way as πνεῦμα features in the Greek theory of the humours." Additionally, the process of dealing with such medical concerns seems to lack any apotropaic component, thus it is excluded from the present study.

1) *Sectarian Texts*: 1QS, 1QSb, CD, 4QMMT, 1QM, 1QH[a], 4QBerakhot[a] (4Q286), 4QCurses (4Q280), 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] (4Q510-4Q511), and 4QIncantation (4Q444).

2) *Works of Possible Sectarian Origin*: 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11), 8QHymn (8Q5), 6QpapHymn (6Q18), 4QPrayer A? (4Q449), 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a], 1Q70[bis] (1QpapUnclassified frags. or 1QHe Who Brings in the Sheep), 1QHymns (1Q36), 4QHymnic Text B? (4Q468k).

3) *Non-sectarian Texts*: 4QExorcism ar (4Q560), 4QAramaic Levi[b], 4QPrayer of Enosh? (4Q369), *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 XIX, 1-18), Psalm 155 (11Q5 XXIV, 11-13), 4Q147 (4QAmulet?), Tobit, and *Jubilees*.

These texts span a considerable number of genres and time periods, which raises the question of their relationship both within Second Temple Judaism broadly and our present study of apotropaism more specifically. What, for example, does a sectarian blessing like 1QSb have in common with a non-sectarian narrative like Tobit? Do the hymns of the Hodayot have anything to tell us about the prayer of Noah in *Jubilees*? What all these texts *do* have in common is that they are preserved by the inhabitants of Qumran and each to some extent discusses protecting oneself from evil. Aside from the division given above, these texts fall broadly into three further generic categories: 1) rituals, 2) instructions, and 3) narratives.

Some of the texts I have chosen are based upon their ritualistic or performative nature. Presumably, these texts reflect actual praxis, rather than strict theoretical or idealistic portrayals of the community that produced or preserved them. A prayer or a song is meant to be performed or recited, or perhaps studied. Realistically, it is impossible to determine with certainty whether a text was actually used by an ancient group when all that remains is the text. However, since ancient authors such as Josephus (*Ant*. 8.44-49) and the authors of the gospels (Matt 12:27//Luke

11:19) and Acts (19:13-16) attest to the existence of Jewish exorcists around the same time as our texts, it is reasonable to conclude that such rituals were performed. Additionally, works like 1QS and 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] assume the functional use of these works through mediation by the sect's leadership, followed with appropriate responses by the members of the community.

Some of the texts are instructions. In other words, these are specific traditions passed down from one person or community to their successor to know *how* to perform the apotropaic ritual.[6] While a "ritual" text simply contains the remains of a ritual (e.g., 4QExorcism), an "instruction" explains in detail what one is to say and what one is to do in order to perform the ritual. The blessings of 1QSb are prescriptive. This is what the speaker is *meant* to say, and presumably *did* say. This differs from narrative texts in an important way. Narratives do not prescribe actions or offer instructions on how to perform an apotropaic ritual, but rather describe apotropaic rituals taking place. Readers of these narratives could have based their own apotropaic rituals on these exemplars, but they are different from a ritual or instruction at a fundamental level.

1.3 Definitions

Despite their common usage in scholarship, the terms "apotropaism" and "exorcism" can cause confusion. For example, 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] is designated as a set of "exorcistic rituals" by Armin Lange, but described as "apotropaic" by Esther Eshel.[7] Part of the reason for this difference seems to be an absence of clear criteria and terminology for identifying and

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[6] The passing on of such information is similar to the purposes of the compendium of spells found in the Greek Magical Papyri.

[7] Armin Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues,* ed. Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 431; Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fifth 13 International Symposium of the Orion Center, 19–23 January 2000*, ed. Esther G. Chazon (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 81.

cataloguing these texts. Additionally, these two categories are internally complex. Some texts, as will be discussed below, blur the line between apotropaic and exorcistic. In what follows, I will attempt to bring clarity to these diverse issues and offer possible solutions to aid in reading and categorizing these texts.

1.3.1 Apotropaism

Scholarly use of the term apotropaism to describe some of the Dead Sea Scrolls has a long and complicated history. In the 1960s, Flusser attempted to highlight some common tropes within texts he identified as apotropaic, but a definition of apotropaism itself was lacking.[8] These tropes were augmented by later authors, but a concrete definition of apotropaism remains allusive. Indeed, while some scholarly taxonomy grew around the texts that scholars have come to agree are apotropaic in nature, it has only lead to more confusion. Additionally, the lines between what constitutes an exorcistic ritual as opposed to an apotropaic ritual have never been fully explained. In what follows, I attempt to trace some of the history of research on apotropaism in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In doing so, I set out to accomplish four things: 1) to explain the meaning of apotropaism as it is used by scholars of early Judaism; 2) to showcase the blurred lines between exorcism and apotropaism; 3) to offer an updated list of categories under which the various texts can be labeled; 4) to suggest my own list of common themes that link the texts scholars have identified as apotropaic.

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[8] David Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205.

1.3.1.1 The Term Apotropaism in its Ancient Context

Apotropaism is typically thought of as a set of preventative rituals, objects, and prayers used for the purpose of warding off or diverting various forms of evil. The word "apotropaism" comes from the Greek word ἀποτροπαιος. The word is used to describe a number of different techniques for defending against evil. A short survey of the use of this word may prove useful for understanding the parameters of what the term apotropaism covers.

One way the term is used is of sacrifices to deities in order that they may grant the ritualist protection. For example, the fourth-century orator, Demosthenes, uses the word as a title for Apollo in the context of cultic sacrifice used to avert evil: "to Apollo the Averter (Ἀπόλλωνι ἀποτροπαίῳ) sacrifice an ox and wear garlands" (*Mid.* 21.53).[9] Josephus uses the term when discussing Leviticus 16 and the scape-goat sent into the wilderness. He remarks that it is "sent alive into the wilderness beyond the frontiers, being intended to avert [ἀποτροπιασμός] and serve as an expiation for the sins of the whole people" (*JW* 3.241).[10] In this case, apotropaism is used in the sense of limiting or repelling sin or sinful inclinations for Israelites. In some instances, apotropaism is linked with purification. Diogenes Laertius (second-third century CE), writing about the philosopher Pythagoras, makes this comment: "The whole air is full of souls which are called δαίμονάς or heroes; these are they who send men dreams and signs of future disease and health, and not to men alone, but to sheep also and cattle as well; and it is to them that

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[9] Greek text from S. H. Butcher and W. Rennie, eds., *Demosthenis Orationes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903); English translation from A.T. Murray, *Demosthenes with an English Translation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

[10] Greek and English fromH. St. J. Thackeray, *Jewish Antiquities: Books 1–3*, Loeb Classical Library 242 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930).

purifications and ἀποτροπιασμοὺς, all divination, omens and the like, have reference" (*Vit. Phil.* 8.32).[11]

The word can also be used in the context of prayers. Aristophanes's (fifth-fourth century BCE) play *Knights*, for example, uses the word in the form of a petition. Hyperbolus requests for a hundred sailors to make a voyage to Carthage. Upon hearing this a young virgin cries out in response: "May god forbid ('ἀποτρόπαι' ου' δῆτ') that I should ever obey him!" (*Eq.* 1307).[12] Similarly, the tragedian Aeschylus (sixth-fifth century BCE) has the chorus in his work *Persians* say: "If, however, it is something inauspicious that you have seen, visit the gods with supplication and entreat them to avert (ἀποτροπὴν) the evil and to bring to pass what will be beneficial to you, your children, the kingdom, and all else that you hold dear" (*Pers.* 216-217).[13]

The word can also be used generically of turning away from evil by one's own volition. According to the second century CE rhetorician, Lucianus, in his work *Timon,* the speaker says of himself that "another will take the next turning (ἀποτρόπαιον) when he sees me in the distance; I am a sight of ill omen to be shunned by the man whose saviour and benefactor I had been not so long ago." Here the speaker is identified as an "ill omen" (δυσάντητον) that ought to be avoided, thus the presence of the term ἀποτρόπαιον.[14]

As can be seen, the use of the term "apotropaism" is a flexible one, but the common denominator is an aversion or warding off of evil or misfortune, regardless of what kind (demonic, ethical, physical, etc.). Yet, despite the more general use of apotropaism in ancient

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[11] Greek and English fromR. D. Hicks, ed., *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).
[12] Greek text from F.W. Hall and W.M. Geldart, eds., *Aristophanes Comoediae, vol. 1* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1907); English translation from Eugene O'Neill Jr., ed., *Aristophanes, Knights: The Complete Greek Drama, vol. 2* (New York: Random House, 1938).
[13] Greek and English from Herbert Weir Smyth, ed., *Aeschylus, with an English Translation*, *vol. 1* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926).
[14] Greek and English from A. M. Harmon , ed., *Lucian, Works: with an English Translation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1915).

literature, its use in scholarship has had a number of restrictions or specifications added to it for functional purposes.

1.3.1.2 Scholarly Use of the Term Apotropaism

The meaning of the word apotropaism, as it has been used by scholars of early Judaism, is difficult to pin down. This is because the meaning of the word varies in scope depending on the author. The word apotropaism is, of course, used by scholars outside of the field of early Judaism, but its specific use in relation to the Dead Sea Scrolls has been predominantly influenced by the work of David Flusser. In 1966, Flusser wrote an article comparing 4QAramaic Levi[b], *Plea for Deliverance,* and Ps 155, along with various rabbinic prayers,[15] in order to identify common apotropaic themes.[16] He identified eight elements amongst these works and suggested a kind of continuum of apotropaic prayers:

1) Understanding (Torah)

2) Protection against sin and forgiveness

3) Purification

4) Distance from sin

5) Saving from troubles

6) Resistance from temptation

7) Deliverance from Satan

8) Salvation in the divine interest

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[15] Of the rabbinic prayers that he covers, one mentions "Satan" (שטן) while all mention the "evil inclination" (יצר רע; Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 198–199.

[16] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 204–205. The basic difference between these Second Temple texts and later rabbinic texts is the meaning of "impure spirit."

Not every petition he analyzed included all of these elements, but each text included at least two or more within the petition.[17] Based on these similarities he concluded that by the second century BCE a model of apotropaic prayer had been established, probably based on Ps 51. [18] Despite Flusser categorizing 4QAramaic Levi[b], *Plea for Deliverance,* and Ps 155 as belonging "to a type which can be called 'apotropaic,'" he never actually defines what he means by the term apotropaic.[19] He mentions that the prayers are designed to "avert personal danger," but whether these dangers are ethical, physical, or something else is not stated.[20] Clinton Wahlen criticized Flusser's broader use of "apotropaic," noting that his "definition of 'apotropaic' is too vague…In one sense any prayer for God's protection is apotropaic: but this does not seem to be what Flusser means since he distinguishes between the plea of Ps 51 and prayers from Qumran."[21] This criticism is partly correct. Flusser is not identifying Ps 51 as an apotropaic psalm *per se,* but only as a "remote ancestor" from which apotropaic prayers stem.[22] The disparity seems to be one of temporal and socio-religious difference. Flusser notes that the rabbinic material expands the list of elements against which protection is required. This, he states, is the "gradual enlarging of the frame of apotropaic prayers," which he says is "quite natural."[23] Thus, for Flusser, "apotropaic" seems to mean protection from any form of evil, the purview of which expands in focus over time, depending on the needs and the religious framework of the author. Thus, Ps 51 was perhaps written in a context in which the concept of evil spirits was not fully developed within Israel. Therefore, its "apotropaic" nature is strictly

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[17] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 203

[18] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 203–204.

[19] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 201.

[20] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 201; Michael J Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* WUNT 2/451 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 51 n. 11.

[21] Clinton Wahlen, *Jesus and Impurity of Spirits in the Synoptic Gospels,* WUNT 2/185 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 42 n. 112.

[22] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 203.

[23] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 204.

ethical, asking God to remove sin and replace it with a new spiritual disposition.[24] Wahlen's criticism is correct insofar as Flusser uses the term apotropaic to describe any form of protection as apotropaic, but it is incorrect in that Flusser's use of apotropaic is meant to demonstrate the range of prophylactic prayers throughout the history of Judaism. Flusser uses the term apotropaism as a way of categorizing a generic group of motifs within petitions that ask for protection from various forms of evil.

After Flusser, the main contribution on the texts typically classified as apotropaic or exorcistic is that of Bilha Nitzan. This, however, is when matters become confusing in terms of the language employed to discuss these texts. Part of the confusion stems from the fact that *Nitzan does not actually use the word apotropaic or apotropaism in her discussion*, instead using the term "magical" (a term to which I shall return below) as a catchall category for a number of supernatural beliefs and activities reflected in the scrolls. At one point she states "[e]xorcisors of demons and evil spirits counteract the evil designs of hostile forces and banish them away from their victims by means of magical acts and incantations, either recited or written on amulets, magic bowls, and the like."[25] Here we have several terms that are used: 1) exorcisors, 2) banish, 3) magical acts, 4) incantations, 5) amulets/magic bowls. Clearly "exorcisors" are meant to "banish" a demon through the act of exorcism, but also through "incantations" which are connected with amulets and magic bowls, two items which are preventative (i.e., apotropaic) in nature.[26] The incantations found in the amulets call upon God to move against the evil spirit, but

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[24] It seems that according to Flusser, apotropaic prayers can contain other prayer motifs and prayers which are not strictly apotropaic in nature can contain apotropaic language; Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 202.

[25] Bilha Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry,* trans. Jonathan Chipman, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 227.

[26] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 229 also refers to exorcists as "sorcerers." Graham H. Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), 40 cites *PGM* XXXVI 275-283 as an example of an exorcistic amulet. The text reads: "A great charm for gaining the favor of people in your presence and of crowds (but it also works on those afflicted by daimons [δαιμονιοπλήκτους]): Offer a sacrifice, inscribe the

she notes that sometimes "the owner of the amulet himself turns directly to the demon or evil spirit."[27] Nitzan identifies 11QApocryphal Psalms as incantations for "protection," that explicitly address the demon or spirit.[28] 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] differs from 11QApocryphal Psalms, according to Nitzan, in that the songs are not "adjurations" against evil spirits. Nitzan further designates these two texts as "anti-demonic" songs, though she does not use the word "apotropaic" for them.[29] She concludes that these anti-demonic texts are situated within the larger apocalyptic worldview of the community, which places the fight against demons amidst the "battle against evil generally."[30] While Nitzan's commentary on these texts is especially helpful for scholars of Second Temple Judaism, she uses a number of imprecise terms to classify and explain what the texts are *doing* and there is little explanation on what the differences are meant to be.

Some clarification on the difference between exorcism and apotropaism has come from Philip Alexander, who has written on "magic" as it was practiced in the Qumran Community. When Alexander uses the word "magic," he understands it according to a "pragmatic, commonsense definition" under which incantation and divination fall.[31] He identifies 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] as "incantatory" songs that have an "apotropaic function."[32] Alexander differentiates exorcism from apotropaism, defining exorcism as "expelling a demon from the body of an individual."[33] He does not define apotropaism, but explains, in the case of 4QSongs

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following characters on a silver tablet and put frankincense over them. Wear it as an amulet. It will freely render service [Voces Magicae]." This does not appear, however, to be an exorcism, but an apotropaic measure.

[27] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 231.

[28] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 233.

[29] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238.

[30] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 252.

[31] Philip S. Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places:' Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After,* eds. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans, JSPSup 26/RILP 3 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318 n. 1 (italics original).

[32] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places,'" 319–320.

[33] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places,'" 321.

of the Sage[a-b], that "the Maskil is, through prayer, erecting or maintaining a spiritual cordon round the community, *pre-emptivly* to keep at bay the encircling forces of darkness."[34] In citing the various curses against Belial, Alexander notes that these are probably "pre-emptive and preventative."[35] He contrasts this with 11QApocryphal Psalms, which he states is for when "the outer defences of the Community have been breached and an individual has successfully been attacked by Belial."[36] In discussing 4QExorcism, he suggests that this was part of a recipe book for creating amulets that ritual specialists could personalize for their clients. He states that the harm is "non-specific and apotropaic" and differentiates its use based on preventing demonic attack rather than healing someone who *has* been attacked. The main differences between an exorcism and an apotropaic ritual, according to Alexander, are *time* and *space*. Apotropaism is focused on the future and is long distance in nature. It attempts to create boundaries. Exorcism, on the other hand, is focused on the past affliction in the present and is close distance in nature. It attempts to remedy something that has already happened. In other words, apotropaism is always *prior* to exorcism. To put it another way, exorcism is what happens when apotropaism fails.

In 2003, Esther Eshel published two articles on apotropaism.[37] In her article "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple period," she analyzes nine texts that she considers apotropaic.

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[34] Alexander, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places'," 321: Alexander further describes the texts situation as "non-specific" and states simply that the "prayers are apotropaic in character." See also Philip S. Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, eds. Peter Flint and James C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2.344; Florentino García Martínez, *Qumranica Minora II,* ed. Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, STDJ 64 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 130 states something similar: "the use of apotropaic prayers, incantations, and exorcisms was necessary in order to erect a barrier to protects the sons of light against all the assaults of all forces of darkness.; it was equally necessary in expelling evil forces that broke through the barrier and have got hold of some community members."

[35] Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 344–345.

[36] Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 345; idem, "'Wrestling Against Wickedness in High Places'," 326; idem, "Magic and Magical Texts," in *Encylopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press," 2000), 1:502.

[37] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period" and Esther Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt*, eds. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 395-415. These articles are based upon Eshel's doctoral dissertation which was originally published in

These texts are studied in two groupings: 1) non-sectarian (4QAramaic Levi[b], *Plea for Deliverance,* Ps 155, *Jub.* 6:1-7 and 12:19-20) and 2) sectarian (4QSongs of the Sage[a-b], 4QIncantation, 6QpapHymn, and 1QH[a] XXII, 22-23). She then compares these texts to three works that she identifies as non-sectarian "incantations" (4QExorcism, 8QHymn, and 11QApocryphal Psalms).[38] When Eshel uses the word "incantation," she specifically refers to exorcisms, which is different than Alexander, who considers 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] to be an incantation that is apotropaic. Like Flusser, Eshel attempts to situate the apotropaic texts from Qumran amongst biblical (Num 6:24-26; Ps 91) and rabbinic parallels.[39] Eshel lists the following similarities between apotropaic texts and incantations: both

1) "make reference to God's mighty deeds in the past"

2) "share a perception that these forces control both body and mind or spirit"

3) "draw on traditions stemming from *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*"

4) "use the epithet 'bastards' (ממזרים)" and related enochic terminology for the origins of the spirits

5) "allude to their [the evil spirits'] punishment, of being sealed in the abyss."[40]

The differences are as follows:

1) Apotropaic hymns recall God's mighty deeds by thanksgiving, whereas the incantations do so by "forecasting the doom of the evil forces."[41]

2) Incantations address the demon specifically (by name), whereas apotropaic texts use "non-vocative" general designations.

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modern Hebrew; Esther Eshel, "Ha-emunah be-shedim, be-Erets-Yisra'el bi-yeme ha-Bayit ha-Sheni" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1999).

[38] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69.

[39] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 70–72.

[40] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 87.

[41] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 86.

3) Incantations favor the word "adjure" (משבע), whereas apotropaic texts tend to use "frighten" or related terms (ירה, פחד, בהל, גער).

4) Incantations frequently make use of the Tetragrammaton, whereas apotropaic texts draw on God's power via praise.[42]

At the end of the article, Eshel says that the works she analyzes demonstrate the "fine, nearly invisible, line between apotropaic prayers and incantations."[43] The immediate question that comes to mind, however, is whether or not an incantation can be apotropaic. Eshel notes that the verb מירא appears in two texts she identifies as apotropaic (4Q511 and 4Q444), but notes that it is also used in incantation texts with the sense of exorcising.[44] Do incantations fall under the broader scope of apotropaism or are they only exorcistic? We will return to this question below, but I mention it here to draw attention to the difficulty in using these labels to categorize texts.

In her second article, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," Eshel emphasises the difference between exorcistic and apotropaic texts on the grounds of technical language employed.[45] The Greek Magical Papyri use the terms ὁρχίζω ("I adjure") and φεῦγε ("go away").[46] Parallel terms are found in the later Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls and amulets (משבע אנה; "I adjure").[47] These later attestations to technical language are then highlighted by Eshel in some Second Temple texts. Eshel distinguishes between incantation texts and apotropaic texts. Incantations (or "spells") are aimed to exorcise "evil forces" (4QExorcism, 11QApocryphal Psalms, and 8QHymn), whereas "apotropaic psalms" (4QSongs of the Sage^a-b, 4QIncantion, and 6QpapHymn) are used to protect the target from "those evil ones" and were

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[42] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 87 states that the reason for the lack of the Tetragrammaton in the apotropaic texts may be because of their sectarian nature.

[43] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 88.

[44] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 84–5.

[45] Eshel, "Genres," 395.

[46] David Edward Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *ANRW* 23.2:1507–1557.

[47] Eshel, "Genres," 395.

"presumably to be recited on specific days of danger."[48] The function of 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b], 4QIncantation (which Eshel wishes to rename "Apotropaic Prayers"),[49] and 6QpapHymn are described as "the fight against these forces…carried out by reciting the praise of God."[50] In addition to the criteria offered in her previous article, here Eshel adds that incantations are used to stop the harm done by the evil forces "from now on and forever," whereas the apotropaic prayers/hymns "are aimed at limiting the time of the spirits' destruction, but not at putting a definite end to them."[51] It seems clear from this dichotomy that Eshel considers the incantations to be "exorcistic," since she refers to the practitioner of the incantation as an "exorcist."[52]

As Morris points out, Flusser and Eshel do not actually give definitions of the term "apotropaic," nor do they give clear criteria for designating texts as exorcistic or apotropaic. Instead, Flusser and Eshel highlight recurring themes within the texts. The logic is such that if the texts share enough common elements amongst one another, this may indicate that they belong to a broad apotropaic or exorcistic category.[53] In one of her articles, Eshel states that "apotropaic prayers and hymns request God's protection from evil spirits."[54] This explanation differs from Flusser's in an important way. For Eshel, the lack of an evil spirit in the text seems to designate the work as non-apotropaic. Morris also accepts this point, stating that "it is apparent that the presence of a demon or *evil force* in a prayer is a basic and *necessary* attribute for an exorcistic or apotropaic classification."[55] This definition, however, is not used consistently

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[48] Eshel, "Genres," 396.
[49] Eshel, "Genres," 409.
[50] Eshel, "Genres," 410.
[51] Eshel, "Genres," 413.
[52] Eshel, "Genres," 413.
[53] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 56.
[54] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69. She refers to these texts as "magical" (see n. 1).
[55] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 60 (emphasis added).

by Eshel. For example, she designates Ps 155 as "apotropaic," despite evil spirits not being mentioned.[56]

In his recently published monograph, *Warding Off Evil*, Michael J. Morris conducted a study of apotropaism at Qumran and in the Synoptic Gospels. Morris commits the second chapter to an analysis of what he deems "anti-demonic traditions" in early Judaism. His research focuses on specific occurrences in prayer that reveal the relationship between humans and demons in early Judaism.[57] Thus, Morris differentiates between "apotropaic" as an umbrella category and "anti-demonic" as a subset of that category.[58] This distinction, however, is not maintained consistently throughout his study. For example, Morris concludes in his analysis of Ps 155 that the petition present in 11Q5 XXIV, 11-13 is neither exorcistic *nor* apotropaic, despite protection from a form of evil being present, even if the psalm is not anti-demonic.[59] Morris divides the texts into five categories: 1) Biblical Antecedents (Priestly Blessing, Ps 91, and Tobit) 2) Apotropaic Petitions (4QAramaic Levi[b], *Plea for Deliverance,* Ps 155, Ps 91 in 11QApocryphal Psalms, and various petitions from *Jubilees*), 3) Apotropaic Incantations (1QS II, 5-9, 1QH[a] XXII, 1-14, 4QIncantation, 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b], and 6QHymn), 4) Exorcistic Incantations (4QExorcism, 8QHymn, and 11QApocrpyhal Psalms), and 5) Exorcistic Narrative (Genesis Apocryphon). He concludes that, in general, exorcistic texts address demons, while apotropaic texts contain petitions to God.[60] He notes the exception of 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b], however, which does not address God or demons specifically, but uses praises aimed to God as the mechanism by which demons are warded off.[61] Morris's analysis is concerned with

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[56] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 77.
[57] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 51–52.
[58] See Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 67, where he states that including Psalm 91 and the Priestly Blessing as "apotropaic" should be qualified so that they are understood as distinct from later anti-demonic Jewish prayers.
[59] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 92.
[60] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 144.
[61] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 110–121.

identifying texts as dealing with demonic forces or not and categorizing them on that premise. He does not go into detail about the exact mechanics behind apotropaism, but simply designates them as apotropaic or exorcistic incantations or petitions.

Morris's method of categorization is a step in the correct direction, even if he is sometimes inconsistent in his use of terminology. The specific category of "anti-demonic" is helpful in dividing the texts further, though as I show below, this can be further refined. Additionally, while Morris's analysis of apotropaism is helpful, there are many points of disagreement that I deal with throughout this dissertation.

In her 2017 dissertation, Tupá Guerra wrote extensively on seven apotropaic texts from Qumran, with a particular focus on what she refers to as the "active and other agents" in the text.[62] She highlights various methods for warding off evil spirits and discusses the fluid nature of apotropaism and exorcism in passing. In discussing the lack of adjurations found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, she suggests that "one possibility for this scarcity is that most of the texts from Qumran are not exorcisms *per se*, but apotropaic texts."[63] Contrary to Eshel's position about the clear disparity between an incantation and apotropaism, Guerra argues that "incantation and apotropaic are not mutually exclusive categories, and an apotropaic prayer can also function as an incantation."[64] Guerra also uses the broader designation of "apotropaic/exorcistic,"[65] which I think is a particularly useful category for some of the texts I will analyze below. Guerra does not go intro great detail about the exact differences between exorcism and apotropaism, but in discussing 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] she does make the following comment: "the line between

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[62] Tupa Guerra, "Encountering Evil: Apotropaic Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls" (PhD diss., University of Birmingham, 2017). The texts she analyzes are 11QApocryphal Psalms, 4QExorcism, 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b], 8QHymn, 6QpapHymn, and 4QIncantation.
[63] Guerra, "Encountering Evil," 167.
[64] Guerra, "Encountering Evil," 170.
[65] Guerra, "Encountering Evil," 171.

exorcistic and apotropaic is not clear-cut due to the fact that the preserved text does not contain any unambiguous phrase suggesting an exorcistic application such as we find in 11Q11 4 1."[66] Guerra raises a particularly important point for the problem of categorization. Very few of the texts that scholars have identified as either apotropaic or exorcistic can be objectively shown to fit neatly within these categories. This, I argue, is due to the fact that 1) we do not know in what context a given text was utilized and 2) whether apotropaism and exorcism were thought of as distinct phenomena in Second Temple Judaism, or the Qumran Community more specifically. Guerra deals with methods of fending off danger in the scrolls, making her work the closest in scope to the present study. These mechanics are divided into three categories: 1) liturgical and formulaic elements (blessings, curses, adjuring, and the use of "amen, amen"), 2) musical actions (praise, psalms, and the use of the lyre),[67] and 3) weaponized elements (fear, statutes of God, knowledge, and a sword).[68]

I have sought to demonstrate in this section that apotropaism has gone without a clear definition for a number of decades. This has contributed to an array of imprecise terms for describing and cataloguing the texts from Qumran. Recently, however, scholars have begun to recognize that there is actually a fine line between apotropaism and exorcism. The recognition of this line and identifying what that line entails, I argue, is necessary to get at the heart of the

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[66] Guerra, "Encountering Evil," 185.

[67] Of the 26 apotropaic texts analyzed, 11 of them are possibly songs:1QH[a], 1QHymns, 4QHymnic Text B?, 1Q70[bis], *Plea for Deliverance,* Psalm 155, 11QApocryphal Psalms, 4QSongs of the Sage, 4QIncantation, 6QpapHymn, and 8QHymn. This seems to indicate that song was one of the most common ways of protection from evil spirits. These songs could have been sung communally or individually, at specifically designated times or whenever necessary, or perhaps even read aloud or silently for devotional purposes. Tuppa Guera ("Encountering Evil," 174–189), breaks up the discussion of songs in the apotropaic texts into four sections: 1) musical actions, 2) praise, 3) psalms, and 4) lyre. Her analysis, however, is almost entirely focused on two texts: 4QSongs of the Sage and 6QpapHymn, with passing mention of 11QApocryphal Psalms and 1QH[a]. It is not within the scope of this dissertation to specifically analyze the use of song or music within these rituals.

[68] Guerra, "Encountering Evil," 158–199, 243–247.

categorization and function of these texts within the Qumran community and Judaism more broadly.

1.3.2 Exorcism and Apotropaism: The Problem of Overlap

In his monograph, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle,* Guy Williams situates Paul's beliefs about spirits among contemporary Jewish sources, arguing that we ought to take Paul's apparent belief in spiritual beings more seriously if we hope to understand the apostle's theological framework. Amidst his helpful analysis, however, he makes the following statement: "[o]verall, we find no great distinction between exorcism, healing, and other apotropaic methods…A figure of genuine skill and power would cover all of these as one." [69] Williams's position, I argue, is difficult to accept. While exorcisms sometimes have the added bonus of physical healing (e.g., Mark 9:25, Luke 13:16-18), there is still a distinction between these phenomena. This is also true of apotropaism and exorcism. In this section, I highlight some of these overlapping features between exorcism and apotropaism. I argue that, while apotropaism sometimes is an added effect of some exorcisms, it is still its own unique phenomenon, distinct from the exorcism ritual's initial purpose.

One issue with using the word *apotropaism* is that it is a scholarly category created for the purpose of organization. Apotropaism tends to serve as an umbrella category that includes not just repelling evil spirits, but deterring disaster, disease, malevolent magic (i.e., sorcery, witchcraft, the evil eye, etc.), and ghosts. With this understanding, the execration texts from Egypt that call for protection against "[e]very evil word, every evil speech, every evil slander,

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[69] Guy Williams, *The Spirit World in the Letters of Paul the Apostle: A Critical Examination of the Role of Spiritual Beings in the Authentic Pauline Epistles,* FRLANT 231 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 256, argues that "[o]verall, we find no great distinction between exorcism, healing, and other apotropaic methods (see also Tob 6.6–8 in this regard). A figure of genuine skill and power would cover all of these as one."

every evil intent, every evil plot, every evil fight, every evil disturbance, every evil plan, every evil thing, every evil dream in every evil sleep" could be labeled as apotropaic, though no specific mention of demons is to be found.[70] The difference between what most scholars would recognize as exorcism and apotropaism can be best highlighted in an example from the Greek Magical Papyri. According to PGM IV, 1227-1264 (fourth century CE), the ritualist drives out a *daimon* by reciting the prescribed incantation and using various *materia magica.* Upon expelling the *daimon*, however, the ritualist is instructed to put a phylactery over their patient to protect them from the return of the *daimon*. Here we can see two very distinct categories of action: expulsion (present healing of a past invasion) and protection (future prevention). Another example found in the (c. third century CE) *Acts of Thomas* also highlights this difference. The apostle Thomas casts out a demon from a woman who then pleads "Apostle of the Most High, give me the seal of my Lord, that the enemy may not again come back on me" (49).[71] The giving of the seal is an apotropaic precaution that is separate from the exorcism itself.

Many exorcisms *also* included further apotropaic actions. People in the ancient world believed that evil spirits, once exorcised, could return and wreak havoc on their host. This idea is best illustrated by a saying of Jesus in Matthew and Luke:

"When the unclean spirit (ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα) has gone out of a person (ἐξέλθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου), it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting place, but it finds none. Then it says, 'I will return (ἐπιστρέψω) to my house from which I came.' When it comes, it finds it empty, swept, and put in order. Then it goes and brings along seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they enter and live there; and the last state of that person is worse than the first. So will it be also with this evil generation" (Matt 12:43-45//Luke 11:24-26)

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[70] William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger, eds., *The Context of Scripture: Canonical Compositions, Monumental Inscriptions and Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 1:52.

[71] Albertus Frederik Johannes Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text, and Commentary,* 2d rev. ed., NovTSup 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 123.

This saying has typically been interpreted as either an exorcistic instruction[72] or a parable about Israel's rejection of Jesus and the subsequent judgement they will incur.[73] Ulrich Luz thinks both options are incorrect, stating that "the latter comes not from the text but from the general human need to apply a Bible text ethically and the modern need to remove Jesus as far as possible from historically conditioned exorcistic practices."[74] Luz also does not categorize this as an instruction on exorcism, since it "contains no instructions for *performing* exorcisms."[75] Rather, he interprets it as a "piece of exorcistic folklore."[76] While I do not agree with his assessment that *neither* option is the case, ignoring the demonological folklore present in this passage would be a mistake. The return of the evil spirits to their host is an actual perceived problem in the lived experience of demoniacs after exorcism. Thus, we should not be surprised when we find apotropaic elements as part of an exorcism as will be demonstrated below. Second Temple Jewish rituals incorporated apotropaism. What is important to note, however, is that the apotropaic effect is actually contained as *part* of the exorcism ritual itself. It is not a separate event as recorded in PGM IV, 1227-1264 and the *Acts of Thomas* where the use of ritual objects is necessary to deter the evil spirit from returning.

Some Jewish exorcisms, however, seem to incorporate apotropaism as part of the exorcism itself. Josephus, for example, states that Solomon "left behind forms of exorcisms with which those possessed by demons drive them out, *never to return* (ὡς μηκέτι ἐπανέρχομαι

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[72] Otto Böcher, *Christus Exorcista: Dämonismus und Taufe im Neuen Testament*, BWANT 96 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1972), 17.

[73] John Nolland, *The Gospel of Matthew: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 514: "The application at the end makes clear that we have a parable here and not a comment on evil spirits or exorcism as such."; Herbert W. Basser and Marsha B. Cohen, *The Gospel of Matthew and Judaic Traditions: A Relevance-Based Commentary,* BRLJ 46 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 319: "The text's location at the close of this chapter on dualities highlights this message of breaking with the past, and also the destruction of the final generation of Jews, but in particular their leadership."; See also Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 2d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), 164; Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, trans. S. H. Hooke, 2nd rev. ed, (New York: Scribner's, 1972), 197–198.

[74] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 8–20: A Commentary,* ed. Helmut Koester, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 2001), 220.

[75] Luz, *Matthew 8–20,* 221 (emphasis added).

[76] Luz, *Matthew 8–20,* 221.

ἐκδιώκω)" (*Ant.* 8.45; emphasis added). Todd Klutz points out that Josephus's objective is to showcase Solomon's wisdom. Since nothing is stated of the future of the healed demoniac, however, Josephus leaves us with the detail that "when Solomon's prescriptions are applied to the afflicted, the expelled demons never return to their former victim."[77] This detail is reiterated in Josephus's example of the exorcist Eleazar who, after casting out the demon, "adjured him to return into him no more (μηκέτι εἰς αὐτός ἐπανήκω ὀρκόω)" (*Ant.* 8.47).[78] This characteristic is present in one of Jesus's exorcisms as well: "You spirit that keeps this boy from speaking and hearing, I command you, come out of him, and never enter him again! (ἔξελθε ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μηκέτι εἰσέλθῃς εἰς αὐτόν)" (Mark 9:25). Likewise, Philostratus records the following account when Apollonius of Tyana exorcised a demon from a young boy: "the ghost swore that he would leave the young man alone and never take possession of any man again (ἀφεξεσθαί τε τοῦ μειρακίου ὤμνυ καὶ μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐμπεσεῖσθαι)" (*Vit. Apoll.* 4.20). According to Tob 6:8, burning the innards of a fish causes evil spirits to "flee away and never

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[77] Todd Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts: A Sociostylistic Reading* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004), 260.

[78] Klutz, *The Exorcism Stories in Luke-Acts,* 260 n.169 gives several other examples that do not seem like appropriate comparisons. For most of his examples, no mention (or inference) is made that the evil spirit is commanded or unable to return to their original host. Klutz lists his examples in three categories, comparing them to the account found in Josephus's discussion of Eleazar. Here I offer some brief comments on the examples that he gives, highlighting the problems with each. I have broken up discussion on these examples based on the categories that Klutz himself has stated:

Apotropaic elements that are "about the same" as Josephus's accounts of exorcism: 1) 1 Sam 16:23: the spirit *does* return and David must continually force it to leave Saul; 2) Luke 9:42: Jesus "rebukes" (ἐπετίμησεν) the demon, nothing is mentioned about the possibility of it returning; 3) LAB 60:3: David mentions that the "one born from [his] loins" will rule over the evil spirit, but the exorcism he performs never discusses the return of the spirit; 4) *Ant.* 6.166–169: No mention is made of the return of the spirit;

Apotropaic elements that are "more" detailed than Josephus's accounts of exorcism: 5) Luke 8:35–39//Mark 5:15–20: No mention is made of the return of the spirit. Legion *is* frightened that Jesus will send them to the abyss, which could mean that they are bound there, unable to return, but this is never explicitly stated; 6) *Vit. Apoll.* 6.43: No mention is made of the return of the spirit; 7) 4Q242 1–3, 1–8: It is unclear if this is an exorcism and no mention is made of the return of the (possible) spirit or disease;

Apotropaic elements that are "less" detailed than Josephus's accounts of exorcism: 8): Matt 8:32–33: No mention is made of the return of the spirit; 9) Mark 1:26: No mention is made of the return of the spirit. Interestingly, Vermes also makes this connection, see Geza Vermes, *Who's Who in the Age of Jesus* (New York: Penguin Books, 2005), 84; 10) Mark 7:30: No mention is made of the return of the spirit; 11) Luke 4:35: No mention is made of the return of the spirit.

remain with that person any longer (οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ ὀχληθῇ).” The initial flight of the demon is best understood as exorcistic (driving out the demon), but the aftermath has long lasting apotropaic effects. Asmodeus is bound by the angel Raphael, prohibiting him from coming near human beings again.

As discussed above, Eshel and Guerra argue that the Dead Sea Scrolls themselves sometimes blur the lines between exorcism (what Eshel refers to as “incantations”) and apotropaism.[79] Ps 155, for example, has both an exorcistic *and* an apotropaic component. The speaker petitions God to remove the “evil scourge” (נגע רע), but also asks for it to “not return again upon me” (ואל יוסף לשוב אלי). This text is not labeled as an incantation by Eshel, yet the fact that God must “purify” (טהר) the נגע רע seems to mean that God removes it from the human being, which for all intents and purposes can be labeled exorcistic (healing a present affliction). The fact is that this text is *both* exorcistic *and* apotropaic.[80] As I will argue more fully in the following chapters, exorcism and apotropaism are often linked. Removing an evil spirit (exorcism) has the added benefit of apotropaism in some instances.

1.3.3 Categorical Terms and Definitions

We must now ask whether using the term “apotropaic” in a broad sense will serve our purposes. When a text reflects rituals intended to ward off or divert evil spirits and demons and the maladies they cause, we can surely refer to this as apotropaic. When a text implores God to

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[79] Joseph Angel, “A Newly Discovered Interpretation of Isaiah 40:12–13 in the *Songs of the Sage*” in *HA-'ISH MOSHE: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, eds. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke, STDJ 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 29 n. 4 also makes this point in reference to 4QSongs of the Sage: “In fact, the evidence of some of the smaller, often ignored fragments suggests that the *Songs* also may have included adjurations directly addressed to demons, blurring the distinction between apotropaic prayer and incantation and complicating the classification of some compositions.”

[80] 1QGenAp XX, 29–30: the plague is “removed” (ואתפלי) and the spirit “banished” (ואתגערת) by Abraham, but the exact nature of the “banishment” is unclear. The word could mean that it is not permitted to return, but this is uncertain.

deliver or protect the sectarian from evil human beings, however, should we consider this as apotropaic? To some degree, we *must* consider these texts/rituals as apotropaic. Non-sectarians are viewed by the community as under the influence of Belial and his spiritual entourage. These human figures are not necessarily understood to be "possessed," but their cognitive skills and capacity to do right are limited by evil spirits who attempt to deceive or harm the community. Should we, however, consider every prayer for protection or triumph over wicked humans as apotropaic? At a fundamental level, prayer for protection against any form of evil (spiritual or otherwise) could be labeled "apotropaic," but does this really tell us anything about the kind of texts we are dealing with and does it *do* what we need it to do? 1QS II, 4-10 and 4QCurses 1-7, for example, contain parallel curses. Yet, while the curse in 4Q280 is directed towards Melki-resha, the curse in 1QS is directed towards the "men of the lot of Belial" (II, 4-5). 4QCurses, however, is typically regarded as apotropaic, while the curse in 1QS is not. There is nothing in the two curses to suggest that they have different fundamental effects, other than that one is for an evil spirit while the other is for a group of humans. Should using the term "apotropaic" then be used of the curse in 1QS?

In the following chapters I analyze each text that scholars have previously identified as either apotropaic or exorcistic and further categorize them using a number of terms, some of which have not been used in previous research. These terms are meant to facilitate discussion on the inherent difference in function between groups of texts discussed in this dissertation. As will become evident, divvying up the texts into strict binaries is ineffective for getting to the heart of the issue of what should be considered apotropaic or exorcistic. As a result, I list ten terms below that I think are useful for categorizing the texts, defining each term clearly. These terms range from generic umbrella categories to subcategories that highlight the *kind* of problem the ritual is

meant to remedy. My hope is that these categories may be used to facilitate more fruitful scholarly discussion on these texts. The categories I suggest are as follows:

1) Apotropaism: An umbrella category for any ritual activity that utilizes an assortment of objects, words, and/or postures, for diverting or warding off potential evil, whether spiritual (e.g., demons), physical (e.g., human adversaries), or ethical (e.g., sin).

2) Exorcism: Any ritual activity that utilizes an assortment of objects, words, and/or postures, for the forced relocation of one or more malevolent spirits from their current residence (whether human or spatial), performed by a ritual specialist, layperson, or demonized individual, resulting in the physical and/or psychological healing of the target (i.e., the recipient of the ritual).

3) Anti-Demonic: A subset of apotropaism or exorcism that is intended to ward off, divert, or expel evil spirits from affecting a human being or location.

4) Anti-Peccable: This neologism defines a subset of apotropaism or exorcism that is intended to ward off, divert, or purge a human being of an unfavorable moral (pre)disposition. The word "peccable" (based on the Latin word *peccare*), means "capable of sinning." Thus, "anti-peccable" is meant to describe a ritual that seeks to work against sin and forces that cause sin.

5) Incantation: An umbrella category for any series of words written and/or spoken so as to enact a supernatural effect, whether benevolent (e.g., blessings) or malevolent (e.g., curses).

6) Apotropaic Incantation: A specific subset of written and/or spoken incantations used for warding away or diverting potential spiritual, physical, or ethical evil.

7) Exorcistic Incantation: A specific subset of written and/or spoken incantations used for expelling spiritual or ethical evil.

8) Exorcistic/Apotropaic: Rituals that are initially exorcistic, but have an apotropaic residual effect.

9) Spiritual Evil: An umbrella category for the source or cause of evil, whether physical (e.g., disease), moral (e.g., sin), or psychological (e.g., possession), that is caused by malevolent spirit beings compromising a human being's will and/or well-being.[81]

10) Ethical Evil: An umbrella category for the source or cause of evil that is linked with the human being's free or predetermined will or moral (pre)disposition.

Using this terminology, some of the hymns found in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] could be labeled as anti-demonic apotropaic incantations dealing with the problem of spiritual evil. This language is more precise and identifies the text as concerned with malevolent spirit beings, protection from future attack, and a series of ritually powerful words used to ward off those spirits who sway human beings to sin. In actuality, however, the only way to properly categorize a given text is to actually *know* how the text was used. 4QExorcism, for example, contains language typically designated as exorcistic: "I adjure" (ואנה ... מומה) and "I enchant" (אומיתכ). This exorcistic designation, however, depends on how the text was actually used. If the text was simply recited by a ritual specialist over a patient, then we could label this exorcistic. Yet, if this text was written for the purposes of an amulet, then it would be designated as apotropaic. What if the text was recited *and* worn as a protective amulet? What if the exorcist placed the amulet on the patient *in order to* exorcise the demon? We can, at the very least, describe the work as an anti-demonic incantation concerned with spiritual evil, even if we cannot know for certain

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[81] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 2 uses the category "Demonic Evil," but I have opted to use the more general category "Spiritual Evil" since it includes beings not identified as "demons" such as in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b].

whether it was apotropaic or exorcistic, or some combination of both. Another example of this blurred use is in 11QApocryphal Psalms. One of the songs is given an instruction to "invoke at an[y time…When] he comes upon you in the nig[ht" (V, 4-5). This text is often labeled as exorcistic, but presumably the person reciting this incantation is confronting the evil spirit when it visits him/her. Since the speaker is describing the "physical" characteristics of the demon, it seems the spirit is manifesting itself in a corporeal form in front of the victim. These and other texts will be dealt with more fully in the following chapters, but I have highlighted these significant issues in order to establish the blurry nature of these anti-demonic rituals.

A further problem is that we are unable to know whether certain texts were imputed anti-demonic meaning by the reader or hearer. This is especially true of certain psalms from the Hebrew Bible. There are some Psalms used during a later period in apotropaic or exorcistic rituals. Psalm 91, for example, was adapted as an anti-demonic psalm in 11Q11 and in later rabbinic prayers, notably the Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls.[82] Several key words in Ps 91 lead to its appropriation as an anti-demonic prayer, such as v. 6's use of the verb יָשׁוּד which the LXX translators render as δαιμονίου, taking the Hebrew יָשׁוּד as coming from the root שד rather than from a verbal form of שוד or שדד. Ida Fröhlich also notes that vv. 3-6 contain words such as "pestilence" (דבר) and "destruction" (קטב) that may have been interpreted by early Jews as referring to demonic personifications of natural disasters or diseases.[83] Such steps in logic between general protection against disease, natural disaster, or human enemies to demonic forces is understandable, since demonic spirits were understood to lie behind these tragedies.[84] There

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[82] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 71–74; Lawrence H. Schiffman and Michael D. Swartz, *Hebrew and Aramaic Incantation Texts from the Cairo Genizah: Selected Texts from Taylor-Schechter Box K1,* Semitic Texts and Studies 1 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 39; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 359–365.

[83] Ida Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," in *Evil and the Devil*, eds. Ida Fröhliche and Erkki Koskenniemi, LNTS 481 (London: T&T Clark, 2013), 45.

[84] In the ancient world (and in many parts of the modern world) it was commonly thought that evil spirits were the cause of illness. An explicit connection between demonic activity and illness can be found in *Jubilees,* which

are some works, however, that an apotropaic use from the text itself is not as clear. Ps 104:20, for example, is used in the Jewish Aramaic incantation bowls as part of an apotropaic precaution, yet there is nothing in the text that naturally would make one categorize it as apotropaic.[85] A biblical scholar reading the first lines of Ps 59 ("Deliver me from my enemies, O my God; protect me from those who rise up against me. Deliver me from those who work evil; from the bloodthirsty save me" [Ps 59:1-2]), would likely not use the term "apotropaic" to categorize this psalm. However, it is impossible to know the meaning an ancient reader would have assigned to terms such as "enemies" and "those who rise up against me." Additionally, if "apotropaic" simply means "protection from evil," then why not categorize this Psalm as such?

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narrates an episode in which Noah's grandchildren are being murdered by demons. As a result, God binds nine-tenths of the demons, leaving one-tenth under the control of the spirit Mastema. In addition to this, God reveals heavenly knowledge to Noah, including "medicines for their [i.e., the demons'] diseases with their deceptions" (10:11–13). The relation between evil spirits and sickness can also be seen in two texts from the Aramaic corpus from Qumran. In 4Q560 "guilt and transgression, fever and chill, and heat of heart" (ופשע אשא ועריה ואשת לבב ;4Q560 1 I, 4) are symptoms of evil spirits that must be adjured (מומה) and enchanted (אומיתך) according to 4Q560 1 II, 5-6. Similarly, in the Genesis Apocryphon, Pharaoh is afflicted with an evil spirit that causes disease. This account is borrowed from Gen 12:17, in which God afflicts Pharaoh with "great plagues" (נְגָעִים גְּדֹלִים). The plague/evil spirit was used in such a way so as to detain Pharaoh from having sexual intercourse with Sarah. Lastly, such examples are to be found in the New Testament. Evil spirits are connected to various physical disabilities such as muteness (Luke 11:14) and the healing of a crippled woman (Luke 13:10–17); Daniel A. Machiela, "Luke 13:10–13: "Woman, You Have Been Set Free From Your Ailment:" Illness, Demon Possession, and Laying on of Hands in Light of Second Temple Period Jewish Literature," in *The Gospels in First-Century Judaea: Proceedings from the Inaugural Conference of Nyack College's Graduate Program in Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins, August 29th, 2013,* eds. R. Steven Notley and J. P. García (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 125: "The basic assumptions of this story are clear, and fit quite well with what we find at a number of places in the synoptic Gospels and Acts: evil spirits are ultimately responsible for human illness, and the power to combat such illnesses is related to an ability to counteract these malicious spirits."; Ida Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," 41; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary,* 3rd ed., Biblica et orientalia 18B (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 20. For examples and commentary on the connection between evil spirits and sickness in the Second Temple Period, see Ida Frölich, "Demons and Illness in Second Temple Judaism: Theory and Practice," in *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period*, eds. S. Bhayro and C. Rider (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 81–96.

[85] Shaul Shaked, James Nathan Ford, and Siam Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells: Jewish Babylonian Aramaic Bowls Volume 1* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 56.

1.3.4 Categorizing Apotropaism and Exorcism: Proximity and Time

As previously mentioned, apotropaism and exorcism are linked insofar as they attempt to deal with the problem of evil or evil forces. In our discussion thus far, I have noted that the categories of exorcism and apotropaism are, for the most part, scholarly categories used for heuristic purposes. Many of the texts dealt with in this dissertation do not fall neatly into these two categories. Despite this problematic dichotomy, it is clear that the phenomena of exorcism and apotropaism *are* different in some way, and thus the categories are indeed useful in discussing the relevant texts. How, then, do exorcism and apotropaism actually differ? I argue that they fundamentally differ with respect to proximity and time. Nowhere in our sources do we get any explicit explanations of how apotropaism was thought to *work* in a pragmatic sense. No illustrations or detailed analysis of the way that evil spirits were thought to be warded away or diverting is given to us from this period. We get descriptions such as spirits being terrified by the praises of God (e.g., 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]), but the actual metaphysical underpinnings of how this was thought to happen remain allusive. Thus, we are forced to attempt to reconstruct the basic spatial and temporal aspects of apotropaism and exorcism as they come to us in the texts we have. Below I have attempted to illustrate and to explain three models by which evil and evil forces were dealt with in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[86]

Before continuing, I think it is wise to clarify a few points of terminology. When scholars speak of dealing with evil, they sometimes use the phrase "ward off/away" or the term "avert." When I use the phrase "ward off/away" I mean it in an apotropaic sense: "Prevent someone or something from harming or affecting one."[87] The sense of this word seems to imply future protection. Comparatively, the word avert means "turn away," which may imply that the threat

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[86] Special thanks to Dave Schaffner for producing these illustrations.
[87] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/ward_someone%2Fsomething_off (last accessed May 29, 2019).

has already made contact with the recipient.[88] Since, however, avert and ward off/away share almost synonymous meanings, I favour the word "divert" when discussing rituals that are exorcistic/apotropaic: "Cause (someone or something) to change course or turn from one direction to another."[89]

Figure 1: Apotropaism (i.e., "warding off/away")

In the above illustration, the human being is protected by an invisible spiritual boundary that repels evil forces (indicated by arrows) as they try to come in contact with their target. The boundary stops the evil force from initiating contact, thus the apotropaic element is temporally *prior* to the attempted invasion and spatially *distant*. By "spatially distant" I mean that the apotropaic boundary is set up *away* from the human being, so as to surround him/her. This is what scholars tend to mean when they use the phrase "warding off" or "averting" evil. This protection is set up in advance in an attempt to thwart oncoming attack in the same way a city

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[88] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/avert (last accessed May, 29, 2019).
[89] https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/divert (last accessed May, 29, 2019).

would erect a wall to stop and deter enemies from encroaching on their territory. The boundary, however, is not always impenetrable, since despite apotropaic prayers being utilized at Qumran, the sect still deals at various times with demonic temptations. Thus, apotropaism may be likened to taking a daily multivitamin. It is a helpful precaution to aid in one's wellbeing, but it will not always stop one from contracting a disease.

Figure 2: Exorcism

In exorcistic texts, the boundary is non-existent or has been breached. Thus, the demon has entered a human being or a space in which it must be forced to leave. Exorcism occurs *after* apotropaism has failed (or if it has gone unutilized) and spatially *near* the target. By "spatially near" I mean that the evil spirit is removed *from* the target. In other words, *exorcism seeks to invade the invader*. This explanation needs some clarification. In Mark 7:24-30, Jesus is reported to exorcise a demon from a Syrophoenician woman's daughter. The daughter is not with the woman, but is lying on her bed at home, thus the exorcism is performed from a long distance.[90]

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[90] R. T. France, *The Gospel of Mark: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 299: "No account of the exorcism is offered, and no word of command recorded; the removal of the demon is simply spoken

Similar events occur in the use of handkerchiefs and aprons that had touched Paul for exorcising evil spirits in Acts 19:11-12. In this case, however, an object was imbued with ritual power and brought to the victim. Thus, the expulsion of the evil spirits through these objects cannot be thought of as a long-distance exorcism *per se*.[91] The issue in both of these cases is not the proximity of the exorcist *to* the patient, but rather the *range* of the anti-demonic effect. In other words, the exorcistic ritual is meant to alleviate the patient in a spatially close proximity, either immediately within their own body or the surrounding vicinity (i.e., a 'haunting'). This differs from apotropaism in that the apotropaic ritual is meant to defend the patient, not attack the evil spirit.

Figure 3: Exorcism/Apotropaism and Apotropaism/Exorcism (i.e., "diversion")

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of as already a past event (ἐξελήλυθεν)." This exorcism has often been interpreted as a statement on Jesus's mission to the Gentiles, though the long-distance exorcism suggests that contact with Gentiles is symbolic of the future generation of Gentiles receiving his teachings. Edwin K. Broadhead, *Teaching With Authority: Miracles and Christology in the Gospel of Mark*, JSNTSup 74 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 143 argues that this account is meant to emphasize the acceptance of Jesus by the Gentiles over his rejection by the Jewish authorities; For an analysis of this passage with reference to Jesus's relationship with Gentiles, see Kelly R. Iverson, *Gentiles In the Gospel of Mark: 'Even the Dogs Under the Table Eat the Children's Crumbs,'* LNTS 339 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 44–57.

[91] There is also the case of Jairus's daughter. It is unclear whether she was actually healed at a distance and then woken by Jesus, or whether she was raised from the dead after coming to the house; See Bas M.F. van Iersel, *Mark: A Reader-Response Commentary*, trans. W.H. Bisscheroux, JSNTSup 164 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 208 n. 24.

The illustration above is meant to explain a phenomenon in exorcism and apotropaic rituals that has gone relatively unnoticed. This phenomenon is the fact that some exorcisms also contain further apotropaic measures and that some apotropaic rituals are exorcistic in nature. Thus, the ritual provides both the diversion of the evil spirit from its location *and* erects a barrier to protect the human being. In the above illustration, the arrows signify the removal of the evil spirit from the target. The outermost circle is meant to illustrate the newly established barrier by which the human is protected. There is, however, another element to this phenomenon. The concentric circles emanating from the center of the illustration are meant to signify the removal of an evil spirit through an apotropaic ritual. In this instance, the evil spirit has not necessarily "possessed" the individual, but is harassing or afflicting the target in some way. Thus, the apotropaic ritual in this instance is dealing with a problem that is *already* existent but does not necessarily indicate full possession of the target's faculties. I consider some texts which we will cover in the following chapters to be either exorcistic/apotropaic or apotropaic/exorcistic in nature. This may seem like splitting hairs, but I argue that this separation is useful for our purposes in attempting to address the multiple possible uses of a given text.

1.3.5 Categorizing Apotropaism and Exorcism: Anti-Demonic vs. Anti-Peccable

How does one differentiate between an evil spirit or an inclination or evil impulse *caused* by an evil spirit? Similarly, how can we determine the difference between a disease caused by a demon, a natural disease, a person's moral shortcomings, and an evil (pre)disposition caused by a demon? Whether such distinctions actually existed in the scrolls is an open question. In introducing these two classifications, I admit that these are modern categories that ancient readers may not have considered. I *do* think, however, that such distinctions can be seen in the

texts and that a reasonable bifurcation (however tenuous) of these two phenomena (i.e., anti-demonic and anti-peccable) can be seen within the scrolls.

Sometimes the difference between an evil spirit and the human spirit will be difficult to distinguish. The *Treatise of the Two Spirits,* for example, describes a set of antithetical spirits that influence humanity. Various figures with diverse roles are mentioned, such as the Prince of Light(s) (1QS III, 20, VIII, 10; 1QM XIII, 10; CD V, 18), Belial, the Spirits of Truth and Deceit (1QS III, 18-19), among others. These various figures sometimes seem to overlap in their function and are probably meant to be understood as synonyms for one another. The Spirit of Holiness for example, appears to be synonymous with the Spirit of Truth in 1QS IV, 21. The two spirits have been variously interpreted as either internal inclinations/anthropological impulses within humanity or as external angels or spirits that morally influence humanity. Another stream of thought, however, has argued that these figures represent *both* inward forces *and* external powers.[92]

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[92] Karl Georg Kuhn, "Die in Palästina gefundenen hebräischen Texte und das Neue Testament," *ZTK* 47 (1950): 192–211, on the basis of 1QH^a III, 21 and IV, 31, suggested that entrance into the community involved undergoing an internal transformation (*Neuschöpfung*) whereby God changed or supplanted a new disposition by means of the spirit he prepared for him. Erik Sjöberg, "Wiedergeburt und Neuschöpfung im palästinischen Judentum," *ST* 4 (1950): 78, argued against Kuhn's position, noting that there was insufficient evidence from the scrolls for the idea of a *Neuschöpfung* and that the idea was foreign to Palestinian Judaism. Sjöberg suggested, based on parallels in rabbinic literature, that God forms the inclination of human beings at their birth.

Karl Georg Kuhn, "Πειρασμός — ἁμαρτία — σάρξ im Neuen Testament und die damit zusammenhängenden Vorstellungen," *ZTK* 49 (1952): 214, changed his views when 1QS was fully published and suggested that the primary role of "spirit" at Qumran was not God's spirit, but the human spirit which was given to people at birth (Schopfungsmaßig). Other scholars throughout the 1950s generally accepted Kuhn's interpretation, although some read the two spirits as both inclinations and as cosmic forces; Millar Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Viking Press, 1958), 280–281; Compare Eduard Schweizer,"Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, spätjüdischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testamentes," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology in Honor of C. H. Dodd,* eds. W.D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), 490; F.M. Braun, "L'arrière-fond judaïque du quatrième évangile et la communauté de 1'Alliance," *RB* 62 (1955):13; Goeffrey Graystone, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," *ITQ* 22 (1955): 227; Hans Wildberger, "Der Dualismus in den Qumranschriften," *Asiatische Studien* 8 (1954): 163–177.

Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction sur les deux Esprits dans le Manuel de Discipline," *Revue de I'Histoire des Religions* 142 (1952):18, 28–29, argued that the Qumran community understood the makeup of humanity in terms of humans having different amounts of the two spirits within them, causing various degrees of moral aptitude. Additionally, he understood the Prince of Lights and the Angel of Darkness as synonymous with the Two Spirits.

In order to identify whether the "spirit" being mentioned belongs to the category of external malevolent beings or an unfavorable internal (pre)disposition or anthropological impulse, I offer a number of criteria to distinguish between the two. Again, it is not necessary that all of these elements be present to make a distinction, but if the "spirit" leans toward one list over another, I argue that it is reasonable to understand the text in light of these criteria.

The "spirit" referred to in a text is treated as a malevolent external being (i.e., "demonic") if: 1) it is referred to within a list of other unambiguously known demonic beings either within the passage or attested in collaborative sources; 2) it is described as having personal or physical traits, a will, or engages in thought, planning, etc.; 3) it is adjured to leave by the use of its name or character; 4) it causes physical (e.g., sickness), not just psychological, harm; 5) it is described in terms that invoke fear in the individual, thus suggesting phantasmal or physical manifestations or threat toward the victim; 6) it somehow controls its victim's mental and physical faculties (speech, movement, etc.); 7) the spirit is bound for a certain amount of time or in an intermediate location.

The "spirit" referred to in a text is treated as an internal moral impulse (i.e., "anthropological") if: 1) it is not referred to within a list of other unambiguously known demonic beings either within the passage or attested in collaborative sources; 2) it is described without the use of personal or physical traits, a will, or does not engage in thought, planning, etc.; 3) it is not adjured to leave by the use of its name or character; 4) it does not cause physical harm (e.g., sickness), but rather purely psychological; 5) it is not described as invoking fear in the individual; 6) it is not described as controlling the victim's physical abilities, but only compromises their thoughts, emotions, and capacity to be obedient; 7) the spirit is not bound.

Benedikt Otzen, "Die neugefundenen hebräischen sektenschriften und die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen," *ST* 7 (1953): 135–6 suggested, based on later Jewish thinking, the idea that the Two Spirits constitute opposing inclinations, but also reflect larger cosmic themes based on their proximity within the human.

Despite these criteria, it will not always be possible to determine with certainty whether a spirit is anthropological or demonic in nature, or if the anthropological spirit *is* a demon. When such cases happen, I will offer my best categorization of the text, which could include hybrid categories like anthropological/demonic or demonic/anthropological (the first category listed being more likely).

There was a widespread belief that demons caused illnesses and sin. Thus, the terms anti-demonic and anti-peccable do not really tell us anything about the nature of the ritual (apotropaic vs. exorcistic). Rather, what it *does* tell us is what kind of evil is being dealt with. These two categories may at times overlap, since deterring a demon may also remove its influence from someone, thus making it anti-peccable as well. The main means of categorization, however, are based on the emphasis of concern. Is the ritual being conducted to ward off/avert demons explicitly or the *effects* of demons? In order to properly classify the texts dealt with in this dissertation, I have created a number of criteria. I am not arguing that all of these elements need to be in place in order to classify a work as either anti-demonic or anti-peccable. Rather, if a text exhibits a number of these traits, it is likely that it falls generally into these two categories.

A work is classified as anti-demonic if: 1) the name, title, or class of a specific demon or evil spirit can be identified in the given text; 2) where ambiguous cases can be resolved by collaboration with other texts that discuss the name, title, or class of evil spirit in an unambiguous way; 3) the primary concern of the text is removing evil spirits; 4) the affliction being addressed is described as incorporeal and an external threat to the victim (which can also infiltrate the victim internally).

A work is classified as anti-peccable if: 1) no name, title, or class of a specific demon or evil spirit can be identified, but only a moral blemish or evil pre(disposition); 2) concern about

the torah and the need for obedience aided by God's impartation of knowledge are central to the ritual, without connection to an evil spirit; 3) the primary concern of the text is removing an unfavorable moral (pre)disposition; 4) the affliction being addressed is described as primarily internal.

In instances where both evil spirits and moral (pre)dispositions are of primary concern, I designate the texts as anti-demonic/anti-peccable or anti-peccable/anti-demonic. The first term signifies that demons have caused sin, whereas the latter term signifies that due to laxness or moral failure the evil spirit has gained power over an individual.

1.3.6 Demonology in Second Temple Judaism

Throughout this dissertation the words "demon" and "evil spirit" are used interchangeably to denote generically a number of malevolent, incorporeal beings that afflict human beings. While some scholars, such as Philip Alexander, have stated that the demonology at Qumran can be called "coherent and sophisticated,"[93] others, such as Stuckenbruck, have noted that "it is possible, if not likely, that a number of logically incompatible ideas could have co-existed in a single, sociologically definable group."[94] It will not be my task here to give a detailed reconstruction of the demonology of the scrolls, but a few words on what is meant by the terms "evil spirit," "demon," and related terms will be supplied for the purposes of clarity.

The concept of the "evil spirit" or "demon" in Second Temple Judaism has its origins within the Hebrew Bible. One term that is used in the Hebrew Bible of malevolent spirits is רוּחַ רָעָה/ πνεῦμα πονηρὸν. This term appears in 1 Sam 16:14-16, 23, 18:10, and 19:9, which describes how God sent an evil spirit to torment Saul. Music is used by David in order to repel

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[93] Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 331.
[94] Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Demonic World of the Dead Sea Scroll," in *Evil and the Devil*, 52.

the evil spirit in a kind of apotropaic ritual (1 Sam 16:23). The term also appears in Judg 9:22-23, though whether this is meant to be taken as a human disposition is unclear. The term πνεῦμα πονηρὸν is also used in the Gospels (Luke 7:21, 8:2, 11:26, Matt 12:43) and in Acts 19:12-16 of malevolent spirits that must be exorcised. By the time the Hebrew Bible was translated into Greek, the term "demon" (שד) was rendered with the Greek terms δαίμων and δαιμόνιον (e.g., Deut 32:17; Ps 90[91]:6; Ps 105[106]:37), and in a few other cases such as Ps 95[96]:5 Isa 13:21, and Isa 34:14 idols, "goat-demons," and the "desert-dweller" are all interpreted as demons. The Greek terms δαίμων and δαιμόνιον in classical literature refer not necessarily to malevolent spirits, but to "gods and lesser spirits … either benevolent or malevolent."[95] Aside from a few instances (Acts 17:18; 1 Cor 10:20-21; Rev 9:20), the terms in the New Testament seem mostly to denote malevolent spirits and not foreign gods or idols. In early Jewish works, "evil spirits" and "demons" are sometimes mentioned together, suggesting that they are related, but have some unknown difference. In the book of Tobit, for example, Raphael instructs Tobias to capture a fish and use its innards in an exorcistic/apotropaic ritual: "burn them to make a smoke in the presence of a man or woman afflicted by a demon or evil spirit, and every affliction will flee away and never remain with that person any longer" (6:8). Raphael explains that the fish innards can expel a "demon or [evil] spirit" ([שד או רוח [באישא; 4Q197 4 I, 13; δαιμόνιον ἢ πνεῦμα πονηρόν). Similarly, In 11Q11 II, 2-5 the author describes an invocation associated with Solomon in which "...[the spir]its and the demons...these are [the de]mons, and the prince of Animosi[ty" are mentioned.

The difference between demons and the generic category of "evil spirits" may be due to a recognition during this period of a catalogue of different malevolent spirits. 4Q510 1 4-6 gives

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[95] Anders Klostergaard Petersen, "The Notion of Demon: Open Questions to a Diffuse Concept," in *Die Dämonen,* 38.

such a list: "I, a Sage, declare the splendour of his radiance in order to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls and [jackals …] and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn." Demons are mentioned alongside the bastards, suggesting that there may be some unknown difference between them. Later writers such as Justin Martyr considered these beings as synonymous: "But the angels transgressed this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begat children who are those that are called demons" (*2 Apology* 5).[96]

Some of the texts in this dissertation rely on an "enochic" etiology for the origins of evil spirits. Jewish legends from the Second Temple period commonly explain that, prior to the flood account of the book of Genesis, angelic spirits (called "Watchers") came to Earth and had sexual relations with human women. As a result of these sexual unions, the women gave birth to giants, who subsequently turned to destroy human beings. God punished the Watchers by binding them in a subterranean prison and causing the giants to kill one another. Upon the death of the giants, however, evil spirits sprang forth from their bodies, creating what came to be known as demons (*1 En.* 15:8). *Jub.* 10:5 and other works such as the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* (e.g., *T. Reub.* 5:6) along with various works at Qumran (e.g., 4Q510 1 5; 1QapGen II, 1; CD II, 18) attest to a common belief that the Watchers were the fathers of the evil spirits.

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[96] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108,* Hermeneia (Fortress Press: Minneapolis, 2001), 287–288, 491–492: in *1 Enoch* the author describes a group of people "who worship evil spirits and demons" (*1 En.* 99:7). Nickelsburg notes that according to *1 En.* 19:1-2, that the term "demon" in this context appears to refer to idols rather than malevolent spiritual beings (Comp. *Jub.* 1:11, 9:20, 22:17). Similarly, *1 En.* 69:12 the author writes of a spirit named Kâsdejâ who "showed the children of men all the wicked smitings of spirits and demons."

1.4 Magic

Scholars who have discussed apotropaism and exorcism have tended to refer to these rituals generically as instances of "magic," a term that, for our purposes, is problematic.[97] It is not my goal here to give an exhaustive account of scholarship on the development of the term "magic." Such surveys have already been done and the field is ever changing.[98] The late British social anthropologist John Middleton once quipped that "[m]agic is a word with as many definitions as there have been studies of it."[99] Scholars disagree whether "magic" can be used as a neutral academic term to denote a set of ritual acts used to gain power,[100] or whether its pejorative function throughout history complicates its use in academic dialogue.[101]

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[97] The study of "magic" in biblical scholarship and Greco-Roman history has been heavily influenced by social-scientific debates on the exact nature and definition of "magic". The main approaches include:

    1) the "evolutionary" model, which sought to distinguish between "magical" rituals and religious petitions. See James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 12–69; Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (New York: Harper, 1958);

    2) the "sociological" model, where "magic" is seen as a subversive or deviant set of ritual exercises. See David E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," 1507–1557; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. J.W. Swain (New York: Free Press, 1915), 57–63; Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, trans. R. Brain (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972);

    3) the "functionalist" model, championed by Evans-Pritchard, which studied accusations of witchcraft and "magic" as part of social relationships and the explanatory nature among the Azande for cause and effect. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937); Mary Douglas, "Thirty Years after Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic," in *Witchcraft Confessions & Accusations*, ed. Mary Douglas, A.S.A. Monographs 9 (London: Tavistock, 1970), xiii—xxxviii; Jerome H. Neyrey, *Paul, in Other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1990), 181–206;

    4) "symbolic anthropology," which studies the symbolic power of rituals within societies. See John H. M. Beattie, "On Understanding Ritual," in *Rationality*, ed. B.R. Wilson (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 240–271; idem, "Ritual and Social Change." *Man* n.s., 1 (1966): 60–74; Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985);

    5) the "Neo-Tylorianism" model, which studies "magic" as it relates to the actors within the ritual process. See Robin Horton, "A Definition of Religion and its Uses," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 90 (1960): 201–226; idem, "Neo-Tylorianism: Sound Sense or Sinister Prejudice?," *Man* n.s., 3 (1968): 625–634.

[98] David E. Aune, "'Magic' in Early Christianity and Its Mediterranean Context: A Survey of Recent Scholarship," *ASE* 24/2 (2007): 229–294; Stanley J. Tambiah, *Magic, Science, Religion and the Scope of Rationality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Graham Cunningham, *Religion and Magic: Approaches and Theories* (New York: University Press, 1999).

[99] John Middleton, "Theories of Magic," in *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. M. Eliade, 16 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 9:82.

[100] See, for example, the definition given by J. A. Scurlock, "Magic: Ancient Near East," in *The Anchor Yale Bible Dictionary*, ed. D.N. Freedman (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 464.

[101] What is "magic" for one person may be a miracle to another. Such was the argument put forward by Celsus, who argued that Jesus's powers were no different than the sorcerers who perform "wonderful miracles" for a "few obols"

Most recently, Guerra has opted to use the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of magic: "The use of ritual activities or observances which are intended to influence the course of events or to manipulate the natural world, usually involving the use of an occult secret body of knowledge."[102] Guerra's use of the term magic, despite its usual pejorative connotation is in line with what Bailey states about how magic has been "understood and reacted to, mostly through prohibitions, rather than in terms of how it is enacted."[103] Taking this dictionary definition, one could explain the apotropaic and exorcistic rituals at Qumran as magic. The rituals in our texts include 1) "activities or observances" (i.e., spoken words, prayers, movements, and/or obedience to community precepts) for the 2) "intended" purpose "to influence the course of events or to manipulate the natural world" (i.e., to defend against or remove demonic entities), 3) "usually involving the use of an occult of secret body of knowledge" (i.e., knowledge imparted by God to specific individuals such as the *maskil* or the community more generally).[104]

(*Contra Celsum* 1.68). In the same way that Pliny the Elder says he is "shy of quoting" formulas used to charm away natural disasters because of the "widely different feelings they arouse." Use of the term "magic" without emphatic quotation marks has caused great unease among scholars. Jonathan Z. Smith, for example, has suggested that there is next to no reason to maintain modern use of the term "magic", since "We have better and more precise scholarly taxa for each of the phenomena commonly denoted by 'magic'," such as the categories of healing, divining, and execration to name a few. In this same vein, John Gager has argued, "The use of the term "magic" tells us little or nothing about the substance of what is under description. The sentence, "X is/was a magician!" tells us nothing about the beliefs and practices of X, the only solid information that can be derived from it concerns the speaker's attitude toward X and their relative social relationship - that X is viewed by the speaker as power, peripheral and dangerous." Those who contend for the continued use of the term "magic," such as H.S. Versnel, argue that those who reject the use of the term "magic" have to deal with the problem that they cannot *discuss* "magic" without using the word itself. To put it another way, everybody agrees that something called "magic" exists and that it is related to religion and science, but to what degree is uncertain. See Jonathan Z. Smith, "Trading Places," in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, eds. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki, Religion in the Greco-Roman World 129 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 16–17; A.F. Segal, "Hellenistic Magic: Some Questions of Definition," in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions*, eds. R. van den Broek and M.J. Vermaseren, EPRO 91 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 49–75; Charles Robert Phillips, "The Sociology of Religious Knowledge in the Roman Empire to A.D. 284," *ANRW* II 16/3 (1986): 2711.

[101] John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 25.

[101] H.S. Versnel, "Some Reflections on the Relationship Magic-Religion," *Numen* 38.2 (1991): 181.

[101] Michael D. Bailey, "The Meanings of Magic," *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 1.1 (2006): 1–23.

[102] Guerra, "Encountering Evil," 8–9; "Magic, n.," *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, OED Online (OUP) http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/112186.

[103] Bailey, "The Meanings of Magic," 17.

[104] Lucas F. Johnston, *Religion and Sustainability: Social Movements and the Politics of the Environment* (Cambridge: University Press, 2013), 19 remarks that ""Religion" is a subjective analytical term whose meaning

To use the word "magic" for early Jewish apotropaism and exorcism, however, gives the impression that Jews from this period used such a category to describe their practices.[105] Despite biblical prohibitions dealing with a plethora of occult specialists, Jews in the Second Temple period found ways around this. Gideon Bohak has argued that ignoring the "magical" nature of Jewish practices from antiquity is to do ourselves a disservice.[106] Yet, Bohak's reasoning for using the term magic employs the word "magical" within its very premise. In other words, this circular argument necessitates that magic be applied to these texts *because* they are magical! What Bohak seems to mean is that these rituals have a supernatural component that differentiates them from other rituals.

For the purposes of this dissertation I avoid use of the word magic, if only because it tells us very little about what exorcism and apotropaism *are* and *do.* Calling these rituals "magic" causes confusion and draws to mind modern representations of magic that only aids in distortion. Rather than use the term magic, I opt instead to use the word "supernatural," which designates the rituals as affecting the world in a way not accessible to normal sensory perception. Spirits tend to be understood as invisible, incorporeal beings that are transient in nature. So too the rituals to combat them must likewise work at that fundamental level.

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depends on the person using it and on the questions they use to illuminate it." This holds true of the term "magic" as well. As Pliny says: "Wherefore everyone must form his own opinion about them [magical charms] as he pleases" (*Nat.* 28.5.29).

[105] David Aune offers three orders of discourse by which we can discuss "magic". First-order discourse relates to what can be known about "magic" from primary sources such as inscriptions, "magical" artifacts, and texts. Second-order discourse refers to "the gathering and arrangement" of the previous order "through description, definition, and classification" and its primary objective is to discover what practitioners of these rituals can tell us about "what they are doing and what they say about what others are doing." In other words, second-order discourse deals with "ancient discussions of the meaning and significance of prayer, hymns, processions, rituals and mythology. This can also include negative evaluations of some religious beliefs, activities and practitioners considered as either dangerous, illegal or deviant." Lastly, third-order discourse about "magic" involves academic discussion from such fields as social anthropology, sociology, and history of religion. Third-order discourse is an "etic" endeavor rather than the "emic" pursuits of the first- and second-order of discourse. These three orders help make sense of the scholarly landscape, but it does not give us any justification for either abandoning or maintaining the use of the word "magic." Aune, ""Magic" in Early Christianity and Its Mediterranean Context," 232–234.

[106] Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 8–69.

1.5 Conclusion and Outline

While scholars have discussed exorcism and apotropaism, much of the conversation has lacked serious attention to the blurred boundaries between the two phenomena. This problem has been exacerbated by the use of imprecise terminology employed in much of scrolls scholarship. This dissertation will attempt to analyze each of the texts commonly designated as apotropaic in to remedy these deficiencies. I analyze the content of the texts and consider the factors of proximity and time as criteria in order to generically categorize them as apotropaic or exorcistic (or some combination of both). I will then deal with further categorizing the texts using the terms highlighted above (e.g., anti-demonic, anti-peccable). Each chapter will deal with one of the major groupings of texts mentioned above. Consequently, readers should note that chapters two through four contain a dense textual analysis of the relevant primary sources. Chapter two will deal with sectarian texts, chapter three with texts of possible sectarian origin, and chapter four with texts that are non-sectarian. The conclusion will seek to synthesize the findings found within chapters 2-4 with particular emphasis on similarities and differences between the text groups as well as highlighting some shared theological features among all the texts.

CHAPTER 2: SECTARIAN TEXTS

This chapter consists of a textual analysis of eleven works relevant to the study of

apotropaism, among the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls: the Community Rule (1QS I, 16-19; II, 1-4;

II, 5-10; IV, 20-23), the Rule of the Blessings (1QSb I, 1-8), the Damascus Document (CD XII,

2-6; XVI, 4-6), Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah (4QMMT[e] 14-17 II, 1-8 = Composite Text 4QMMT C

25-32), the War Scroll (1QM IX, 14-17; XIII, 1-18; XIV, 8-10, 16-18), 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]

(4Q510 1 1-6 [= 4Q511 10 1]; 4Q511 1 1-8; 4Q511 2 I, 1-10; 4Q511 8 4-12; 4Q511 10 8-12;

4Q511 35 6-9; 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 1-8), 4QIncantion (4Q444), the Hodayot (1QH[a] IV, 33-37;

XXII, 20-28; XXIV, 6- XXV, 33), 4QBerakhot[a] (4Q286 7 II, 1-12), 4QCurses (4Q280), and

4QPrayer A? (4Q449).[107] Each text is examined in order to determine its classification

(apotropaic, exorcistic, anti-demonic, anti-peccable, etc.).

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[107] The Qumran scrolls have often been divided into the categories of "sectarian" and "non-sectarian." Devorah Dimant, "Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts from Qumran: The Pertinence and Usage of Taxonomy," *RevQ* 24/1 (2009) 7–18 offers some of the criteria for designating a text as sectarian or non-sectarian based on various shared

Throughout this chapter I note that community membership, or covenant faithfulness, is a driving force behind the apotropaic passages in the sectarian texts from Qumran. Apotropaism has a role in the initiation, participation (i.e., obedience), and culmination (i.e., eschatology) of a sectarian's membership. Central to membership is obedience to God's precepts and the community's regulations. Similarities and differences found among the sectarian works at Qumran and other apotropaic texts will be highlighted in the conclusion of this dissertation.

2.1 Community Rule (1QS)

The Community Rule is a sectarian document that consists of various rituals, rules for organizing and reprimanding members of the sect, and theological discussion on the nature of humanity.[108] Aside from the well-preserved cave 1 copy, 10 other copies exist from cave 4

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nomenclature, worldviews, and theological ideas. Typically, the concept of a "sectarian" text has referred to a text that was manufactured or penned by the community at Qumran. However, on another level, Carol Newsom explains that a sectarian text may be any text that was used by a specific group or that possesses unique literary rhetoric that aids in sectarian formation. To quote Newsom: "a sectarian text would be one that calls upon its readers to understand themselves as set apart within the larger religious community of Israel and as preserving the true values of Israel against the failures of the larger community." Carol Newsom, "Sectually Explicit Literature from Qumran," 178–179. See also Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 43–44.

 In this dissertation I take the view that the repository of scrolls found in the eleven caves reflects the library of a sectarian group that studied, worshipped, and at different times lived at Qumran and reflects a group similar to, if not identical with, the Essenes referred to by ancient authors such as Josephus (*J.W.* 2.8.2-13; *Ant.* 5.13.9, 15.10.4–5), Philo (*Hypoth.* 11.1–18; *Prob.* 75–91), and Pliny (*Nat.* 5.15); James C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years,* 2:487–533. For a detailed history of the relationship between Qumran, the Essenes, and the Dead Sea scrolls in scholarship, see Gwynned de Looijer, *The Qumran Paradigm: A Critical Evaluation of Some Foundational Hypotheses in the Construction of the Qumran Sect* (Atlanta: SBL, 2015). I retain use of the terms "sect" and "sectarian" on the basis that these words *do* connote a separateness or uniqueness between one Jewish group, or system of beliefs in Judaism, and another.

[108] 1QS is a composite text, with scholars providing varying explanations on the exact breakup of its individual sections. The following major segments, however, are widely agreed upon: 1) an introduction (1QS I, 1–15), 2) an annual ritual of entering the community (1QS I, 16-II, 18), 3) a theological treatise on dualism (1QS III, 13-IV, 26), 4) various rules and prescribed punishments (1QS V, 1-VII, 25), 5) a description of the community and its purpose (VIII, 1–X, 5), and 6) a hymn written from the perspective of the leader(s) of the community (X, 5-XI, 22). See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La génèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RevQ* 76 (1969): 528–549; J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la communauté de Qumrân: son évolution littéraire* (Cahier de la Bevue Biblique 17. Paris: J Gabalda, 1976); Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, STDJ 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 5-11.

(4QS[a-j]), and one from cave 5 (5Q11).[109] 1QS has been dated, on paleographic grounds, to between 100-75 BCE.[110] 4QS[a] preserves the earliest copy of the Community Rule, dating between 125-100 BCE.[111]

2.1.1 1QS I, 16-19[112]

16 וכול הבאים בסרך היחד יעבורו בברית לפני אל לעשות
17 ככול אשר צוה ולוא לשוב מאחרו מכול פחד ואימה ומצרף
18 נסוים בממשלת בליעל ובעוברם בברית יהיו הכוהנים
19 והלויים מברכים את אל ישועות ואת כול מעשי אמתו וכול
20 העוברים בברית אומרים אחריהם אמן אמן vacat

16 And all those who enter in the Rule of the Community shall establish a covenant before God in order to carry out
17 all that he commanded and in order not to stray from following him out of any fear, dread, or testing
18 (that might occur) during the dominion of Belial. When they enter the covenant, the priests
19 and the levites shall bless the God of victories and all the works of his faithfulness and all
20 those who enter the covenant shall repeat after them: "Amen, Amen."

Members of the community are instructed to form a covenant with God upon entering into the "Rule [or "Order"] of the Community," by which is probably meant obedience to a

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[109] Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Cave IV Fragments (4Q255–264 = 4QS MSS A–J)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Volume 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth *et al.* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994).

[110] Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*,14.

[111] J.T. Milik, "[Review of] P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline,*" *RevQ* 67 (1960): 410–416; Frank M. Cross, "Appendix: Paleographic Dates of the Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 57. The cave 4 copies differ in a number of unique and important ways from 1QS, causing scholars to offer a number of theories as to their textual and historical development:

Géza Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991): 250–255: notes that 4QS[b] and 4QS[d] include shorter versions of columns 1QS V-VII, evidence suggesting that they are earlier versions of the Community Rule;

Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh ha-Yaḥad: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437–456:1QS is the earliest text, being copied before 4QS[b] and 4QS[d]. The shorter columns are attributed to intentional omissions;

Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 143–144: Even though the copy of 1QS is earlier than the copies of 4QS[b] and 4QS[d], 1QS is a more developed (thus later) version than 4QS[b] and 4QS[d];

Alison Schofield, "Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 Serekh Copies," *DSD* 15 (2008): 96–120: argues that the differences between 1QS and the cave four copies has to do with multiple communities using different texts in different social situations.

[112] Transcriptions from F.M. Cross, D.N. Freedman, and J.A. Sanders, *Scrolls from Qumran Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, the Order of the Community, the Pesher to Habakkuk,* Photographs by J. Trever (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and the Shrine of the Book, 1972); Translations from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *DSSSE.*

collection of sectarian precepts laid out by the community's leadership.[113] Establishing the covenant also has the added effect that the community member will not "stray from following him" (לשוב מאחרו), which refers to momentary lapses in moral judgement or apostasy. The reason for disobedience or apostasy is predicated on community members being swayed by instances of "fear, dread, or testing" (פחד ואימה ומצרף) which are explicitly connected with the reign of Belial in the world.

Belial's dominion, the mention of "fear, dread, and testing," and the context of forming a covenant, suggests an apotropaic function of the covenant which is activated through obedience to God's commands. Taken together, I argue that these elements can help determine the classification of this passage as apotropaic.

First, the appearance of Belial in this passage lends itself to understanding the instruction to join the community as an anti-demonic tactic. Throughout 1QS, Belial is understood as an external personal force that is able to influence humanity. While 1QS I, 1-15 instructs newcomers to "keep oneself at a distance from all evil" (לרחוק מכול רע; I, 4), and to "detest all the sons of darkness" (ולשנוא כול בני חושך; I, 10), and exhorting them to obey God's commands (I, 12-15), 1QS I, 18 situates the formation of the covenant and call to obedience within a larger cosmological battle between good and evil, with Belial as the archenemy. Belial's reign in 1QS I, 23-24 appears to be one of the reasons why the children of Israel transgress the law, something that is remedied through confession and the blessings of the priests in 1QS II, 3. Community membership facilitates one's ability to be obedient to the law, a benefit which the sons of darkness do not enjoy. Belial is described as having "dominion" (1QS I, 18, 24, II, 19; ממשלת), which refers both to his control over certain human beings referred to as his "lot" (1QS II, 5;

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[113] The formulation of a covenant with God "in order to do" (לעשות) the commands of God means that the covenant member agrees to be obedient (comp. 1QS I, 7; כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל).

גורל), and to tempting community members to sin, evidenced by the need for confession in 1QS II, 22-26. That Belial is described with such language means that he contains his own volitional will, can plan, and can manipulate people's mental faculties so as to cause them to sin.[114] Additionally, Belial is described as causing fear by nature of his dominion (1QS I, 17-18). The presence of these descriptive attributes suggest that Belial is meant to be understood in 1QS I, 15-19 as a demonic being.[115]

Secondly, several linguistic clues lend themselves to the covenant being interpreted as instigating an anti-demonic, apotropaic, effect. First is the word "fear" (פחד). פחד is a term used of both Belial's activities and that of demonic spirits in general. In a pesher on Isa 24:17 ("Panic [פחד], pit and net against you, earth-dweller") preserved in CD IV, 14-19, the author identifies three nets of Belial that are said to catch or ensnare Israel.[116] The word פחד is also connected with demonic deception in 4QSongs of the Sage.[117] The second song given to the Maskil in 4Q511 8 4 is intended "to startle those who terrify" (לפחד מיראי). This playful reversal of causing fear in

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[114] Belial's connection with causing sin is more overt in 1QM XIII, 11 where he is described as bringing about "wickedness and guilt" (להרשיע ולהאשים), where "guilt" (אשם) likely refers to the guilt that human beings accrue through disobedience prompted by Belial's influence in their lives.

[115] One instance in 1QS describes Belial as an internal problem. In 1QS X, 21, the Maskil determines not to "retain Belial" (ובליעל לוא אשמור) within his heart, which might suggest that Belial represents both a cosmic entity *and* an internal propensity to do wrong. More likely, however, this is probably meant in a figurative sense: "I will not retain the effects of Belial" (comp. Luke 8:12) or that Belial simply effects one's heart, not that he is metaphysically *within* the human being (comp. Luke 22:3).

[116] These three nets are fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple. These condemned practices include: 1) sexual intercourse with a menstruating woman (CD V, 7), 2) uncle-niece marriages (CD V, 7-8), and 3) a much-debated prohibition concerning one who "takes two wives during their lifetime" (CD IV, 20-21); See Cecilia Wassen, *Women in the Damascus Document* (SBL: Atlanta, 2005), 113–122; Miryam Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature*, JAJSup 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013)*,* 221, nn. 16–17.

[117] Note also that the phrase פחד לילה in Psalm 91 has often been interpreted as the name of a demon, drawing further parallels between the word פחד and apotropaism more broadly. Jean de Fraine, "Le «Démon Du Midi» (Ps 91 [90]:6)," *Biblica* 40 (1959): 372–383; S. Krauss. "Der Richtige Sinn von 'Schrecken in Der Nacht' HL III.8," in *Occident and Orient, Being Studies in Semitic Philology and Literature, Jewish History and Philosophy and Folklore in the widest sense of Honour of Haham Dr. Moses Gaster's 80th Birthday: Gaster Anniversary Volume,* eds. B. Schindler and A. Marmorstein (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1936), 323–330; H.P. Müller, "פַּחַד Pāḥad," *ThWAT* 6 (1973): 552–562; W. Speyer, "Mittag Und Mitternacht Als Heilige Zeiten in Antike Und Christentum," in *Vivarium, Festschrift Theodor Klauser Zum 90*, ed. E. Dassmann (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagbuchhandlung, 1984), 314–326; M. Malul, "Terror of the Night," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, eds. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 851–854.

those who *cause* fear is meant to highlight the kind of activity that evil spirits participate in. Additionally, 4Q510 1 6 connects evil spirits that strike suddenly (והפוגעים פתע פתאום) with the ability to "lead astray the spirit of knowledge" (לתעות רוח בינה). The elements of sudden terror brought on by an encounter with an evil spirit and the ability for that spirit to persuade the community member away from following God's commands match the elements of 1QS I, 16-19.[118]

Second is the term מצרף, which can have the meaning of "testing."[119] מצרף appears in connection with Belial in a number of other texts from Qumran. 4Q171 II, 11, for example, offers a pesher on Ps 37:10-11, which describes how God will rescue his people from all the snares of Belial" (מכול פחי בליעל). The time in which Belial reigns is referred to as the "period of distress" (מועד התעות), which seems to be synonymous with what is referred to in 4Q171 II, 19 as the "period of testing" (בעת המצרף).[120] Additionally, 1QHᵃ X, 5-22 contains a hymn in which the singer is likened to one who causes those with "[d]evilish schemes" (ומזמות בליעל; X, 18) to be "tested" (לבחון; X, 15) in order to determine the quality of their character. Like פחד above, מצרף is connected with Belial in other Qumran texts, which suggests that the main priority of this instruction to join the community is to deal with the issues that Belial can cause to occur, i.e., temptation to sin and fear.[121]

Lastly, one further anti-demonic measure is worth considering. The author of 1QS I, 19 aims a blessing towards "the God of victories" (אל ישועות). In 1QM IV, 13, "God's acts of

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[118] Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 16–17.

[119] The word מצרף appears once more in the Community Rule. In 1QS VIII, 4 where the community council is set up so as to atone for sin by "doing justice and undergoing trials" (בעושי משפט וצרת מצרף). These trials take place during the "regulation of the time" (ובתכון העת; 1QS VIII, 4; cf. 1QS IX, 18), which seems to be a synonym for the evil age in which they are living where such tests are possible.

[120] Similar language appears also in 1QM XVI, 11 where Belial assists the sons of darkness and God's people are "tested by them" (ולבחון בם).

[121] Preben Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*, STDJ 11 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), 49; William Hugh Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes*, BASORSup 10–12 (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), 9.

salvation" (ישועות אל) is written on the banners of the sons of light after defeating Belial and the Sons of Darkness (1QM IV, 2 ff.). These parallels may demonstrate a link between demonic affliction and God's triumph over Belial and his minions. Blessing God for his "deliverance/salvation/victories" (ישועות) is also found in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]. 4Q511 1 1-3 makes fragmentary mentions of "their [do]minions" (מ]משלותם) and "the spirits of its dominion" (רוחות ממשלתה) and "their eras" (בקציהם), which probably refers to the time given by God in which evil spirits have the ability to deceive humanity (comp. 1QS III, 23). In 4Q511 1 4-5 the author calls upon the seas and the living things to praise God in "jubi[lations of] salvation" (ברנ]ות ישועות) on the basis that evil spirits have been driven out of the land (4Q511 1 7-8).[122] It is likely, therefore, that this praise directed towards God in 1QS I, 19 is situated within this same general anti-demonic framework.1QS I, 17 gives instructions for the covenant to be made specifically so that new members will "not stray from following him" (ולוא לשוב מאחרו). Likewise, the priests' blessing to the new members is done in the moment when membership is attained. These temporal indicators point towards a future protective measure. Praising God on account of his "victories" may be part of an apotropaic tradition connected with God's deliverance from evil spirits. Since Belial is mentioned within the same context as the praise (as with 1QM and 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]), this specific adoration, responded to communally, may have aided in demonstrating God's victory of Belial by drawing on a kind of realized eschatology.[123]

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[122] Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 16 n.45.

[123] Part of the way in which an apotropaic ritual was thought to be effective was either by declaring God's eternal protection over the target *or* through the confidence found in God's eschatological judgement of evil. In 1QS II, 1-4, part of the apotropaic blessing is for God to grant "eternal peace" (לשלום עולמים) to the recipient. In the Hodayot, שלום עולם is used to describe an eschatological state in which sorrow and iniquity are done away with (1QHa V, 35; VII, 29; XIX, 30; XXI, 16). Similarly, 4QInstruction states that "everlasting peace" (ושלום עד) is given to the "poor ones" who receive God's wisdom, while the wicked incur eschatological punishment (4Q418 122 II + 126 II, 11). Thus, declaring God's eschatological peace over a person may have edified and assured the recipient of this blessing that God will continually protect them from evil, even until the eschaton (under the condition that they remain

The formation of the covenant with God, which is predicated in part on obedience to God's laws, seems to ward off the effects of evil spirits. This sort of contractual agreement can be found in several other texts from this period. Obedience as a form of apotropaism can be seen, for example, in the Damascus Document and *Testament of Benjamin*. According to CD XVI, 4-6, returning to the law of Moses and obedience to God's commands will cause the angel Mastema to "turn aside from following him" (יסור ...מאחריו). The author insists, however, that Mastema will only stay away "should he keep his [God's] words" (אם יקים את דבריו), insinuating that obedience to God's law is what enacts and maintains the apotropaic effect.[124] Similarly, according to *T. Ben* 5:2, doing "what is good" (ἀγαθοποιοῦντες) will cause "unclean spirits" (ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα) to flee from the one performing such deeds.[125] While obedience to God's laws fits generally within the trope of Deuteronomistic covenant-making found throughout early Judaism, it also has a wider apotropaic context that must be considered when analyzing the text.[126]

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obedient). 4QMMT C 29-30 states that part of the reason that God will remove the "device of Belial" from the recipients of the letter is so that they will be able to "rejoice at the end of time." This rejoicing is predicated on the fact that they will come to realize that some of the author's halakhic rulings are correct. In order to reap this eschatological joy, the recipients of the letter must first petition God to remove the device of Belial from them. This apotropaic measure is meant to ensure that they will inherit eternal life. 4Q541 24 II, 6 states that "You will see and rejoice in eternal light (בנהיר עלמא). And you will not be of the enemy." Likewise, in 4Q418 69 II, 14, the "sons of heaven" are understood to "wal[k] in eternal light" (באור עולם יתהל[כו). In the Treatise of the Two Spirits, the righteous are given a "majestic raiment in eternal light" (עולמים מדת הדר באור; 1QS IV, 8). Thus, to be in "eternal light" means that one is not in opposition to God (comp. 4Q303 4; 4Q369 1 II, 6). That God has thus created his people to be for "eternal light" ensures that they will be provided protection from evil. The phrase עם עולמים seems to be based on Isa 44:7, which states that God has established an עַם־עוֹלָם and "things to come" (comp. 2 Sam 7:24; Ezek 26:20). Finally, the phrase למעמד עולמים may relate to either angels or human beings. This unknown group is appointed their service (or perhaps: rank/station) for the expressed purpose "to exterminate (לכלות) all the sons of darkness" (XIII, 16).

[124] Compare Ephesians 6:10–18.

[125] That the "unclean spirits" should be understood as external evil spirits seems clear due to the mention of warding off "wild animals" in the same line, suggesting physical danger is in mind, not just ethical conduct; See Armin Lange, "Considerations Concerning the "Spirit of Impurity" in Zech. 13:2," in *Die Dämonen*, 262–263.

[126] Language centered around the formation of a covenant is used in apotropaic formulas from the ancient world, which may suggest that here too the purposes are anti-demonic in nature. According to a seventh century BCE Phoenician inscription, for example, various deities are barred from entering a particular household, presumably to harm the individual, because "the Eternal One has made a covenant with us." Similarly, in the Aaronic Blessing found in Num 6:24–26, the priests bless the Israelites so that "they shall put" God's "name on the Israelites" and he

Taking all of these elements into consideration, this text best describes an anti-demonic apotropaic instruction. The *lamed* prepositions in lines 16-17 (לעשות...ולוא לשוב) indicate that the purpose of joining the covenant is so that these benefits might be accessible to the member. The potential of disobedience or apostasy instigated by demonic forces is dramatically reduced if the community member continues to obey God's commands.[127] Although it is never explicitly stated that evil spirits are warded away, the effects of the time of Belial's reign are minimized. The text does not offer an invocation or petition to ward away the effects of the evil spirits (the implied instigators of straying from following God), rather it describes the advantages of covenant membership in apotropaic terms. Belial should be understood as an external demonic being that influences humanity to sin. The point of joining the covenant and being obedient to God's laws is, in part, to stop the community member from straying due to the "fear, dread, or testing," which are negative abilities that Belial apparently can use to afflict the sect. Thus, the covenant agreement is apotropaic, attempting to ward off the influence of Belial prior to his instigation.[128]

2.1.2 1QS II, 1-4

1 ... והכוהנים מברכים את כול
2 אנשי גורל אל ההולכים תמים בכול דרכיו ואומרים יברככה בכול
3 טוב וישמורכה מכול רע ויאר לבכה בשכל חיים ויחונכה בדעת עולמים
4 וישא פני חסדיו לכה לשלום עולמים

1 … And the priests will bless all
2 the men of God's lot who walk unblemished in all his paths and they shall say: "May he bless you with everything

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"will bless them" (6:27). The benediction facilitates God's activity of continual blessing, part of which is protection (שמר), which was later interpreted as protection from evil spirits (compare the use of שמר in Ps 91:11 and 121). See Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 70–71; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 145–171, 357–358; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 73–74, n. 80; For specific examples, see Frank M. Cross, "Phoenician Incantations on a Plaque of the Seventh Century B.C. from Arslan-Tash in Upper Syria," *BASOR* 193 (1970): 42–49 and Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 229.

[127] Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae,* 116 notes that in one of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls, a spirit is listed as טעין, that is, a spirit of erring or apostasy.

[128] The apotropaic quality of the covenant can also be seen in *Jubilees* 15 as well as the basic distinction b etween the nations that are allotted to other spiritual beings in Deut 32 (4QDeut^J and LXX). I address this in the section on *Jubilees* in ch. 4.

3 good, and may he protect you from everything bad. May he illuminate your heart with the discernment of life and grace you with eternal knowledge.

4 May he lift upon you the countenance of his favour for eternal peace"

The request for God to "protect you from everything bad" (וישמורכה מכול רע) is a general apotropaic petition that may or may not include protection from demons.[129] Several parallels exist in other texts, all of which are equally disputable as to whether they can be properly labeled anti-demonic. The most notable parallel (which this blessing is dependant on) is that of the *Priestly Blessing*, a blessing that was later attributed anti-demonic characteristics.[130] This section is followed by a series of curses against Belial. The curses, however, are separated by a vacat and the previous lines deal with confessing sin. If sin is the main concern, the רע in this petition best understood in anti-peccable terms.[131]

Other early Jewish works attest to general petitions for protection against evil that may or may not be anti-demonic in nature. Firstly, 4QAramaic Levi[b] requests that God "make far e]vil" (באיש...ארחק) and "let not any satan have power over me" (4Q213a 1 I, 12-13, 17). The petition

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[129] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 70, 83–84; idem, "Genres," 410; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "'Protect them from the Evil One' (John 14:15): Light from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *John, Qumran, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Sixty Years of Discovery and Debate*, eds. Mary L. Coloe and Tom Thatcher; EJL 32 (Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 145.

[130] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 197 notes: "It seems therefore that the prayer text [*Amidah*], the paraphrase of the Priestly Benediction in the Manual of Discipline and the Sifrei [*Sifrei Num. 40*], and the text from the Psalms Scroll under discussion [*Plea for Deliverance*], all derive from a common midrashic tradition, based on the Priestly Benediction." For an indepth study on the historical use and recontextualization of the Priestly Blessing, see Jeremy D. Smoak, *The Priestly Blessing in Inscription and Scripture: The Early History of Numbers 6:24-26* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

[131] The phrase מכול רע appears two times in the Community Rule. It first appears in 1QS I, 4, where the purpose of the text is described, in part, to allow the Sectarian to "keep oneself at a distance from all evil" (לרחוק מכול רע). This separation from evil is contrasted with becoming "attached to all good works" (ולדבוק בכול מעשי טוב; 1QS I, 5), which suggests that "all evil" refers to wicked conduct. Secondly, 1QS V, I states that its rule is for those "who freely volunteer to convert from all evil (מכול רע)." This evil is understood to be evil actions, since the members are instructed "to keep themselves steadfast in all he commanded in compliance with his will" (1QS V, 1). The phrase מכול רע appears in some other texts that may shed light on the intended meaning of this blessing. Firstly, Jub. 12:29 contains a prayer offered by Terah to Abraham. Part of this blessing is for God to "protect you from all evil." This portion of the prayer is partly preserved in 11Q12 9 5: ויש[מרכה מכול רע]. This evil seems to be ethical based on the beginning and ending of the blessing which is concerned with making Abraham's "path straight" and "May none of the sons of men rule over you to do evil to you" (see VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary in Two Volumes*, ed. Sidnie White Crawford (Philadelphia: Fortress, 2018), 1:459). Secondly, the phrase מכול רע appears in a fragmentary context within 4Q509 276 1 where sin seems to be being punished in an eschatological context. Lastly, 1QSb I, 7 may contain the following phrase: יפ[לטכה מכול רע] ("may he de]liver you from everything [evil). I argue below that this passage in 1QSb is best interpreted as an anti-peccable petition that also has some anti-demonic elements.

for God to protect the human from "evil" could be taken generally as apotropaic. However, based on the Greek version found in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,* the author asks for God to make far from him the "unrighteous spirit, and evil thought and fornication."[132] The "unrighteous spirit" is most likely referring to the human spirit and not a demon, since it is listed alongside various sins. The request for God to "let not any satan have power over me" could be a demonic or human adversary.[133] The Greek version adds that the author does not want any satan to "make me stray from your path," a quality of evil spirits found in the analysis of 1QS I, 16-19 above and 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b].[134] Secondly, *Plea for Deliverance* begs God: "Let not Satan rule over me, nor an unclean spirit; neither let pain or evil inclination (ויצר רע) take possession of my bones." Protection from a form of רע in this prayer is listed among a series of possible demonic afflictions. The author of 1QS, therefore, may have included in his petition a protection against רע that is both ethical and spiritual evil.[135] Thirdly, part of the Lord's Prayer in Matt 6:13 contains the apotropaic petition "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil" (καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ." The last two words, τοῦ πονηροῦ, may be understood as either generic evil or possibly "evil one," a reference to Satan, the archenemy of God.[136]

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[132] See the reconstruction offered by J.C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 60–61.

[133] See Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 341–344; Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 261–262; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Pleas for Deliverance from the Demonic in Early Jewish Texts," in *Studies in Jewish Prayer*, eds. R. Hayward & B. Embry, JSSSup 17 (Oxford: University Press, 2005), 59.

[134] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 82-83; Michael E. Stone and Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," *JBL* 112.2 (1993): 252; George Brooke, etl al., *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, DJD 22 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 31.

[135] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," 194–205. Psalm 121:5–7 contains the phrase "keep you from all evil," which may have apotropaic connotations in relation to protection from the sun and moon which "strike" (נכה). See Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony and Derek Krueger, eds., *Prayer and Worship in Eastern Christianities, 5th to 11th Centuries* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 80–81; *Jub.* 12:29 preserves a prayer spoken by Terah for God to "make your path straight" and "protect you from all evil," which seems to refer to ethical concerns (comp. *Jub.* 31:24).

[136] Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7: A Commentary on Matthew 1–7*, ed. Helmut Koester, rev. ed., Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 323. According to the Ps 155, the speaker petitions God in line 12 to purify

The main difference between 1QS II, 1-4 and the above examples is that, unlike 1QS, all the other petitions contain a possible reference to a demonic being (satan). If this petition is meant to be understood as a continuation of the statements about Belial which it is positioned between (1QS I, 16-19 and 1QS II, 5 ff.), one could argue that the protection from evil is directed specifically against Belial.[137] Since the topics addressed in the petition involve obedience, discernment, and knowledge, the purview of the petition lands within the realm of ethical concerns.[138] Thus, I have classified this text as an anti-peccable apotropaic petition. This blessing is situated between two larger blocks of content that deal with Belial. Despite this, no mention of a specific demonic being is mentioned in this petition. The petition is concerned with sin and God's ability to sustain the sectarian in obedience to his commands, thus it is best understood as anti-peccable. The use of the jussive וישמורכה ("and may he protect you") implies future ongoing protection, designating the text as an apotropaic petition.

2.1.3 1QS II, 5-10

4 Vacat והלוויים מקללים את כול אנשי
5 גורל בליעל וענו ואמרו ארור אתה בכול מעשי רשע אשמתכה יתנכה
6 אל זעוה ביד כול נוקמי נקם ויפקיד אחריכה כלה ביד כול משלמי
7 גמולים ארור אתה לאין רחמים כחושך מעשיכה וזעום אתה
8 באפלת אש עולמים לוא יחונכה אל בקוראכה ולוא יסלח לכפר עווניך
9 ישא פני אפו לנקמתכה ולוא יהיה לכה שלום בפי כול אוחזי אבות
10 וכול העוברים בברית אומרים אחר המברכים והמקללים אמן אמן

4 … And the levites shall curse all the men of
5 the lot of Belial. They shall begin to speak and shall say: "Accursed are you for all your wicked, blameworthy deeds. May God hand you over
6 to terror by the hand of all those carrying out acts of vengeance. May he bring upon you destruction by the hand of all those who accomplish
7 retributions. Accursed are you, without mercy, according to the darkness of your deeds, and sentenced

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(טהרני) him from an "evil scourge" (מנגע רע) and further to have it "not return again upon me" (ואל יוסף לשוב אלי). If the evil scourge is understood as a demonic entity, the term "purify" seems to be exorcistic, while the petition for it to never return may be apotropaic. See Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 91–92.

[137] Thus Stuckenbruck, "Protect Them From the Evil One," 145.

[138] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 104: "Although Stuckenbruck's [anti-demonic] conclusion is possible, it is never expressed in the passage that sin, transgression, or evil is the result of demonic influence or activity."

8 to the gloom of everlasting fire. May God not be merciful when you entreat him. May he not forgive by purifying your iniquities.

9 May he lift the countenance of his anger to avenge himself on you, and may there be no peace for you by the mouth of those who intercede."

10 And all those who enter the covenant shall say, after those who pronounce blessings and those who pronounce curses: "Amen, Amen."

This passage records a curse inspired by an inverted form of the *Priestly Blessing*.[139] The curse, however, is not anti-demonic, since the intended recipients of the curse are the "men of the lot of Belial" (אנשי גורל בליעל; 1QS II, 4-5). Morris argues that even if these curses *were* directed towards demons, they are not intended to ward *off* demons, but rather to heap eschatological judgement upon them.[140] Technically speaking, these curses, directed towards human beings, are not purely eschatological.[141] The curses have present consequences to the recipients including not being able to receive mercy from God, not receiving purification from sin, and negating the efficaciousness of prayers offered on their behalf. These elements that are stripped from the men of Belial's lot are benefits which community members otherwise enjoy (mercy [1QS I, 22; II, 1; IV, 4; XI, 12-13], purification [1QS III, 4-5; IV, 5, 20, VI, 22; IX, 14], and intercession [1QS II, 1-4; comp. *1 En*. 15:1-3, 16:2-3; *4 Ezra* 7:102]). Part of the purpose behind this curse might be to keep wicked people from joining the community, the location where these benefits can be received. Reciting this curse could, therefore, be protective in that it attempts to ward away wicked human beings from the community so that they are unable to join the covenant and therefore become recipients of salvation.

Besides the nature of the curse itself, line 6 calls for God to "hand you over to terror by the hand of all those carrying out acts of vengeance (נוקמי נקם)" (comp. 1QS IV, 12; *1 En.* 62:11,

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[139] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 70, 83–84; idem, "Genres" 410. Stuckenbruck, "Protect them from the Evil One," 145. Eshel never explicitly designates this curse as apotropaic, though its inclusion in the discussion about the topic of the apotropaic use of the *Priestly Blessing* could give the reader that impression.

[140] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 102.

[141] While the author may have viewed himself and the community as being in the end times, this does not mean that he thought the final judgment had taken place.

63:1; *T. Levi* 3.2 ff.).[142] Despite this curse being targeted at human beings and not evil spirits, it could be argued that this curse may still be acting prophylactically. The curse is uttered so as to prompt God to enact judgement on wicked humans who are part of Belial's "demonic" army. The curse asks for the destruction of the wicked and for God to "avenge himself" (לנקמתכה) on them and for them to be placed in "everlasting fire" (אש עולמים). The wicked are never said to be "bound," but only to incur eschatological punishment, so that, unlike evil spirits, which are typically chained or bound to await divine judgement, wicked humans undergo the typical post-mortem punishments found elsewhere in Second Temple Jewish literature (e.g., *1 En.* 17-22). The intercession of angelic beings in line 6 to carry out the judgement on the wicked is paralleled in such works as Tobit and *1 Enoch* where angels bind or frighten away demons or disobedient spirits.

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[142] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 152, n. 23. The idea is that the curse will prompt God to rise up opposing human or angelic forces in order to destroy the men of Belial's lot. The avengers may be interpreted as human beings or angels. One reason for accepting a human interpretation of the avengers is that CD I, 16–18 records an interpretation of Hosea 4:16 and Isaiah 30:10, 13 in which "the scoffer" and "those who sought smooth things" arise in the last generation "so that the curses of his covenant would adhere to them, to deliver them up to the sword carrying out the vengeance of the covenant" (comp. CD XIX, 4). More likely, however, the author of 1QS has a supernatural explanation in mind.

There are several reasons for accepting an angelic view. Firstly, 4QCurses (4Q280) records a nearly identical curse to what is found in 1QS II, but instead of the men of the lot of Belial, the recipient of the curse is the demon Melki-Resha. Since human beings are unlikely to be able to exact punishment on Melki-Resha, divine agents must be in view. Secondly, 4Q449 1 3-5 makes a fragmentary mention of "the dominion of the spirits of his lot in the judg[ment of…" and "the vengeance (ונקמת) of … [a]ll our enemies." The spirits of his lot could refer either to Belial or to God or one of his divine agents. See Jean Duhaime, *War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts*, Companion to the Qumran scrolls 6 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 95; Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* SBL Dissertation Series I 10 (Atlanta: SBL, 1989), 152. Thirdly, a "judgement of vengeance" is listed as an activity of God in the apotropaic hymns of 4QSongs of the Sage (4Q511 35 1; Comp. Sirach 48:7). Fourthly, 1QM VII, 5–6 records the need for purification during the eschatological battle ("the day of vengeance") because "the holy angels are together with the armies." For treatment of this subject, see the following works: Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran*, JSPSupp 11 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); Jarl E. Fossum, *The Name of God and the Angel of the Lord: Samaritan and Jewish Concepts of Intermediation and the Origin of Gnosticism*, WUNT 36 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985); Carol A. Newsom, "*Angels*," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, ed. David N. Freedman , 6 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1:248–253. Fifthly, 11Q11 II, 13 preserves an interpretation of Psalm 82:2 that states Melchizedek "will carry out the vengeance of Go[d's] judgments, [and on that day he will fr]e[e them from the hand of] Belial and from the hand of all the sp[irits of his lot]." See T.H. Gaster, *The Dead Sea Scriptures,* 3rd ed. (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1976)*,* 435; S.F. Noll, *Angelology in the Qumran Texts* (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 1979), 136, 212, 226.

Since no specific demon other than Belial is mentioned (and only as a modifier), nor protection from ethical evils such as sin are mentioned, this passage cannot be classified as anti-demonic *nor* anti-peccable. No petition is granted for protection against Belial's lot, though a curse could still be thought of as apotropaic. A petition for destruction of enemies is not so much "apotropaic" as it is a tactically defensive maneuver. Whether this curse was actually thought to protect the community from wicked humans is not clear in the text, and therefore this work can only be tentatively classified as a possible apotropaic incantation against wicked humans.

This curse might have offered protection through the petition for God to judge the wicked. This judgement was probably imminent in the minds of the sect. Designating this curse as "apotropaic" in this case means that the protection is physical, separating Belial's human lot from the community so that they might continue in their traditions unhindered. Its presence after the apotropaic instructions in 1QS I, 16-19 and an apotropaic blessing in 1QS II, 1-4 could place it in a continued apotropaic ritual. The separation from that material by a vacat could be a simple matter of breaking up the various sections of the ritual for liturgical purposes and not to isolate them functionally from one another. While Morris concludes that this text ought not to be considered "anti-demonic," with which I agree, this does not necessarily mean it was not thought of as apotropaic.[143]

2.1.4 1QS IV, 20–23

20 ... ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר יזקק לו מבני איש להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי
21 בשרו ולטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה ויז עליו רוח אמת כמי נדה מכול תועבות שקר והתגולל
22 ברוח נדה להבין ישרים בדעת עליון וחכמת בני שמים להשכיל תמימי דרך כיא בם בחר אל לברית עולמים
23 ולהם כול כבוד אדם ואין עולה והיה לבושת כול מעשי רמיה

20 ...Then God will refine, with his truth, all man's deeds, and will purify for himself the structure of man, ripping out all spirit of injustice from the innermost part

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[143] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 104.

21 of his flesh, and cleansing him with the spirit of holiness from every wicked deeds. He will sprinkle over him the spirit of truth like lustral water (in order to cleanse him) from all the abhorrences of deceit and (from) the defilement

22 of the unclean spirit, in order to instruct the upright ones with knowledge of the Most High, and to make understand the wisdom of the sons of heaven to those of perfect behaviour. For those God has chosen for an everlasting covenant

23 and to them shall belong all the glory of Adam. There will be no more injustice and all the deeds of trickery will be a dishonor.

This section from the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* envisages a kind of "eschatological exorcism" chiefly concerned with expunging the possibility of disobedience from humanity. Identifying this as an example of actual exorcism or as speaking to the wider exorcistic practices of this time would be an incorrect step. Firstly, it is unclear whether the spirits mentioned in the passage should be taken as demonic beings or the spirits of human beings or some combination of both. Secondly, it is unclear whether the author is being influenced by certain portions of the Hebrew Bible or Second Temple Jewish thought more generally. Scholars have been divided on whether these spirits are meant to be understood as cosmic powers[144] or as human dispositions.[145] The "spirit of injustice" is synonymous with the spirit of deceit in 1QS III, 19. The "unclean spirit" (רוח נדה), however, may be taken either as a synonym for the spirits of injustice and deceit or a separate entity.[146] Additionally, this passage is not in the context of a ritual, but rather is simply teaching about an eschatological event.

An argument for an anthropological reading of this passage is based on the possibility that the author is being influenced by the book of Zechariah. The author of the *Treatise* could be

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[144] K. Schubert, "Der Sektenkanon von En Feshcha und die Anfänge der jüdischen Gnosis," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 78 (1953): 505 n.33; Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction," 18, 33; Günther Baumbach, *Qumran und das Johannes-Evangelium. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung der dualistischen Aussagen der Ordensregel von Qumran und des Johannes Evangeliums mit Berucksichtigung der spatjudischen Apokalypsen,* AVTRW 6 (Berlin: Evangelishe Varlagsanstalt, 1958), 14; J. P. Meier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte com Toten Meer,* UBT, 2 vols. (Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt, 1996), 2:204.

[145] J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. 1QS, lQSa, lQSb. Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 104; F. Manns, *Le symbole eau-esprit dans le Judaisme ancienI* SBFA 19 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1983), 88; Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 209–210.

[146] Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline,* 85.

drawing on Zech 13:2 in which God proclaims he will "remove from the land the prophets and the unclean spirit (וְאֶת־רוּחַ הַטֻּמְאָה)."[147] The "unclean spirit" in Zechariah may refer to an anthropological impulse to perform acts of uncleanness.[148] One reason for understanding it this way is that the unclean spirit is placed in juxtaposition to God pouring out a "spirit of compassion" upon the house of David in Zech 12:10. Additionally, The phrase התגוללה in 1QS IV, 19 is often used in the context of individuals being influenced by anthropological dispositions (1QHᵃ VI, 22, XVII, 19; CD III, 17, VIII, XIX, 17).[149]

Reasons for a demonic reading of this text are varied. Firstly, the phrase התגוללה found in the context of 1QS IV, 19 is also used in 4Q177, 1-4, 10 in reference to Belial and his evil spirits.[150] Secondly, 4Q444 2 I, 4 mentions "ba]stards and the spirit of uncleanness" (מ[מזרים ורוח הטמאה) in a list of demonic beings, suggesting that their interpretation of Zech 13:2 had a demonic meaning.[151] Thirdly, *Plea for Deliverance* XIX, 15 mentions the "spirit of impurity" parallel to Satan, suggesting a demonic interpretation.[152] Fourthly, *T Ben.* 5:2 notes that if one does "what is good" then "even the unclean spirits (ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα) will flee from you and wild animals will fear you."[153] Fifthly, the phrases רוח נדה and רוּחַ הַטֻּמְאָה while likely

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[147] God may be understood as cleansing the land of impurity. Magnar Kartveit, "Sach 13, 2–6: Das Ende der Prophetie—Aber Welcher?" in *Text and Theology*, ed. A. Tängberg (Oslo: Verbum, 1994), 143–156.

[148] Wilhelm Nowack, *Die Kleinen Propheten*, HKAT 3.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1923), 395. Hinckley G. Mitchell, John Merlin Powis Srnith and Julius A. Bewer, eds. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Maleachi, and Jonah,* ICC (Edinburgh: Clark, 1912), 337. Karl Eiliger, *Das Buch der Zwölf Kleinen Propheten: Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi*, ATD 25 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982), 2:173. Henning Graf Reventlow, *Die Propheten Haggai, Sacharja und Maleachi: Übersetzt und erklärt*, ATD 25.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1993), 119. CE. Frank Lothar Hossfeld and lvo Meyer, *Prophet gegen Prophet*, BibB 9 (Fribourg: Schweizerisches Kath. Bibelwerk, 1973), 158.

[149] Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 209–210.

[150] Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 209–210 n. 73;

[151] Esther Chazon, "4Qlncantation," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Tests, Part 2,* eds. E. G. Chazon, et al., DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 369; Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 256–257; Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," 431–433.

[152] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish Apotropaic Prayers," 205; Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 169–170.

[153] On the date and provenance of this text, see Harm W. Hallander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*, SVTP 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 82–85; Jürgen Becker, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Testamente der Zwölf Patriarchen*, AGJU 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 373–406.

semantically synonymous do not necessarily mean that the author had Zech 13:2 in mind. The presence of the verb נָזָה in 1QS IV, 21 calls to mind various instructions given to Moses and the priesthood related to purity laws (Exod 29:21, Lev 4:6, 6:20, 16:14, Num 8:7, 19:21).[154] Lastly, a demonic understanding of the "unclean spirit" may be present due to its connection with idolatry[155] and false prophets[156] (1 Kgs 22:19-23, 1 Cor 10:20-21, 1 Tim 4:1, *1 En.* 19:1, 99:7).[157]

I have classified this work as an anti-peccable exorcistic/apotropaic teaching. The removal of any kind of spirit from a human being could be classified as exorcistic according to the criteria I have established earlier. This exorcism takes place at a time in the future and the major concern is cleansing the human being of his capacity to sin. The anti-peccable nature of this exorcism is in the form of apotropaism. Once purified from the spirits, God takes measures to give the sectarian a new spiritual disposition in which the possibility of human disobedience is completely eradicated (1QS IV, 23). Since this is describing a future scenario, this should not be understood as a ritual *per se,* but simply a teaching on God's eschatological purification that generally aligns with the known purposes of other exorcistic and apotropaic texts. This text shares a number of common themes among exorcistic and apotropaic texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls and ought to be considered when attempting to synthesize how apotropaism works.

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[154] Dupont-Sommer, "L'instruction," 33.

[155] Friedrich Hauck, ἀκάθαρτος, ἀκαθαρσία," *TWNT* 3, ed. G. Kittel (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938), 430–432.

[156] For the uncleanness of the prophets, see Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Zechariah 9-14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary,* AB 25c (New York: Doubleday, 1993), 372; Paul L. Redditt, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, NCB (London: MarshalI Pickering, 1995), 134.

[157] Harold L. Ginsberg, "The Oldest Record of Hysteria with Physical Stigmata, Zech 13:2-6," in *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel* E. *Loewenstamm*, eds. Y. Avishur and J. Blau (Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein, 1978), 23–27.

2.1.5 Conclusion

Of the four passages from 1QS analyzed above, two (I, 16-19; II, 1-4) demonstrate definitive apotropaic qualities. The other two (II, 5-10; IV, 20-23) may be viewed within the wider context of apotropaism at Qumran. 1QS I, 16-19 is best understood as anti-demonic, while 1QS II, 1-4 and 1QS IV, 20-23 are anti-peccable. 1QS II, 5-10, if indeed apotropaic, is only protective insofar as human adversaries are concerned and not ethical or demonic evil. The anti-demonic and anti-peccable nature of these passages highlights a symbiotic concern for obedience in the community. Members can become free from demonic temptation through their initiation to the community, but they must also be steadfast in repelling ethical evil so that they might not lapse in moral judgement and thus be a target of evil spirits again. This circular process is part of the reason, I argue elsewhere, why *both* forms of apotropaism (anti-demonic and anti-peccable) are necessary to make sense of sin in the lives of Second Temple Jews. In the Community Rule, apotropaism is designated specifically as a side effect of becoming a member of the community and partaking in those rituals that initiate or reaffirm the status of membership. While the rituals themselves may have been thought to add to the apotropaic efficacy of this membership, the central point is actually joining into God's new covenant with the community. This step of obedience to obey God's law is what activates apotropaism in the life of the sectarian.

2.2 Rule of the Blessings (1QSb) I, 1-8[158]

This work was contained on the same scroll as 1QS and 1QSa and the copy dates between 100 and 75 BCE.[159] The blessings have been divided differently by scholars. Milik

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[158] Transcriptions and translations from James H. Charlesworth and Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Blessings (1QSb)" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 122–123.

originally identified four blessings: 1) Blessing of the Faithful (I, 1-18), 2) Blessing of the High Priest (I, 19-III, 19), 3) Blessing of the Zadokite Priests (III, 20-V, 17), and 4) Blessing of the Royal Messiah (IV, 18 – lost).[160] The blessings are, with the exception of 1QSb V, 18ff, heavily influenced by the Aaronic Blessing.[161] 1QSb has commonly been interpreted as a set of instructions for blessings during the end of the eschatological era.[162] The lack of curses suggests that the wicked have been judged already, however this is not certain.[163] Despite the eschatological setting, this work still contains an apotropaic petition in the form of a blessing spoken by the Maskil over the community.

1 דברי ברכֹ[ה] למשכיל לברך את ירא[י אל עושי] רֹצֹוֹנֹ[שֹוֹמֹרי מצו'תיו
2 ומחזקי בבֹ[רי]תֹ קודשו והולכים תמים [בכול דרכי אמ]תֹוֹ ויבחר בם לברית
3 עֹולם אֹ[שר ת]עֹמוד לעד יב{רככה}ירכה אֹ[דוני ממעון קודשו ואת] מֹקור עֹ[ו]לֹםֹ
4 אשר ל[וא יכז]בֹ יפתח לכה מן השמֹ[ים ...]◌̊[...]
5 בידכה [... ויחו]ננכה בכול ברכֹ[ות שמים ויוריכ]ה בדעת קדושֹ[ים]
6 [ ]◌[... מקוֹ]רֹ עולם ולוא יֹ[עצור מים חיים ל]צֹמאים ואתה תֹ[היה]
7 [... יפ]לטכה מכול [...]שֹנאתה אין שֹ[ארית]
8 [...]ל שטן [... ק]ֹודש ירֹ[...]

1 Words of blessi[ng] for the Master, to bless [those] who fear [God, do] his will, and keep his ordinances
2 and are sustained by his Holy S[pirit] and walk perfectly [...]°°, and he chose them for the eternal covenant
3 w[hich s]hall remain unchanged forever. May the L[ord] bless you [...] an eter[na]l source
4 which [does] n[ot li]e. May he open to you the hea[vens ...] ° [...]
5 in your hand [...] 'kh in all blessin[gs...] h in the Congregation of the holy [ones]
6 [...]r eternal. And he shall not y[...] those who enter, and you ° [...]
7 [...may he de]liver you from all [...] you hate. There is no š̌ [...]
8 [...]l an adversary [...h]oly. May he d[...]

[159] Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Blessings (1QSb)," 121.
[160] Harmut Stegemann, "Some Remarks to "1QSa," to "1QSb," and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 14.1/4 (1996): 496, gives a summary of the different numbering of blessings. See also Martin G. Abegg, Jr. "1QSb and the Elusive High Priest," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, eds. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields, VTSup 94 (Leiden: Brill, 2003) 5–8.
[161] Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," 500.
[162] J.T. Milik, "Recueil des Bénédictions," in *Qumran Cave I*, eds. D. Barthélemy, et al., DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 121–122; Esther Chazon, "Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers," in *EDDS*, 2:712
[163] Charlesworth and Stuckenbruck, "Blessings (1QSb)," 119.

This blessing is spoken over the elect by the Maskil and petitions God to "de]liver you from all […] you hate" (יפ]לטכה מכול [...] שׂנאתה; line 7). The missing portion of this line requires careful consideration. It is clear that elsewhere in 1QSb that evil has not yet been fully eradicated. For example, the Maskil is to bless the Prince of the Congregation (V, 20) so that he might "devastate the land" (תחריב ארץ; V, 24) and "kill the wicked" (תמית רשע; V, 25). Line 8 preserves the mention of "an adversary" (שטן). It is difficult to consider this a reference to a personal name for a head demonic being, especially since the Serekh texts prefer using the name Belial. It is possible, however, that the beginning of line 8 preserved כו]ל שטן ("every satan").[164] שטן is used quite sparingly in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The phrase כול שטן is found in 4QAramaic Levi[b] 1 I, 17 and 1QH[a] XXII, 25, which seem to be in demonological contexts (comp. 1QH[a] XXIV, 23).[165]

Line 7 contains the remains of the negative particle אין with the remaining letter שׂ, possibly for שׂ]ארית. The petition may be stating that there is no remnant left of any adversary (whether human or demonic). Alternatively, we may reconstruct אין שׂ]טן ("there is no satan"; cf. 4Q511 1 6). If such a reconstruction of the text is correct, two interpretations of the data are possible: Firstly, this petition may simply be asking for generic protection from (perhaps ethical) evil, which the sectarian hates. The mention of שטן would therefore be referring to a human enemy that the Prince of the Congregation will later destroy. It is also possible that שטן here refers to a generic class of evil spirits that the Maskil attempts to protect them from via his blessing. Returning to line 7, any number of combination of words might fit within the missing space. One way of reconstructing this line would be to read: יפ]לטכה מכול [רע ומכול פשע אשר]

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[164] García Martínez, *DSSSE*, 1:104.
[165] 11Q5 XIX, 15 lists שטן in parallel with "evil spirit" (ורוח טמאה). שטן does appear as a human adversary in 4Q504 1-2 IV, 12-13 (ואין שטן ופגן]ר[עׁ רע) and possibly 2Q20 12 (ואין שטן ואין כול רעה [כול י]מׁי חיי יוסף]), though this latter reference may be to a demonic being such as Mastema (who is called Satan in *Jubilees*).

שׂנאתה ("may he de]liver you from everything [evil and every transgression which] you hate").
The words ומכול טמאה or ומכול שטן could just as easily be supplied. The subject of the verb שׂנאתה
must be individual sectarians.[166] Having been chosen by God and now entering the
eschatological age, the petition is asking God to protect the community members from evil,
emphasized by the fact that they hate it and have presumably received a new spiritual disposition
towards holiness (1QSb I, 2).

2.2.1 Conclusion

I have classified this text as an anti-peccable/anti-demonic apotropaic blessing. This
blessing can be designated as apotropaic on the basis of the verb יפ]לטכה, but whether it is anti-
demonic is unclear. That God is delivering humans from something they hate, presumably sin,
suggests that this work is anti-peccable in nature. The presence of the word שטן possibly twice in
this blessing could refer to a generic class of evil spirits or to wicked human beings. Petitioning
God to deliver someone from שטן, however, is known from other apotropaic works at Qumran,
where petitions for protection against a human שטן are lacking. For these reasons, an anti-
demonic petition is plausible. Like the apotropaic rituals found in 1QS, community membership
is central to this ritual. The leader is meant to bless those who fear God, another way of saying
they are obedient to God and the rules of the community.

2.3 Damascus Document (CD)[167]

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[166] The second person singular is used throughout 1QSb I, 1–8 in reference to the community.
[167] In addition to Solomon Schechter's edition, many other transcriptions and translations have been offered. These
include S. Zeitlin, *The Zadokite Fragments: Facsimile of the Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection in the
Possession of the University Library*, JQRMS 1 (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1952); Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite
Documents*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958); Joseph Baumgarten and Daniel Schwartz, "Damascus Document
(CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, eds. James

The Damascus Document is a sectarian work first discovered in a storeroom of the Qara'ite synagogue in Old Cairo. Two manuscripts of CD were found there, labelled as CD A and CD B. The text consists of two major sections commonly referred to as "exhortations/admonitions" (1-8; 19-20) and "laws" (9-16). CD was originally known to scholars before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, when Solomon Schechter published the two manuscripts in 1910 under the title *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, based on the recurring phrase "sons of Zadok" in the text.[168] Since that time, fragments of CD have been found at Qumran (4Q266-4Q273; 5Q12; 6Q15). The earliest manuscript, 4QD[a] (4Q266), dates to around the first half of or the middle of the first century BCE.[169] The Damascus Document contains at least two references to demonic activity and methods by which to deal with those activities.[170]

Charlesworth, et al. (Louisville.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 2:4–79; Elisha Qimron "The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, ed. Magen Broshi (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 9–49. Translations from Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE.*

[168] Solomon Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work: An English Translation, Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910).

[169] Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, CQS 1 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 21; J.M. Baumgarten et al., *Qumran Cave 4. XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)*, DJD 18 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 26; George J. Brooke, "The Messiah of Aaron in the Damascus Document," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 215–30 dates it to the end of the first century. The Damascus Document probably reflects the history of, and a series of rules for, a group of sectarians who did not live isolated from society like those at Qumran. The main reasons for accepting this interpretation are as follows: 1) Unlike 1QS, CD VII, 5–10 records laws pertaining to women and children; 2) Instead of dismissing cultic activities in Jerusalem, CD VI, 11–16 contains laws dealing with person's interaction with the Temple; 3) CD XI, 14-15 prescribes the proper protocols for interacting with Gentiles; 4) The laws given in CD are for "the new covenant in the Land of Damascus" (CD VI, 19, VIII, 21, XIX, 33–34), suggesting a spatial difference from what is found in 1QS; 5) Josephus refers to "another order of Essenes, who agree with the rest as to their way of living, and customs, and laws, but differ from them in the point of marriage," (*JW* 2.160) which may explain the differences found between 1QS and CD. See John J. Collins, "Beyond the Qumran Community: Social Organization in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 16 (2009): 351–369; Gudrun Holtz, "Inclusivism at Qumran," *DSD* 16 (2009): 22–54; Charlotte Hempel, "Pluralism and Authoritativeness: The Case of the S Tradition," in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Mladen Popović, SJSJ 141 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 193–208; Hilary Evans Kapfer, "The Relationship Between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: Attitudes Toward the Temple as a Test Case," *DSD* 14 (2007): 152–177; Menahem Kister, "The Development of the Early Recensions of the Damascus Document," *DSD* 14 (2007): 61–76.

[170] Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity*, WUNT 157, eds. Jorg Frey, Martin Hengel, and Otrfried Hofius (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 68 n. 91 suggests that CD XIII, 10 may have some exorcistic or apotropaic quality, though the content seems to be a more metaphorical healing than physical.

2.3.1 CD XII, 2-6

2 Vacat כל א׳׳ש אשר ימשלו בו רוחות בליעל
3 ודבר סרה כמשפט האוב והידעוני ישפט וכל אשר יתעה
4 לחלל את השבת ואת המועדות לא יומת כי על בני האדם
5 משמרו ואם ירפא ממנה ושמרוהו עד שבע שנים ואחר
6 יבוא אל הקהל vacat

2 Every /man/ over whom the spirits of Belial dominate,
3 and who preaches apostasy, will be judged according to the regulation of the necromancer or the diviner. But everyone who goes astray,
4 defiling the sabbath and the festivals, shall not be executed, for it is the task of men
5 to guard him; and if he is cured of it, they shall guard him for seven years and afterwards
6 he may enter the assembly.

Belial's spirits are malevolent external beings that try to tempt members of the community into sin and apostasy.[171] Geza Vermes[172] among others have suggested that this instruction is related to demonic possession.[173] Someone who has been dominated (ימשלו) by Belial's spirits and preaches apostasy must be put to death according to the laws given in Lev 20:27 regarding a necromancer or diviner.[174]

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[171] Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition, and Redaction*, STDJ 29 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 158–159: Hempel has argued that this passage is a later interpolation added to the manuscript tradition. This argument is based primarily on 1) the idea that the author wanted to promote certain teachings from *Jub.* 1:20 and 10:12–13 and 2) that evil spirits play a minimal role elsewhere in the Damascus Document.
Brand, *Evil Within,* 227: Brand disagrees with Hempel, however, citing CD IV, 12–19 and V, 20–VI, 2 as examples of demonic influence and noting that the author utilizes Belial instead of Mastema as the archenemy, which would not be expected if *Jubilees* was an influence for the supposed interpolator.

[172] Géza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 7th rev. ed. (London: Penguin Books), 38; Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles,* 198.

[173] On the difference between demonic "possession" and demonic "affliction," see J.P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus,* 5 vols. (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 2:589; Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context*, 327.

[174] Brand, *Evil Within,* 227: has suggested that by "preaching apostasy," it is probably meant that the individual is speaking out against the leaders of the sect. Her argument is based on the identical phrase דבר סרה appearing in CD V, 2–VI, 1 alongside mention of Moses. However, Moses is *not* the direct object of the apostasy, but rather the apostasy is "against God's precepts" (על מצות אל) which is delivered *through* Moses and the "holy anointed ones" (במשיחו הקודש). Brand (*Evil Within,* 227) also cites 4Q270 2 II, 13–14 as evidence that preaching apostasy is directed towards sectarian leadership, however this passage requires reconstruction in order to include the word דבר (see also the comments of Baumgarten, "4QDamascus Document^e,"; Hempel, *Laws,* 157–158.) Brand further uses Hempel's parallel between this law in CD and Deut 13:6 as evidence for her position, yet the phrase דבר סרה in Deut 13:6 is directed towards apostasy against God and his laws, not Israelite leadership. Additionally, דבר סרה appears also in Jer 29:32 and Isa 59:13, again referring to rebellion against God (Brand, *Evil Within,* 227; Hempel, *Laws,* 157–158.) If the reconstruction in 4Q270 is correct, that would make it the only example where דבר סרה is used to denote apostasy against sectarian leadership. Thus, it is far more likely that "preaching apostasy" in this context connotes rebellion against God and his laws.

It is unclear why the author chose the laws regarding occult acts as the premise of the judgement, though the connection between necromancy, divination, and evil spirits provides a logical link. Curiously, a person dominated by the same spirits who does not preach apostasy, but simply disobeys certain calendrical statutes, is not to be executed. One would think that the proscription for breaking the Sabbath found in Exod 31:15 would apply.[175] There are a number of possible reasons why this legal interpretation might have been put in place.

Firstly, perhaps in the minds of community members, the spirit-possessed person's mental faculties were viewed as compromised in such a way so as to not be able to follow specific calendrical expectations. As a result, the community was more lenient[176] to the possessed individual and did not hold him in contempt of *intentionally* disobeying the law.[177]

Secondly, regardless of whether the spirit-possessed person who preaches apostasy is in his right mind or not, punishment for attempting to pull away covenant members from following God must be enacted in order to protect other sectarians. According to this interpretation, the

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[175] It is possible that this is a case of the individual proposing a different calendrical calculation than that of the community. See Brand, *Evil Within,* 228; Hempel, *Laws,* 158; Baumgarten, "Damascus Document (CD)," 51 n. 182; idem, "Halakhic Polemics in New Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings from the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984,* eds. A.S. Van Der Woude and H.E. Gaylord (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Scoeity, 1985), 395–396.

[176] Lenient judgments based on intent are a typical occurrence in later Jewish legal disputes. According to Schwartz, in cultic or religious violations, the concept of intention is used in order to determine the appropriate punishment for the violator. In civil violations, however, the concept of intention is not invoked and restitution of the victim is strictly enforced by the Rabbis. When violations are made against the cultic system or God, intention is used as a measuring tool for punishment with the possibility of lenient outcomes (usually in the form of a sin offering). Schwartz calls this cultic judgement *telos*. The reason for this contrast is that civil violations hurt human beings in such a way that they are quantifiable and, as a result, are able to be calculated and paid back in a monetary or physical fashion. Cultic and religious sins, on the other hand, are incalculable and rely not on 'what' a person has done necessarily, but 'why' they have done it, forcing the Rabbis to inquire the nature of intention within their judgements (e.g., M. Yom. 8:9). Schwartz notes that the language utilized within the Mishnah portray this consciousness, where the term "transgress" is used when sins are committed against God, and "damages" (assuming property) when used of civil violations. Howard Eilberg-Schwartz, *The Human Will in Judaism: The Mishnah's Philosophy of Intention* (Decatur, GA: Scholars Press, 1986), 13–46.

[177] Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener,* 2:56 n. 314; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Halakah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 78; T.H. Gaster, *The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect in English Translation* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1957), 88; H. Bietenhard, "Sabbatvorschriften von Qumran im Lichte des rabbinschen Rechts und der Evangelien," in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9 bis 14 Oktober 1961*, ed. H. Bardtke, SSA 42 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 56–57.

possessed individual's vocal cords may presumably be the means by which the spirit communicates their apostatizing utterances (comp. Mark 1:21-28, 5:1-20, 9:14-29; Acts 16:16-18, 19:13-17; *Vit. Apoll.* 3.38).[178]

Thirdly, the possessed person is judged as if he were a false prophet in accordance with Deut 13:1-5. According to 4Q375, any prophet who "rises up to preach [apostasy] to you [to make] you [tu]rn from God shall die" (I, 4-5). However, 4Q375 I, 5-II, 9, gives a legal ruling for the hypothetical case of a prophet who is accused of preaching apostasy and is then defended by his community. This requires a judicial case in which a sacrifice must be made and the truth revealed to a priest in order to judge accordingly. Since such special cases existed, this may help explain why different criteria are given for the spirit-possessed person's activities.[179]

Lastly, part of the reason why the possessed person is not to be executed for breaking calendrical celebrations is because it is the "task of men to guard him" (כי על בני האדם משמרו). The men mentioned may refer to general sectarian members or high-ranking officials. Because the spirit-possessed person is being controlled by outward forces, it is the task of the men of the community to make sure that he does his best to continue obeying the law. Failure of the possessed person to do so may be a reflection on the men of the community more than the possessed individual.

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[178] Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles,* 328–329.

[179] John Strugnell, "375. 4QApocryphon of Moses^a," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2,* eds. M. Broshi, et al., DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 1999; idem, "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. L.H. Schiffman, JSPS 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 221–256; Gershon Brin, "The Laws of the Prophets in the Sect of the Judaean Desert: Studies in 4Q375," JSP 10 (1992): 27–38; Liora Goldman, "The Qumran Apocryphon of Moses (4Q375, 4Q376, 1Q29, 4Q408): General Introduction," in *Scripture and Interpretation: Qumran Texts that Rework the Bible*, ed. Devorah Dimant; BZAW 449 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 265–266.

CD XII, 5 states that the spirit-possessed person may be cured (ירפא) of his affliction. Brand interprets this to mean that the sectarian "realizes the error of his ways."[180] Although she does not explicitly state it, she is drawing on the more metaphorical meaning of רפא found in such passages as Isa 6:10, 57:18 and Ps 45:1. This interpretation need not exclude a demonic element. During the time of his possession, the member was prohibited from certain sectarian rituals and activities. His subsequent healing allows for him to be reintegrated into the "assembly" under the condition that he is first watched for seven years for other lapses in moral judgement or spiritual affliction. That the person must be cured "from it" (ממנה), that is the state of being dominated by Belial's spirits, gives further evidence that he is suffering from some kind of spirit-possession and not simply moral corruption. Whether exorcism rituals were employed by the sect in order to alleviate or heal the individual is never stated.[181] Additionally, that he must be watched for seven years suggests that warding away evil spirits would be part of helping rehabilitate the individual.

2.3.2 CD XVI, 4-6

4 וביום אשר יקום (יקים) האיש על נפשו לשוב

5 אל תורת משה יסור מלאך המשטמה מאחריו אם יקים את דבריו

6 על כן נימול {ב} אברהם ביום דעתו

4 And on the day on which one has imposed upon himself to return
5 to the law of Moses, the angel Mastema will turn aside from following him, should he keep his words.
6 This is why Abraham circumcised himself on the day of his knowledge

This passage from the Damascus Document preserves an apotropaic function of Torah observance similar to that of 1QS I, 16-19. The sectarian is encouraged to "return to the law of Moses" because it contains the essential components of living according to God's covenant (CD

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[180] Brand, *Evil Within,* 228.
[181] Larry P. Hogan, *Healing in the Second Temple Period*, NTOA 21 (Universitatsverlag Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 139: "It may have been one of the functions of the overseer of the community to heal and/or exorcise a person whose sickness was demonstrated by his violation of the sabbath (or by any other violation)."

XVI, 2).[182] Obedience to the law of Moses and the apotropaic effect it enacts on the angel Mastema is predicated on two points: 1) the "blindness of Israel" (CD XVI, 2-3) and 2) Abraham's circumcision "on the day of his knowledge" (CD XVI, 6). Both of these ideas come from "The book of the divisions of the periods according to their jubilees and their weeks," a name given to the pseudepigraphal book of *Jubilees* (CD XVI, 3-4).

Mastema is best identified as the name of an evil spirit, mentioned in *Jubilees.* The "blindness of Israel" probably refers generically to a number of instances in which Mastema was responsible for Israel's disobedience.[183] Mastema is recorded in *Jubilees* as doing the following:

1) causing "corruption" among Noah's grandchildren (*Jub.* 10:5),

2) instigating idol worship and war (*Jub.* 11:4-6),

3) testing Abraham (*Jub.* 17:15-18),

4) ruling over and removing people from following God (*Jub.* 19:28),

5) attempting to kill Moses (*Jub.* 48:1-4),

6) trying to make Israel "fall into the hand of Pharaoh" and

7) aiding Pharaoh's magicians (*Jub.* 48:9).

Several connections between the activities of Mastema in *Jubilees* and two other works from Qumran, 4Q387a and 4Q390, may also illuminate the author's meaning. The name Mastema derives from the Hebrew word for "hostility" (משטמה). A plural form, מלאכי המשטמות, can be found in contexts of judgement upon Israel for disobedience.[184] According to 4Q387a 3 III, 3-5 God will destroy part of humanity and abandon the land into the "hand of the angels of

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[182] Brand, *Evil Within,* 187.
[183] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1,* 380-381 offers a number of parallels to this concept of Israel's blindness in his short excursus.
[184] Brand, *Evil Within,* 229–231.

enmity (מלאכי המשטמות)."[185] Additionally, as a consequence for their disobedience, God declares he will hide his "face] [from Is]rael." Similarly, 4Q390 1 11 describes a period of disobedience committed by Israel in which God judges them by stating "over them will rule the angels of destruction (מלאכי המשטמות) and […] and [t]he[y] will come back [and] do […] evil before [my] eye[s] and walk according to the stub[bornness of their heart …]." Later in 4Q390 2 I, 6-8 God again says he will "deliver them [to the hands of the an]gels of destruction (מל[אכי המשטמות) and they will rule over them." An important connection between the passage in CD and this judgement is that God states that, as a result of the angels of destruction's activities, "they will not know and will not understand that I am enraged towards them for their disloyalty [with which they will des]ert me and do what is evil in my eyes." The Israelites' inability to understand due to the angels of destruction corresponds to the "blindness of Israel" in CD XVI. This lack of knowledge is contrasted with the knowledge given to Abraham who, by knowledge, obeys the law of circumcision.[186] Since Mastema turns aside from following him under the condition of perpetual obedience, this instruction can be labeled as anti-demonic and apotropaic.

Apotropaism and Torah obedience are further connected with Abraham's circumcision.[187] *Jub.* 17:15-18 mentions Abraham's circumcision among a number of tests Mastema conducts on

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[185] See Devorah Dimant, "Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture*, eds. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 253.

[186] Circumcision, in the mind of the author of *Jubilees*, is directly connected with heavenly knowledge and the nature of angels. That the angels are understood to also be circumcised suggests that by undergoing circumcision one becomes *like* the angels, although the exact corresponding attributes are never directly stated. According to *Jub.*15:30-32, God "caused spirits to rule" over Ishamel and Esau and their children to "lead them astray" because he did not choose them. In contrast to this, God is said to have not caused "any angel or spirit to rule" over Israel because "he alone is their ruler and will protect them" by means of his "angels" and "spirits." To be part of the covenant is to be circumcised, which was not offered to Ishmael or Esau. As a result, evil spirits have free reign over their lives. Thus, Israel's apotropaic protection stems from the knowledge given to Abraham concerning circumcision which is the only means by which one can enter the covenant and gain safety.

[187] David Flusser, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Sages and Literature*, trans. Azzan Yadin, 2 vols. (Jersualem: Hebrew University, 2009), 2:192, n.6; Shaye J.D. Cohen, *Why aren't Jewish Women Circumcised? Gender and Covenant in Judaism* (California: University Press, 2005), 16–18, 29–30, 53, 229–233.

Abraham. The author, however, surely has *Jub.* 15:32-34 in mind.[188] This passage states that God will "protect," "guard," and "bless" faithful Israelites who circumcise their children by means of his "angels," "spirits," and "authorities." Israelites who "deny this ordinance" are labeled as "sons of Beliar." While the author of CD does not mention it directly, the circumcision of Gershom, Moses's son, in Exod 4:24 may have played a role in informing his thoughts. In a strange passage that seems to break the flow of the narrative, God is said to try to kill Moses during his journey back to Egypt. In a desperate act, his wife Zipporah takes a flint and cuts off Gershom's foreskin. God responds positively and leaves him alone. According to *Jub.* 48:2, it was not God who sought Moses's life, but actually the angel Mastema. Although the narrative is not retold in *Jubilees*, the act of circumcision warding off spirits may have influenced the author of CD in his reasoning.[189]

2.3.3 Conclusion

CD XII, 2-6 should be primarily viewed as an example of spirit-possession and the procedure of how to deal with such phenomena among community members. The method by which a community member is cured of the affliction is never stated, though this seems to

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[188] See Menahem Kister, "Demons, Theology and Abraham's Covenant (CD 16:4-6 and Related Texts)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Procedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings*, eds. Robert A. Kugler and Eileen M. Schuller (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997): 167–184; Brand, *Evil Within,* 187.

[189] This passage has had a long interpretive history that cannot be covered here. See, however: Ronald B. Allen, "The 'Bloody Bridegroom' in Exodus 4:24–26," *BSac* 153 (1996): 259–269; G. W. Ashby, "The Bloody Bridegroom: The Interpretation of Exodus 4:24–26," *ExpTim* 106.7 (1995): 203–205; William Dumbrell, "Exodus 4:24–26: A Textual Re-Examination," *HTR* 2 (1972): 285–290; Serge Frolov, "The Hero as Bloody Bridegroom: On the Meaning and Origin of Exodus 4,26," *Biblica* 77.4 (1996): 520–523; Athena E. Gorospe, *Narrative and Identity: An Ethical Reading of Exodus 4* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Christopher B. Hays, "'Lest Ye Perish in the Way': Ritual and Kinship in Exodus 4:24–26," *HS* 48 (2007): 39–54; C. Houtman, "Exodus 4:24–26 and Its Interpretation," *JNSL* 11 (1983): 81–105; Adam J. Howell, "The Firstborn Son of Moses as the 'Relative of Blood' in Exodus 4.24–26," *JSOT* 35.1 (2010): 63–76; Hans Kosmala, "Bloody Husband," *VT* 12. 1 (1962): 14–28; Seth D. Kunin, "The Bridegroom of Blood: A Structuralist Analysis," *JSOT* 21.70 (1996): 3–16; Julian Morgenstern, "The 'Bloody Husband' (?) (Exod 4:24–26) Once Again," *HUCA* 34 (1963): 35–70; William H. C. Propp, "That Bloody Bridegroom (Exodus IV 24–6)," *VT* 43.4 (1993): 495–518; Bernard P. Robinson, "Zipporah to the Rescue: A Contextual Study of Exodus 4:24–6," *VT* 36.4 (1986): 447–461.

envision some manner of exorcism. It is reasonable, however, to assume that during the seven years that the demoniac is watched by the men of the community, certain apotropaic rituals were conducted to ward off another attack.

CD XVI, 4-6 is most certainly apotropaic. Protection is allotted based on joining God's covenant and obeying him. Perpetual obedience beyond this initial covenant agreement is necessary to continue the efficaciousness of this apotropaic promise. The fact that a human being is to "return" (לשוב) to the law of Moses indicates either that 1) disobedient sectarian members are under the influence of Mastema, or 2) that non-members are the victim and that entrance into the community is what will allow them to be freed of Mastema's control. Both of these meanings may be intended. Disobedience to the law of Moses allows Mastema to have dominion over the life of the sectarian with which the only remedy is to "resolve" (יקום) to (re)commit to the law of Moses. This "return" may have involved some (re)initiation ritual or simply a resolve of heart, but in either case it is certainly apotropaic. In addition to obedience, knowledge is a mechanic of this apotropaic instruction. The author gives the example of Abraham and his victory over Mastema by linking the individual's commitment to the sect with Abraham's knowledge of God's laws. That Abraham's knowledge of the law and the sectarian's commitment to obey are primarily focused on repelling Mastema can be seen in the author's choice of על כן ("this is why") in line 6. Thus, CD's apotropaic measures are in line with those previous established in 1QS and 1QSb.

2.4 4QMMTe 14-17 II, 1-8 (= Composite Text 4QMMT C 25-32)[190]

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[190] Transcriptions and translations from Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqṣat maʿaśe ha-Torah*, DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 62–63.

4QMMT consists of six overlapping manuscripts (4Q394-4Q399) that contain the remains of what Qimron and Strugnell initially dubbed a letter (either an "epistle" or a "treatise").[191] This work has typically been divided into three sections, from which a composite text and numbering system has been developed: A) "Calendar," B) "Halakot," and C) "Homiletic-Paraenetic Section."[192] The earliest manuscript (4Q395) dates from the late Hasmonean or early Herodian period, while the latest (4Q399) dates to the middle or late Herodian period. The manuscripts of this work, therefore, date from between 75 BCE and 50 CE.[193] For the purposes of this analysis, one key section concerns us. It is not itself an apotropaic prayer, but rather a request to the recipient of the letter for them to ask God for apotropaic protection.[194]

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25 [נשו]אֹי עוֹנֹות   זכור [את] דוֹיֹד שהיא איש חסדים [ו]אֹף

26 הֹיֹא [נ]צֹל מצֹרות רבות ונסלוח לוֹ   ואף אנחנו כתבנו אֹליֹך

27 מקצת מעשי התורה שחשבנו לטוב לך ולעמך שרֹ[א]יֹנֹו

28 עמך ערמה ומדע תורה   הבן בכל אלה ובקש מלפנו שיֹתֹקֹן

29 את עצתך והרחיק ממך מחשב(ו)ת רעה ועצֹת בליֹעֹל

30 בשל שתשמח באחרית העת במצאך מקצֹת דברינו כֹן

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[191] Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10, 113–114.

[192] Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10, 1, also identify an opening formula.

[193] W.M. Rietz, E. Qimron, and J.H. Charlesworth, "Some Works of the Torah: 4Q394-4Q399 (=4QMMT[a-f]) and 4Q313" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Damascus Document II, Some Works of the Torah, and Related Documents*, The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 3:187. The work does not exhibit the usual sectarian terminology associated with the community at Qumran. Due to similarities between 4QMMT and other works found at Qumran (Damascus Document, Temple Scroll, and 4QFlorilegium), however, this difference "could perhaps be explained by postulating that MMT was one of the earliest works composed at Qumran, written before the sect developed or adopted biblicising jargon." This work has sometimes been interpreted as a letter sent by the Teacher of Righteousness to the Wicked Priest in Jerusalem, which might place the work prior to the Wicked Priest's attack on the Teacher (cf. 4Q171 1–10 IV, 7). Additionally, parallels have been noted between 1QS VIII, 12-14, CD VIII, 16, XIX, 29, and 4QMMT C 7–8, which speak about the sect separating themselves from the wider Jewish community. Its preservation and continued copying at Qumran suggest that this was an important document for the community that allowed them to differentiate themselves from other forms of Judaism by their particular halakah. For the purposes of this analysis, one key section concerns us. See Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10, 108, 119–120; Rietz, Qimron, and Charlesworth, "Some Works of the Torah: 4Q394–4Q399 (=4QMMT[a-f]) and 4Q313," 188–190.

[194] Hanne Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue,* STDJ 82 (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 104, 200, 203, 213: Weissenberg studies the epilogue of 4QMMT, in which the passage under consideration is located. Yet, despite this, no mention of any apotropaic elements are noted, nor is the role of Belial discussed. Belial is mentioned only four times by Von Weissenberg, two of which are in translations of the text itself.

31 ונחשבה לך לצדקה בעשותך הישר והטוב לפנו לטוב לך
32 ולישראל

25 whose transgressions were [for]given. Think of David, who was a man of righteous deeds and
26 who was (therefore) delivered from many troubles and was forgiven. We have (indeed) sent you
27 some of the precepts of the Torah according to our decision, for your welfare and the welfare of your people. For we have seen (that)
28 you have wisdom and knowledge of the Law. Consider all these things and ask him that He strengthen
29 your will and remove from you the plans of evil and the device of Belial
30 so that you may rejoice at the end of time, finding that some of our practices are correct.
31 And this will be counted as a virtuous deed of yours, since you will be doing what is righteous and good in His eyes, for your own welfare and
32 for the welfare of Israel

After listing a number of dissimilarities between the halakot of the sender and its recipient, the letter ends with an admonishment to meditate on the content of the letter. The hope is that the reader will see that their current interpretation of the law is incorrect, change their ways, and reap eschatological rewards as a consequence (C 30). In order for this to occur, however, the recipients of the letter are encouraged to petition God to "strengthen" or "make straight" (שׁיּתֹקֵּן) the reader's "will/counsel/plan" (עצתך) so that they might be obedient (C 28-29). C 29 requests God to "remove" (והרחיק) the "plans of evil" (מחשב(ו)ת רעה) and the "device of Belial" (ועצת בליעל). The word עצת can also mean "plan," as can the phrase מחשב(ו)ת רעה which is in parallelism with it.[195] For God to "remove" or "make far" (והרחיק) evil is reminiscent of 4QAramaic Levi[b] 1 I, 12-13 (ארחק...ב[איש), which also asks God to keep "every satan" (כל שטן) away (line 17).

It is difficult to tell whether Belial should be understood as a demon or an adjective.[196] Nowhere else in 4QMMT is Belial mentioned. The human עצת is contrasted with Belial's עצת,

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[195] A similar line of thought can be found in Job 21:16: "The plans of the wicked are repugnant to me" (עֲצַת רְשָׁעִים רָחֲקָה מֶנִּי; cf. Job 22:18).

[196] Reinhard G. Kratz, "Mose und Die Propheten: Zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C," in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, eds. Florentino García Martínez, Annette Steudel, and Eibert Tigchelaar, STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 176: "Belial ist (noch) nicht die endzeitliche Figur, die im endzeitlichen Kampf besiegt werden muß, sondern der Inbegriff des Bösen, hier der bösen Gedanken und Pläne,72 die im täglichen Leben besiegt werden müssen und können, und zwar dank "Mose und der Propheten" in der von 4QMMT gegebenen Auslegung von Gesetz und Geschichte."

which could either be the name of a demon or simply mean "a worthless will."[197] Since, however, the human עצת is pitted against Belial's, it seems that two distinct wills of two distinct entities are in mind. On the one hand, the human עצת that asks God to sustain it, and the עצת of Belial that attempts to subvert it.[198]

According to 4QMMT[e], those who "feared [the To]rah" (את ... התו[רֹה יראֹ[), also referred to as the "see[k]ers of Torah" (מֹבֹק[שי תורה) were "saved from troubles" (מצוֹל[]מצרות; 11-13 7). This deliverance is connected with the curses of the covenant in 4QMMT[e] 11-13 3. Drawing on the "b]ook of Moses" (14-17 I, 2) the writer states that "evi]l[will bef]all you" (וקר]תֹך הרעֹ[ה; 14-17 I, 5), probably if one turns aside from the laws of the covenant (reconstructing שֹֹתֹ[סור מהדרך).[199] Thus, petitioning God to remove the עצֹת בלֹיעל has a built-in apotropaic component insofar as the person who does so is protected from reaping the curses of the covenant. This explanation further demonstrates that in many cases obedience is central to apotropaism. 4QMMT C 25-26 asks the reader to remember how David was "delivered from many troubles" (נ]צל מצֹרות רבות]) and received forgiveness as a result. This analogy is meant to parallel what will occur if the reader petitions God to show them the truth about the law. It is unclear whether the deliverance of David is an analogy for the reader's deliverance from eschatological punishment *or* from the effects of Belial's עצת. If the latter is the case, however, then the forgiveness is linked with the removal of Belial's עצת so that the speaker might be obedient and therefore reap eschatological rewards. Like 1QS IV, 20-23 and CD XVI, 4-6, the removal of the influence of an evil spirit may be necessary for obedience. The letter explicitly states that the recipients have

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[197] Most translators have adopted the proper name Belial; Attridge and Strugnell, DJD 10, 63; Rietz, Qimron, Hume, and Charlesworth, "Some Works of the Torah: 4Q394-4Q399 (=4QMMT[a-f]) and 4Q313," 229; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 2.803.

[198] Compare the construction in Prov 19:21: "The human mind may devise many plans (מַחֲשָׁבוֹת), but it is the purpose (וַעֲצַת) of the LORD that will be established."

[199] See Qimron, Charlesworth, Miller, and Hume, "Some Works of the Torah: 4Q394–4Q399 (=4QMMT[a-f]) and 4Q313," 226, n. 22.

received "some precepts of the Torah" (מקצת מעשי התורה; C 27) for the expressed purpose of "your welfare and the welfare of your people" (לטוב לך ולעמך; C 27). Thus, the apotropaic effect is in part instigated by the study of the scriptures and its interpretation.

2.4.1 Conclusion

I have categorized this text as an anti-demonic/anti-peccable apotropaic instruction. The *cause* of sin is Belial's עצה, thus the primary concern is removing demonic influence so that they may also resist sin. The recipients are instructed to petition God to "remove from you" (והרחיק ממך) the various evils. This does not seem to be a petition for exorcising a spirit, but from causing the spirits to be distant from the human being so that they can properly seek God's will. 4QMMT is a letter attempting to persuade other Jews to seek God's law as it is understood by an alternative sectarian group. Thus, the apotropaic prescription given is meant to facilitate the desire for them to join the community. As we have seen in the previous texts, community membership is key to prolonged and effective apotropaic protection. In this text protection can be given to those seeking the truth on the basis that God will have mercy on them so that they can join the covenant people.

2.5 War Scroll (1QM)[200]

The War Scroll is an eschatological sectarian document preserved most fully in 1QM, but also fragments from cave four (4Q491–4Q496).[201] 1QM is dated between the first century BCE

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[200] Transcriptions from Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (Oxford: OUP, 1962). Translations from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*.

[201] The work shares similar themes and language to another document known as 4QSefer ha-Milhamah, or the "Book of War" (4Q285). The work is not properly an "apocalypse," but rather shares themes with Greco-Roman war and tactical treatises. See Jean Duhaime, "The 'War Scroll' from Qumran and the Greco-Roman Tactical Treatises in Mémorial Jen Carmignac. Éstudes Qumrâniennes," *RevQ* 13.49–52 (1988): 133–51.

and first century CE based on paleography.[202] The War Scroll records a detailed description of the tactics to be carried out by the "sons of light" against the "sons of darkness" during the eschatological war. The war is predicted to last between 33 and 35 years, and details battles against Belial and the rival nations he leads.

2.5.1 1QM IX, 14-17

14 ועל כול מגני המגדלות
15 יכתובו על הראישון מי[כא]ל[על השני גבריאל על השלישי] שריאל על הרביעי רפאל
16 מיכאל וגבריאל לי[מין ושריאל ורפאל לשמאול [*vacat*
17 ○[ ] לארבֿעֿ[... אם]אֿורב ישימ[ו][ל]מערכ]תֿ

14 And on all the shields of the towers
15 they shall write: on the first: "Michael," [on the second: "Gabriel," on the third:] "Sariel," on the fourth: "Raphael";
16 "Michael" and "Gabriel" on [the right, and "Sariel" and "Raphael" on the left …] Vacat
17 […] on the four […] they shall set an ambush against […]

The instruction to write down the names of four angels on the shields of the towers is part of the "Rule for changing the array of the combat battalions" (1QM IX, 10).[203] Unfortunately, the reason for this defensive measure has not been preserved: "To establish the formation against […] a semicircle with towers" (1QM IX, 10). Although evil spirits are not explicitly mentioned in the context of this instruction, I suggest that an anti-demonic function is likely present. Eschatological ideas about protection from evil forces (human *or* demonic) using the names of angels has ties with both anti-demonic measures found in other Second Temple works and the

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[202] Philip R. Davies, "War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2:967.

[203] Peter Schäfer, *The Origins of Jewish Mysticism* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009)*,* 119: "instead of the emblems borne by the Roman soldiers, the holy warriors at Qumran carry no pictorial images but solely the names of four archangels…the fact that their names are inscribed on the shields of the towers used in the final battle not only means that they are present (this is taken for granted), it also indicates that God himself is present in the battle order of the Qumran warriors."

later Aramaic Incantation Bowls and amulets as a means for apotropaism. These parallels will be demonstrated below.

The Qumran Community believed that they communed *with* and were protected *by* angelic forces.[204] The mention of these four angels, however, is significant, as many of them play a role in anti-demonic contexts elsewhere. Gabriel and Michael both appear in the book of Daniel, the first as an interpreter of visions (8:15-27) and the second as a warrior against the "prince of the kingdom of Persia" (וְשַׂר מַלְכוּת פָּרַס; 10:12-13). The prince of Persia is usually interpreted as a title for the patron angel of the nation of Persia, an oppositional malevolent being that attempts to thwart the angel Gabriel's, and by extension God's, plans.[205] The four angels mentioned in 1QM IX, 14-17 appear together in 4Q202 III, 7 where they deliberate about the destruction of the earth by the giants and come before God's throne. They are likewise mentioned alongside four other angels in 1 En. 20:1-7. Raphael is described as an angel who watches over the spirits of humans (*1 En.* 20:4). Sariel (=Saraqa'el)[206] is in charge of the "spirits who sin against the spirit."[207] Michael is set over the best part of humanity, likely a reference to the elect (*1 En*. 20:5). Gabriel is set over paradise, serpents, and cherubim (*1 En*. 20:7).[208] The most popular story involving Raphael is of course from the book of Tobit, in which he helps

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[204] See Daniel Falk, "Prayer, Liturgy, and War" in *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Martin G. Abegg on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday,* eds. Kipp Davis, Dorothy M. Peters, Kyung S. Baek, and Peter W. Flint (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 287 n. 32.

[205] See John J. Collins, *Daniel,* Hermeneia (Fortress Press: Minneaopolis, 1993), 374–375.

[206] On the topic of the complex character of Sariel, see H.J. Polotsky, "Suriel der Trompeter," *Le Muséon* 49 (1936): 231–243; Géza Vermes, "The Archangel Sariel. A Targumic Parallel to the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, ed. J. Neusner (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 159–166.

[207] Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch,* 294, 317: This may be a reference to the souls of blasphemers mentioned in 1 En. 27:2.

[208] Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: a New English Edition with Commentary and Notes*, SVTP 7; (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 163: Gabriel's authority over "the serpents" (τῶν δρακόντων) has been explained by Black as perhaps a reference to Gabriel's authority over the "Seraphim" (סרפים) as in Isa 6:2 or the presence of a שרף in Gen 3:1. He notes, however, that this explanation breaks down since only *one* serpent is mentioned in Genesis. It is worth noting that Jesus gives his disciples "authority" (ἐξουσίαν) to "trample on" (πατεῖν ἐπάνω) "serpents" (ὄφεων) and "scorpions" (σκορπίων) in the context of casting out evil spirits. Likewise, *T. Levi* 18:12 states that: "Beliar shall be bound by him, and he shall give power (ἐξουσίαν) to his children to tread upon the evil spirits (πατεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρὰ πνεύματα)" (cf. *T. Sim.* 6:6; *T. Zeb.* 9:8).

Tobias expel the demon Asmodeus from Sarah. In *1 En.* 10:8-12, Gabriel is instructed by God to wipe out the sons of the Watchers. In the New Testament, Michael is sometimes viewed as doing battle with demonic forces (Rev 12:7-9, Jude 9) as he does in 1QM XVII, 5-8.[209]

In a recent study, Ariel and Faina Feldman have undertaken a reconstruction of a previously undeciphered scroll from Qumran, which they suggest might be the remains of an amulet that mentions at least two angels (§ 4.6).[210] 4Q147, originally identified as the remains of a Tefillin scroll by Milik, contains language typical of apotropaic texts.[211] 4Q147 1 7-8, for example, mentions that "he will heal" (ירפא) and "give you great strength" (וֹיִתֹּנָךֹ עוֹז רֹב). More salient are the apotropaic themes, however, in fragment 2. This fragment mentions someone having "power" or "dominion" (שלט) over an unknown target (line 2).[212] This is then followed by the names of two angels. Firstly, one angel, Ḥ(e)iliel, "will bind them" (וֹחֹילֹיאל יאֹסֹרן; line 3).[213] Next, Raphael "will frighten them" (רפאל יפֹחֹידן). Raphael being described as frightening an unknown target may reflect a general apotropaic function that is likely anti-demonic.[214]

Later traditions involving these four angels also appear in apotropaic or ritualistic contexts. Despite being from a much later period, these examples may point to evidence of a continuum of Jewish beliefs regarding these angels within apotropaism. In the 6th-7th century CE

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[209] Angels in general play a significant role throughout 1QM in annihilating evil (I, 16; VII, 6; XVII, 4-9). Further evidence that inscribing the names of these angels was meant to function apotropaically includes 4Q285 10 2-3, which lists at least Michael and Gabriel (it is too fragmentary to know whether Sariel or Raphael were originally part of the composition) in what may be the remains of a prayer. The designation of a prayer is based on the fragmentary formula "for the sake of your name" (למען שמכה) preserved in line 2 (Duhaime, *War Texts,* 32).

[210] Ariel Feldman and Faina Feldman, "4Q174: an Amulet?" *DSD* 26.1 (2019): 1–29.

[211] R. de Vaux, J. T. Milik, J. W. B. Barns, and J. Carswell, *Qumrân Grotte 4. II,* DJD 6 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 79.

[212] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q174: an Amulet?,"17 interpret this to be "angelic" dominion, by which they mean the dominion of evil spirits. They cite 11Q5 XIX, 7, though the quote they give is from 11Q5 XIX, 15.

[213] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q174: an Amulet?," 16–17 suggest that the angels name might be reconstructed as "Raziel" (רזיאל).

[214] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q174: an Amulet?," 18 suggest that the 3rd fem. pl. suffix may be a reference to frightening evil spirits as found in 4Q510 1 4–5.

Jewish Babylonian Aramaic incantation bowls[215] alone, Michael appears ten times,[216] Raphael nineteen times,[217] and Gabriel eight times.[218] Michael and Gabriel are mentioned together in PGM 1.262-327 (4th-5th century CE) as part of an Apollonian invocation to gain divine knowledge regarding a number of subjects including prophecy, divination, and "magical knowledge." Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Souriel (=Sariel?) are listed as gods called upon in PGM 3.145-160 (4th century CE) for a number of malicious magical activities. PGM 10.36-50 (4th-5th century CE) constitutes instructions for a lamella which contains the four names among others that, if trampled, is meant to enact a sympathetic supernatural effect to an enemy. PGM 36.161-77 (4th century CE) lists Raphael, Michael, and Souriel among a list of names to call upon to protect the ritualist from "every bad situation that comes upon" (φυλάξατέ με ἀπὸ παντὸς πραγμάτος ἐπερχομένου μου; 36.176). them. This last example is surely meant to be taken as apotropaic.

The purpose of the incantation bowls and magical papyri express the intent behind the inscription of angelic names. Is simply writing the name of an angel on a surface in 1QM a justifiable reason to claim that this is meant to be apotropaic? [219] In a general sense, it was not uncommon in the ancient world to etch words, names, and small images into the sides of surfaces for apotropaic purposes.[220] Margaret H. Williams, for example, argues that in various contexts, the presence of the menorah, etched into the walls of tombs and other locations, was meant to

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[215] References to bowls are from Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, hereafter abbreviated as JBAB.

[216] JBAB 1:11; 2:11; 3:12; 4:12; 5:10; 7:12; 9:11; 11:15; 12:14; 21:13.

[217] JBAB 1:4, 11; 2:5, 11; 3:5, 12; 4:5, 12; 5:3, 10; 7:5, 12; 9:3, 11, 18; 10:5; 11:5; 12:4; 21:13.

[218] JBAB 9:18; 21:13; 25:9; 50:9; 51:7; 52:10; 53:8; 54:8. Michael and Raphael appear together nine times, and Gabriel appears alongside the other two only once (JBAB 21:13).

[219] For non-Jewish examples of apotropaism incorporating the names of angels, see R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae, Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance,* Papryologica Coloniesia 22 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), 206–210.

[220] For a series of relevant examples, see Natalie R. Webb, "Powers and Protection in Pompeii and Paul: The Apotropaic Function of the Cross in the Letter to the Galatians," in *Early Christianity in Pompeian Light: People, Texts, Situations*, ed. Bruce W. Longenecker (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2016), 93–108.

ward off evil.[221] It is reasonable to think that the names of four angels engaged in an apocalyptic war against the forces of evil might be inscribed in order for apotropaic protection.

Since inscribing the names of angels onto materials is attested as a means of apotropaism elsewhere in Jewish and non-Jewish sources, the most natural conclusion is that their inscription on the shields of the towers was also meant to act apotropaically. A kind of "double protection," might also be at play in this passage, since the shield (a defensive piece of equipment) is further protected through angelic intervention. Additionally, given that the specific angels mentioned are often the ones listed as dealing with evil spirits and most prolifically attested in anti-demonic contexts, this strengthens the theory that this instruction is meant to be taken as apotropaic. The exact mechanics of how this protection was thought to occur are unclear. It could be that writing the names of the angels on the shields imbued them with supernatural strength to withstand attacks or perhaps that the angels were thought to actually intervene in a metaphysical battle with evil spirits that sought to penetrate the defenses of the righteous.

2.5.2 1QM XIII, 1-18

1 ואחיו ה[כו]הנים והלויים וכול זקני הסרך עמו   וברכו על עומדם את אל ישראל ואת כול מעשי אמתו וז̇עמו

2 שם את ב[לי]על ואת כול רוחי גורלו   וענו ואמרו ברוך אל ישראל בכול מחשבת קודשו ומעשי אמתו וב[ר]וכים

3 כול מ̇שרתיו בצדק יודעיו באמונה   *vacat*

4 וא̇ר̇ור בליעל במחשבת משטמה וזעום הואה במשרת אשמתו   וארורים כול רוחי גורלו במחשבת

5 *vacat* רשעם וזעומים המה בכול עבודת נדת טמאתם כיא המה גורל חושך וגורל אל לאור

6]עולמ[ים *vacat*

7 וא̇[ת]ה̇ אל אבותינו שמכה נברכה לעולמים   ואנו עם [עו]ל[ם] וברית [כ]רתה לאבותינו ותקימה לזרעם

8 למוע[ד]י עולמים   ובכול תעודות כבודכה היה זכר [...]כה בקרבנו לעזר שארית ומחיה לבריתכה

9 ולס[פר] מעשי אמתכה ומשפטי גבורות פלאכה   אתה[ ] אל ב[ר]יתנו לכה עם עולמים ובגורל אור הפלתנו

10 לאמתכה   ושר מאור מאז פקדתה לעוזרנו ובג[ורלו כול בני צד]ק וכול רוחי אמת ממשלתו ואתה

11 עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משטמה ובחוש[ך ממשל]תו ובעצתו להרשיע ולהאשים   וכול רוחי

12 גורלו מלאכי חבל בחוקי חושך יתהלכו ואליו [תשו]קתמה יחד   ואנו בגורל אמתכה נשמ חה ביד

13 גבורתכה ונשישה בישועתכה ונגילה בעז[רתכה ובש]לומכה   מיא כמוכה אל ישראל ועם

14 אביונים יד גבורתכה   ומיא מלאך ושר כעזרת פו[עליכה   כי]א מאז יעדתה לכה יום קרב ר◌[...] ◌ה

15 [...]ל[עז]ו̇ר באמת ולהשמיד ולהשמה באשמה להשפיל חושך ולהגביר אור ול[...]

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[221] Margaret H. Williams, "The Menorah in a Sepulchral Context: a Protective, Apotropaic Symbol?," in *The Image and Its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity*, ed. Sarah Pearce, JJSSupp 2 (Oxford: Journal of Jewish Studies, 2013), 77–88.

16 [...]ל למעמד עולמים לכלות כול בני חושך ושמחה ל[כו]ל [בני אור   ...]
17 [...] *vacat* [...]
18 [...]כ[י]א אתה יעדתנו למ[◦   ...]

1 and his brothers, the [pr]iests and the levites and all the elders of the array with him. And in their positions they shall bless the God of Israel and all the deeds of his truth and they shall damn

2 there Belial and all the spirits of his lot. They shall begin speaking and say: "Blessed be the God of Israel for all his holy plan and for all the deeds of his truth, and blessed be

3 all who serve him in justice, who know him in faith. *Vacat*

4 Accursed be Belial for his inimical plan, may he be damned for his blameworthy rule. Accursed be all the spirits of his lot for their wicked

5 *Vacat* plan, may they be damned for their deeds of filthy uncleanness. For they are the lot of darkness but the lot of God is for

6 [everlast]ing light. *Vacat*

7 Y[o]u, God of our fathers, we bless your name forever. We are the nation of [yo]ur [inhe]rit[ance]. You [est]ablished a covenant with our fathers and ratified it with their offspring

8 for tim[e]s eternal. In all the edicts of your glory there has been a remembrance of your [clemencies] in our midst in order to aid the remnant, the survivors of your covenant

9 and to re[count] the deeds of your truth, and the judgments of your wonderful mighty deeds. You, [God, have re]deemed us to be for you an eternal nation, and you have made us fall into the lot of light

10 in accordance with your truth. From of old you appointed the Prince of light to assist us, and in [his] ha[nd are all the angels of just]ice, and all the spirits of truth are under his dominion. You

11 made Belial for the pit, angel of enmity; in dark[ness] is his [dom]ain, his counsel is to bring about wickedness and guilt. All the spirits

12 of his lot are angels of destruction, they walk in the laws of darkness; towards it goes their only [de]sire. We, instead, in the lot of your truth, rejoice in

13 your mighty hand, we exult in your salvation, we revel in [your] aid [and in] your peace. Who is like you in strength, God of Israel,

14 whose mighty hand is with the poor? And which angel or prince is an aid like [you?] Since ancient time you determined the day of the great battle […]

15 […] to […] because of truth, and destroy because of wickedness, to humiliate darkness and strengthen light, and to […]

16 […] for an everlasting stay to exterminate all the sons of darkness and happiness for […]

17 […] *Vacat* […]

18 [… f]or you have destined us for the ti[me …]"

Nitzan has noted that the War Scroll's blessings and curses are not strictly eschatological, but likely had a "magical" function as well. She gives 1QM XIII, 2-6 as such an example.[222] This part of the War Scroll records a series of curses and blessings uttered by the priests and levites aimed towards Belial and God respectively. Blessings are offered on behalf of God and his "deeds of truth," and "holy plan" (1QM XIII, 2) as well as "those who serve him in justice" and "know him in faith" (1QM XIII, 3). God's name is also blessed (1QM XIII, 7), and the prayer continues to remind God of his covenant faithfulness (1QM XIII, 8) and his "wonderful mighty

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[222] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 138.

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deeds" (1QM XIII, 9). Importantly, God is remembered for appointing the "Prince of Light" to assist the community. The Prince of Light is described as having "angels of just]ice," (מלאכי צד[ק) and "spirits of truth" (רוחי אמת) in his control (1QM XIII, 10).[223]

Curses are directed towards "Belial and all the spirits of his lot." Reasons for the curse include their "wicked plan" and "deeds of filthy uncleanness" (1QM XIII, 4-5). Additionally, they "walk in the laws of darkness" (1QM XIII, 12). The "spirits of his lot" are most naturally read as spiritual beings. The spirits of Belial's lot are also referred to as "angels of destruction" (מלאכי חבל), which should not be confused with the מלאכי המשטמות mentioned in CD XVI, 4-6. The term מלאכי חבל is confusing as the figures seem to vacillate between malevolent beings under the reign of Belial and divine beings used by God to punish the disobedient.

There are good reasons for understanding the מלאכי חבל as evil spirits. Firstly, they are listed among other malevolent spirits that must be warded away in 4Q510 1 4-6: "I, a Sage, declare the splendour of his radiance in order to frighten and terr[ify] all the spirits of the ravaging angels (כול רוחי מלאכי חבל) and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls and [jackals …] and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn." Secondly, they may be synonymous with a group of spirits mentioned in 1QM XIV, 10: "You have chased away from [us] his spirits of [de]struction (ורוחי ח[בלו]), [when the m]en of his dominion [acted wickedly] you protected the soul of your redeemed ones." Despite some cases where מלאכי חבל appears as God's divine agent, its use in 1QM XVI, 12 correspond to what we find in 4Q510 and other portions of 1QM. [224] Line 10 notes that God has given the angelic Prince

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[223] The "angels of justice" are likely synonymous with the "spirits of justice" (רוחות צדק) found in 4Q404 4 7, 4Q405 4+5+69+6+58+57 6, and 4Q405 1 I, 38 and refer to divine beings rather than human spirits.

[224] The מלאכי חבל act as arbiters of divine judgement in a number of other texts. Firstly, 1QS IV, 12 describes them as beings who punish the wicked: "an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, for permanent terror and shame." Secondly, CD II, 6 characterizes them as beings who punish "those turning aside from the path and abominating the precepts." Thirdly, 1 Enoch 63:1 describes God as granting mercy to the wicked suffering under the torment of "angels of

of Light to assist the righteous, presumably by doing battle with Belial and his spirits. Additionally, line 13 states that the righteous revel in God's aid (בעזר[תכה) which in this context is probably deliverance or protection from evil spirits. The act of cursing itself constitutes an apotropaic effect, heaping punishments on the spirits which deter their attacks. Perhaps by reiterating God's provision for the sons of light, this blessing further repelled demons.

2.5.3 1QM XIV, 8-10, 16-18 (= 4Q491)

8 ברוך] שמכה אל החסדים השומר ברית לאבותינו ועם
9 כול דורותינו הפלתה חסדיכה לשאר[ית עמכה] בממשלת בליעל ובכול רזי שטמתו לוא הדיחונ[ו]
10 מבריתכה ורוחי [ח]ב֗לו גערתה ממ֯[נו ובהתרשע אנ]שי ממשלתו שמ֗תה נפש פדותכה ואתה הקימותה
16 רומה רומה אל אלים והנשא בעו[ז מלך המלכים. … שמתה על … מעליכה יפוצו]
17 [כו]ל [ב]נֿי חושך ואור גודלכה י֯[… אלים ואנשים …אש בוערת במחשכי אבדונים]
18 [באבדוני ש[א֯ול תוקד לשרפ֯[ת עולמים … פושעים … בכול מועדי עולמים   *vacat*]

8 Bles]sed be your name, God of mercies, who guards the covenant with our fathers, and during

9 all our generations you have wondrously bestowed your mercies to the rem[nant of your inheritance] during the empire of Belial. With all the mysteries of his enmity, they have not separated us

10 from your covenant. You have chased away from [us] his spirits of [de]struction, [when the m]en of his dominion [acted wickedly] you protected the soul of your redeemed ones.

16 Rise up, rise up, Oh God of gods, and raise with pow[er, King of kings! … may scat]ter [from before you]

17 [al]l the [s]ons of darkness, and may your great light [… and men … a fire burning in the dark places of Abbadon,]

18 [in the places of destruction of She]ol may it burn to consume […]

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destruction." Robert Henry Charles, *Commentary on the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 2:803 suggests that the Ethiopic phrase used here is from מלאכי חבל. Lastly, Ps 78:49 uses the phrase "destroying angels" in part of a list of plagues that God sent upon Egypt: "He let loose on them his fierce anger, wrath, indignation, and distress, a company of destroying angels (מַלְאֲכֵי רָעִים). In the above examples, the "angels of destruction" are meant to be used by God to punish wicked human beings. This is not, however, the only possible interpretation.

After cleaning themselves "from the blood of the guilty corpses" (1QM XIV, 2-3), the sectarians return to the battle field and offer praise to God in the form of a blessing (1QM XIV, 2-4). This blessing reiterates God's faithfulness in his covenant promises to deliver and redeem his people (1QM XIV, 4-5) as well as having guarded the covenant during the dominion of Belial (1QM XIV, 5, 8-9). Despite Belial's influence in the world, he has been unsuccessful in separating the sectarians from God's covenant. Part of the reason that Belial's attempts have been thwarted is because God has "chased away (גערתה) from [us] his spirits of [de]struction (ורוחי [ח]בלו)" (1QM XIV, 10). Additionally, sectarians' souls have been protected from the "m]en of his [Belial's] dominion" (אנ[שי ממשלתו; 1QM XIV, 10). The prayer ends with an invocation for God to "rise up" (רומה רומה) with "power" (בעו[ז) and "scat]ter" (יפו[צו) the "[s]ons of darkness" (ב[ני חושך]) with the result that they will be consumed in the fires of Sheol (1QM XIV, 16-18).

This blessing is best interpreted as an anti-demonic apotropaic petition. The "spirits of destruction" are external malevolent spiritual forces and seem to be synonymous with the "angels of destruction" (מלאכי חבל) in 1QM II, 6. 4Q510 1 5 lists "the spirits of the angels of destruction" (רוחי מלאכי חבל) as evil spirits that the Maskil attempts to ward away.[225] The apotropaic component is based on a number of elements within the text. Firstly, God is described as the "one who guards" (השומר) the covenant during the reign of Belial (1QM XIV, 8), inferring

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[225] Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 152–154. 1QHᵃ XV, 14 mentions a "spirit of destruction" (לרוח הוות). A.A. Anderson, "The use of "Ruah," in 1QS, 1QH, and 1QM," *JSS* 7 (1962): 295; Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, *Gottes Geist und der Mensch: Studien zur früchristlichen Pnematologie,* BEvTh 63 (Munich: Kaiser, 1972), 254; Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, ATDan 2 (Aarhus: Universitetsrlaget 1960), 132 n. 13; F. Nötscher, "Geist und Geister in den Texten von Qumran," in *Mélanges bibliques: rédigés en l'honneur de Andre Robert*, Travaux de l'Institut Catholique de Paris 4 (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1957), 305; Peter Von der Osten-Sacken, *Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran*, SUNT 6 (Gottingen; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), 138; J. Pryke; "'Spirit' and 'Flesh' in the Qumran Documents and Some New Testament Texts," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 345 argue that this passage in 1QHᵃ refers to an anthropological impulse. On the other hand, Huppernbaur, *Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten* (Zurch, 1959), 74; Irwin, "Spirit-Conflict," 52, 192; Maier, *Texte,* 2:206, argue that this is meant to be an external malevolent being.

that he continues to protect members of the covenant from evil forces.[226] Secondly, despite the "mysteries of his [Belial's] enmity" (1QM XIV, 9), God is expected to continue to be merciful to those who keep the covenant. Thirdly, the blessing of God having chased away the wicked spirits does not mean that this was a one-time event, but that God *continues* to protect them from evil spirits. Lastly, the invocation at the end of the blessing calls God to action in order to destroy the enemies, specifically the "sons of darkness," which refers to wicked humans (e.g., 1QM I, 10). That a petition is given at the end suggests that the blessing in general terms is meant to remind God of his miraculous and protective feats and for him to sustain those activities.

God's action of chasing away the spirits of destruction has linguistic parallels to exorcistic activities found in the New Testament. The word גער is rendered using the Greek verb ἐπιτιμάω in the LXX (e.g., Ps 9:6, Zech 3:2).[227] The same verb is used of rebuking demons in Matt 17:18 (ἐπετίμησεν), Luke 4:35 (ἐπετίμησεν), 41 (ἐπιτιμῶν), 9:42 (ἐπετίμησεν), and Jude 9 (ἐπιτιμήσαι). Additionally, the term גער appears during Abraham's exorcism of Pharaoh in the *Genesis Apocryphon* XX, 29: "The plague was removed from him; the evil [spirit] (רוחא [באישתא)

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[226] A similar concept can be found in 1QM XV, 12–18. This section is contained within a prayer spoken by the high priest "for the time of war" (1QM XV, 4–5). The prayer does not petition God to expel evil spirits, but rather describes his present activity during the war. God is said to be "raising his hand with his marvellous [powe]r [against] all wic[ked] spirits (רוחי רש[עה)." The "wicked spirits" could be understood as external malevolent beings or as anthropological impulses. One reason for taking this as an anti-peccable reading is based on 1QS V, 26. This section uses the phrase "spirit of wickedness" (רוח רשע) in the context of a community rule as an anthropological disposition with which community members may be influenced by and speak harshly against other members. The reason for taking it anti-demonically is based on the presence of the term "Spirits of wickedness" (ורוחות רשעה) in 1QHª XXV,4 and 4Q444 1 4 (ברוחי רשעה). The phrase appears in the Hodayot as a hymn describing God's eschatological removal and destruction of evil spirits. In 4Q444, the term is most likely referring to evil spirit. When used in the singular, a human inclination appears to be in view, while used in the plural it denotes antagonistic spiritual entities. Since 1QM uses the plural, along with its context situated around key terms like Belial, it seems likely that evil spirits are in view. This prayer may have functioned apotropaically. One evidence is that the hiphil participle מרים is used to describe God's activity in the present, that is, in the day of the battle (1QM, XV, 12). See Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 152–153, 160–161.

[227] Jan Joosten, "The Verb גער "to Exorcize" in Qumran Aramaic and Beyond," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 21.3 (2014): 347–55 highlights a number of exorcistic uses of גער in later amulets and attempts to draw a line between these later uses and its use in the exorcistic narrative of the Genesis Apocryphon. The evil acts that Joosten committed are inexcusable. This portion of the dissertation was written before his crimes were known. With great hesitation I have maintained this citation here due to is being the most accessible article on this particular topic. My sincerest sympathies are with the victims and families who his evil has affected.

was banished (ואתגערת) [from him] and he recovered." The use of the term גער also has parallels

to some passages in the Hebrew Bible as well as some amulet inscriptions. In Zech 3:2 the term

גער (LXX = ἐπιτιμήσαι) is used by to rebuke Satan: "And the LORD said to Satan, "The LORD

rebuke (יִגְעַר) you, O Satan! The LORD who has chosen Jerusalem to rebuke (וְיִגְעַר) you!" In one

amulet, for example, the term is used in the context of driving out "fever and chills" (גערו אשתה

וערייתה).[228] The word is also commonly found in the Aramaic incantation bowls, especially in

partial quotations of Zech 3:2.[229]

It is never stated exactly when God disposed of the evil spirits plaguing the community,

nor whether any rituals, prayers, or activities on the part of the community were necessary for

God to do so. It is possible that the blessing refers generally to God's intervention upon joining

the community and the sectarian's commitment to follow the law. This blessing serves as a

reminder to the community that God has created the ideal circumstances for the community to

properly observe the precepts of the covenant. Whether reciting this blessing would enact an

apotropaic effect is unclear.[230] One reason for understanding it as apotropaic is because 4Q510 1

1, 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 3-4, and 4Q511 63-64 2, connect blessing God for past actions with

apotropaic activities, which may reflect a similar convention here.[231]

2.5.4 Conclusion

1QM IX, 14-17 utilizes the names of angels as a means of defending itself against

unknown enemies. Based on other uses of angelic figures in other Jewish apotropaic works

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[228] Naveh and Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowl,* 81.

[229] Shaked, Ford, and Bhayro, *Aramaic Bowl Spells*, 19, 69.

[230] Brand, *Evil Within,* 236–237, sees in this blessing a strong influence from the book of *Jubilees* where concern for demonic influence is prevalent and states that the author is connecting Belial with the angel Mastema. She further sees that this blessing is meant to demonstrate the immunity to demonic sin for the elect, which is apotropaic.

[231] Blessing God for past actions as part of a ritual in the present can be seen in 4Q512; See also Falk, "Prayer, Liturgy, and War," 284–285.

throughout history, as well as the nature of the apocalyptic battle being presented, this act demonstrates a well-known apotropaic measure.

1QM XIII, 1-18 contains curses directed towards entities that are best understood as evil spirits which must be threatened in order to thwart their advances. These curses fit within the larger framework of curses against evil spirits found at Qumran and likely should be situated within an apotropaic context.

1QM XIV, 8-10, 16-18 contains various elements that, taken together, appear to represent an anti-demonic apotropaic blessing. The events spoken about, while discussed in the past, are meant to reify God's activities in the lives of the community. Declaring God's victories over enemies appears in other objectively known apotropaic works, strengthening the theory that such blessings that mention God's destruction of evil spirits is meant to have apotropaic qualities.

These rituals are meant to be exacted by community members during the eschatological war against Belial and the spirits of his lot. This text may have been read or recited at various times in order to reify this eschatological reality in the present so that community members might be psychologically strengthened to withstand temptation, knowing that Belial and his spirits will one day be conquered for good. Outsiders join with Belial in the eschatological war against the Sons of Light. The dualistic appellation "Sons of Light" itself has apotropaic qualities. The Sons of Light are meant to extinguish the darkness, but also darkness disappears when it approaches light. This metaphor also stands true of demonic attacks against the Sons of Light.

2.6 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] (4Q510-4Q511)[232]

4Q510-4Q511 constitute a collection of hymns dated to the end of the first century BCE.[233] These two scrolls differ slightly and perhaps represent different recensions of an earlier original text. 4Q511 contains significantly more content than 4Q510 and originally measured at least two metres in length with a height of 17.5 cm, which consisted of at least sixteen columns.[234] 4Q511 is extremely fragmentary, made up of a total of 224 fragments.

2.6.1 4Q510 1 1-9 (= 4Q511 10 1)

1 [...] תשבוחות   בר[כות למ]לך הכבוד   דברי הודות בתהלי
2 [...] לאלוהי דעות תפארת ג[בור]ות אל אלים אדון לכול קדושים   וממש֗ל[תו]
3 על כול גבורי כוח ומכוח גבור֗[ת]ו יבהלו ויתפזרו כול ויחפזו מהד֗ר מ֗ע[ון]
4 כבוד מלכותו vacat ואני משכיל משמיע הוד תפארתו לפחד ולב[הל]
5 כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים לילית אחים ו[ציים ...]
6 והפוגעים פתע פתאום לתעות רוח בינה ולהשם לבבם ונ֗ׄׄׄׄתם בקץ ממשל[ת]
7 רשעה ותעודות תעניות בני או[ר] באשמת קצי נגיע֗[י] עוונות ולוא לכלת עולם
8 [כי א]ם לקץ תעניות פשע[vacat   ] רננו צדיקים באלוהי פלא
9 ולישרים תהלי vacat ל[...] י֗[רוממו]ה[֗ו] כ[ו]ל תמימי֗ דרך

1 […] praises. Bless[ings to the Ki]ng of glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of
2 [splendour] to the God of knowledge, the glory of the po[werful] ones, God of gods, Lord of all the holy ones. [His] rea[lm]
3 is above the powerful mighty, and before the might of his powe[r] all are terrified and scatter; they flee before the radiance of

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[232] Transcriptions from M. Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)*, DJD 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) and translations from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*.
[233] Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 215, 219.
[234] Joseph Angel, "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage[b] (4Q511)," *RevQ* 27 (2015): 25–82.

4 of his glorious majestic strong[hold]. *Blank* And I, a Sage, declare the splendour of his radiance in order to frighten and terr[ify]

5 all the spirits of the ravaging angels and the bastard spirits, demons, Lilith, owls and [jackals …]

6 and those who strike unexpectedly to lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn. And you have been placed in the era of the rul[e of]

7 wickedness and in the periods of humiliation of the sons of lig[ht], in the guilty periods of /[those] defiled by/ iniquities; not for an everlasting destruction

8 [but ra]ther for the era of the humiliation of sin. [*Blank*] Rejoice, righteous ones, in the wonderful God.

9 My psalms are for the upright. *Blank* And for [… May] a[l]l those of perfect behaviour praise [h]im.

This section can be divided into five main components: 1) hymnic praise, 2) an "incantation," 3) a catalogue of spirits, 4) an eschatological discourse, and 5) an exhortation.[235] The opening hymn contains generic adoration toward God emphasizing his knowledge and his pre-eminence above other deities including "the powerful mighty" (גבורי כוח), a term used of angelic beings (1QHᵃ XVI, 12). The "might" of God's "power" as well as "the radiance of his majestic strong[hold]" are understood as the means by which "all are terrified and scattered" (4Q510 1 3-4). The identity of who is included in the "all" is unclear, although presumably it is directed towards enemies, whether human or demonic.

This hymn is anti-demonic based on the long catalogue of spirits supplied by the Maskil. The "spirits of the ravaging angels" may be connected to the "angels of destruction" (מלאכי חבל) in 1QM XIII, 13 and the "spirit of destruction" (לרוח הוות) in 1QHᵃ XV, 14[236] and perhaps should be best understood simply as "agent [or messenger] of destruction."[237] The "bastard spirits" (ממזרים ורוחות) are most easily identified as a reference to the Enochic myth which describes how the offspring of the union between the angelic Watchers and human women were giants whose death released evil spirits from their bodies (*1 En.* 10:9, 15:8). Following this is the generic

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[235] Compare Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 245–247; idem, "Hymns from Qumran—4Q510–4Q511," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, eds. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport, STDJ 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1992) 58–62; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 120 prefers not to use the term incantation as it is too restrictive.

[236] Archie Wright, *The Origin of Evil Spirits: The Reception of Genesis 6:1-4 in Early Jewish Literature*, WUNT 2/198 (Tubingen: MohrSiebeck, 2005), 152–157, argues that the designation "angel," suggests that the aetiology of this class of evil spirit may be disjointed from the Enochic tradition.

[237] Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 334.

category of "demons" (שדאים) or perhaps "a terrible demon" (שד אים).[238] How demons were meant to differ in function from the surrounding evil spirits is not stated, although perhaps if the reading "a terrible demon," is correct, it may refer to a specific class of demon in which its hierarchy or intensity of affliction is such that it deserves its own category.[239] The three terms לילית אחים ו[ציים are known from Isa 34:14 where their contextual identification is unclear, but have parallels in Ancient Near Eastern demonology.[240]

The spirits listed are malevolent external spirits that attack human beings attested elsewhere in related literature. Whether the text is apotropaic or exorcistic, however, is more complicated. The Maskil intends "to frighten and to terr[ify]" (לפחד ולב[ה]ל; 4Q510 1 4) the spirits, making the temporal element ambiguous. Since the hymns are said to be for "the upright" (תהלי; 4Q510 1 9), protection could be in view. Either the song is sung *for* the upright *by* the Maskil, or the songs can be sung by the community for their *own* protection. Since, CD XII, 2-6 suggests that community members could also suffer from spirit-possession that needed to be remedied, it is possible that this song was sung over the possessed. Knowing the names of specific demons is also a common trait of exorcism. Simply causing "fear" does not mean that the Maskil is uttering an apotropaic hymn, since demons are commonly fearful of the exorcist (e.g., Luke 4:33, 31; Mark 5:1-13).

One clue that this is meant to be an apotropaic hymn, however, can be determined by the classification of one of the groups of spirits. The last group of evil spirits are referred to as "those who strike unexpectedly" (והפוגעים פתע פתאום). Since one does not know *when* these spirits will attack, the idea of future protection is the focus. Nitzan argues that "the *waw* … ought to be

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[238] See Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 217.
[239] J.M. Baumgarten, "On the Nature of the Seductress in 4Q184." *RevQ* 15 (1991): 133–43. 135; Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 335; Ida Fröhlich, "Theology and Demonology in Qumran Texts," *Hen* 32 (2010): 102–103.
[240] Fröhlich, "Theology and Demonology," 103.

understood as an expletive *waw*, whose sense is like 'that is to say' (that is to say, they who strike)."[241] This reading suggests that the last group mentioned is not actually a group of evil spirits, but further describes the previously listed catalogue. If Nitzan is correct, this means that *all* of these supposed spirits attack at unexpected times, supporting the classification of this entire hymn as apotropaic.[242]

Unlike conventional functions of praise which are used to honour God, Nitzan describes this form of praise as acting as a sort of "word of power" that is used to enact apotropaic protection.[243] The Maskil's praise serves to reverse the typical characteristics of evil spirits, that is "to frighten and terr[ify]" (4Q510 1 4), back on "those who strike unexpectedly" (4Q510 1 6).[244] The logic of declaring "the splendour of his radiance" (תפארתו הוד) is that by describing certain attributes of God, the evil spirits anticipate divine retribution for their activities, prompting them to cease interfering in human affairs or to act as a warning for spirits to stay away. Such logic may also be at work in the Gospels where Legion begs Jesus not to "order them to depart into the abyss," (Luke 8:31) and asks him whether he has come to "torment us before

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[241] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 240 n. 53.

[242] Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 217 drawing on a parallel mention of the term פוגעים in 11Q5 XXVII, 10, wonders if this means that this is the kind of spirit that might possess people. Sorenson, *Possession and Exorcism,* 66 argues, however, that possession is likely not the intended meaning, since the function of these spirits is to "lead astray the spirit of knowledge, to make their hearts forlorn" (4Q510 1 6), which points to lapses in moral judgement being the issue, not physical attack. Why this category of evil spirits could not both possess an individual *and* cause them to sin is never stated by Sorenson, and it is certainly within the realm of possibility.

[243] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 244.

[244] Another element to consider is the nature of the list of evil spirits. 4Q560 1 I, 2–5 and 11Q11 II, 3–4 also contain lists of demonic beings, but are typically classified as exorcistic. Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 127 argues that the first fragment of 4Q560, however, could be apotropaic. Fragment 1 of 4Q560 may have contained an apotropaic formula that is disconnected from the second fragment's adjurations. If used for making an amulet, this too could point to the list acting apotropaically. If 4Q510 is indeed apotropaic, the Maskil is attempting to list a number of different spirits so that all of his bases are covered, much like the protective function of 4Q560. If exorcistic, the Maskil's use of this list may be because he is unaware of exactly *which* spirit is afflicting the individual.

the time" (Matt 8:29). The fear of eschatological punishment being enacted before the designated time may therefore act as a threat to the evil spirits.[245]

Based upon the description of evil spirits attacking their victims unexpectedly, this work is best classified as an anti-demonic apotropaic hymn concerned with spiritual and ethical evil. The spirits attempt to "lead astray the spirit of knowledge," but the primary concern is thwarting the spirits which will solve the ethical dilemma. The song specifically for "the upright," which assumes community membership.

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[245] Certain eschatological elements are present within this section which help make sense of why the apotropaic ritual is efficacious. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 245–247 refers to this as "time of activity." According to 4Q510 1 6–7 a plural "you" has "been placed (ונתתם) in the era of the rul[e of] wickedness and in the periods of humiliation of the sons of lig[ht], in the guilty periods of /[those] defiled by/ iniquities." The era of which it speaks is the time in which evil spirits are said to have freedom to mislead the righteous before God's eschatological visitation (*1 En.* 16:1; *Jub.* 10:8–11; 1QS III, 22–23, IV, 18; 1QM XIII, 9–16). The "you" in this passage has typically been interpreted as referring to the evil spirits mentioned in the previous list. 4Q510 1 7–8 further specifies that being placed in this era is not "for an everlasting destruction," but "for the era of humiliation of sin." Most interpreters have understood this to mean that the Maskil's utterances are only intended to ward away the evil spirits, not to cause them to come under eschatological punishment. 4Q510 1 7–8 further specifies that being placed in this era is not "for an everlasting destruction," but "for the era of humiliation of sin." Most interpreters have understood this to mean that the Maskil's utterances are only intended to ward away the evil spirits, not to cause them to come under eschatological punishment (Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 248; Eshel, "Genres," 409; Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 5). The reason for this interpretation is because of similar phraseology in 4Q511 35 6–8 and 4Q511 8 5.

    Alternatively, the "you" in this passage may actually refer to the Maskil's human audience. Such an interpretation views the righteous as enduring the trials of the "era of the rul[e of] wickedness," which does not lead to eschatological judgement, but only lasts for a short time. The idea seems to be that perhaps the audience wonders why they are suffering under the reign of evil spirits, suggesting that they think they are being punished by God and will therefore incur eschatological judgement. The Maskil, instead, reassures them that this is only a temporary problem that exists "for the era of the humiliation of sin." Part of the reason why this second interpretation seems to be more likely, is because the immediately following lines calls for the righteous to "rejoice" and that his psalms for "for the upright" and calls for "those of perfect behavior" to praise God (4Q510 1 9). Moreover, 4Q511 8 5 mentions "his straying (תעותו) during the humiliations, but not for [eternal] destruct[ion]." The Qal infinitive construct תעותו (from תעה) with the third personal singular masculine pronominal suffix most naturally is read as having a human subject. It does not make sense to take this as referring to the evil spirit, since the only one listed in 4Q511 8 4 is the plural "those who terrify" (מיראי). Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 22–225, translates this line as "Deuxième [can]tique, pour effrayer ceux qui lui inspirent la crainte," reading מיראיו instead of מיראי. The pronominal suffix in line 4 indicates that the subsequent suffix in line 5 is meant to signify a human subject. If it is a human being, the interpretation is that a person will stray during the times of humiliations, but this does not necessarily mean that it leads to eschatological punishment.

2.6.2 4Q511 1 1-8

<div dir="rtl">

1] ... מ[מֹשלותם

2] ... [○○○ וֹכֹוֹ]ל ... בא]ֹרץ ובכוֹל

3 רֹוחות ממשלתה תמֹיד יב]רכו]הו בקציהם

4 הימים וכול חיתם ישמיעֹו] [ֹי תפארת

5 כולם יגילו לאלוהי צדק ברֹנֹ]ות]ישועות

6 כיא א[יֹן] משחית בגבוליהם ורוחי רשֹע

7 לו יתהלכו בם כיא הופיע כבוד אלוהי

8 דעות באמֹרֹיֹו וכול בני עולה לוא יתֹכלכלו

</div>

1 […] their [do]minions
2 … and al[l … on the ea]rth and in all
3 the spirits of its dominion continuously. In their eras may the seas bl[ess] him,
4 and may all their living things declare […] beauty,
5 may all of them exult before the God of Justice in jubi[lations of] salvation.
6 For there is n[o] destroyer in their regions, and evil spirits
7 do not walk in them. For the glory of the God of knowledge shines out
8 through his words, and none of the sons of wickedness is able to resist.

This passage begins with a call for the earth and sea and their inhabitants to praise God on account of salvation from a "destroyer" (משחית) and "evil spirits" (ורוחי רשע). Since משחית is given in parallel to ורוחי רשע it is likely that "destroyer" is the name of a specific demon.[246] In the Hebrew Bible (Exod 12:23; 2 Sam 24:16 // 1 Chr 21:15), the "destroyer" is an angelic being sent by God to punish the Egyptians and disobedient Jerusalem (comp. Num 17:11–15; 2 Kgs 19:35 // Isa 37:36; Ezek 9; c.f. Rev 9:11). "Destroying angels" are represented in other biblical texts and later Jewish works (Ps 78:49; *1 En.* 53:3, 56:1, 66:1; 1QS IV, 12), as beings under God's control to enact judgement on the wicked.[247]

The exact identification of the enemies being dealt with in the latter part of the fragment, however, is difficult to assess. God is said to destroy or repel evil beings, perhaps in an

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[246] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 116.

[247] The author of this hymn may have been influenced by a tradition similar to *Jub.*23:29, which describes the eschatological age as follows: "there will be no Satan and no evil (one) who will destroy, because all of their days will be days of blessing and healing." Another parallel with 4QSongs of the Sage, which includes nature as part of the eschatological equation, can be found *As. Mos.* 10:1: "And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation, and then Satan shall be no more." The spirits in 4Q511 1 6–7 "do not walk in them" (לו יתהלכו בם), which seems to refer to the earth and the sea, which are previously mentioned in lines 2–3. See S. A. Meier, "Destroyer," in *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, ed. Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 240–244.

eschatological scenario.[248] The "sons of iniquity" (בני עולה) may refer to human beings and not malevolent spirits. This phrase is used in 2 Sam 3:34, 7:10, Hos 10:9, Ps 89:23, 1 Chr 17:9, and Sir 16:1, 3 as a general description of wicked people.[249] Its context in 4QSongs of the Sage, however, given that evil spirits are mentioned beforehand (and since no human groups are mentioned in what is preserved), this may suggest that its use here is for evil spirits.

The evil spirits are not in the land because of God's glory shining out through "his words." The subject of באמריו is unclear, as are what the "words" to which it refers. The third-person masculine pronominal suffix could refer to the Maskil or God, but since God is mentioned in the previous line and all other subjects preserved are plural (and the maskil is not mentioned in this fragment), it makes sense to view God as the subject.[250] God is understood to speak through a human agent, even if the words are initially his (see 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 2-3). The author may be drawing on Ps 43, a psalm which petitions God to vindicate and save the speaker from the ungodly. The speaker also asks God in verse 3 to "send out your light and your truth" (שְׁלַח־אוֹרְךָ וַאֲמִתְּךָ), which will lead him to God's temple and spur him to praise to God with the lyre. The point of this psalm is for protection against human adversaries, the remedy to which is for God to send light and truth, which are metaphorical ways of asking God for guidance based on his faithfulness (comp. Ps 25:10; 40:10-11 [11-12]).[251] Although the words differ, the

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[248] Chad T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ: 1 Peter 3:18-22 in Light of Sin and Punishment in Early Jewish and Christian Literature*, WUNT 2/305 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 140–141. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 237 (comp. 252).

[249] This moniker appears also in 1QH^a XIII, 10 and XIV, 21-22 in descriptions about the era in which the speaker lives and as a category of people who incur eschatological punishment. Additionally, 4Q418 201 1-2 refers to this group in an unclear context: "...and those who are, God will make known the inheri[tance]...and he will hand over before all of the sons of iniquity" ([... נהיה הודיע אל נח]לת [...] [...] ◦ [... בני ע]ולה [...] [... וֹיסגר בעד כול בני ע]). See Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 221.

[250] If the subject is actually the Maskil, this would necessitate that the actual speaker(s) of this fragment are describing the activities of the Maskil in the third-person, otherwise we would expect the first-person perspective found elsewhere in the scroll (e.g., 4Q510 1 4; 4Q511 63-54 III, 1-4).

[251] See Allen P. Ross, *A Commentary on the Psalms Volume II (42–89)* (Grand Rapids: Kregel Academic, 2013), 31–32.

parallels between God's glory shining out in 4QSongs of the Sage and God sending out light and his truth in Ps 43 are visible.

Based upon the above analysis, this hymn should be classified as anti-demonic. Whether the work is apotropaic, however, calls for further investigation. The hithpalpel verb יתכלכלו (from כול) has the meaning of "resist" or, perhaps more appropriately, "endure." This verb appears in a number of contexts from the Hebrew Bible that might shed light on its intended meaning in this passage. The word is sometimes used of people's inability to withstand God's divine punishment, thus Jer 10:10: "the nations cannot endure (וְלֹא־יָכִלוּ) his indignation." Elsewhere, the term is used in scenarios of eschatological punishment, hence Joel 2:11: "Truly the day of the LORD is great; terrible indeed—who can endure it (יְכִילֶנּוּ)?" Similarly, Mal 3:2 reads: "But who can endure (מְכַלְכֵּל) the day of his coming, and who can stand when he appears?" Based upon these occurrences of כול, we might expect an exorcistic interpretation of this fragment. The subjects of the verb in these examples, however, are indignation and the day of the Lord, but the resistance in 4Q511 is against words. According to Am 7:10, Amaziah sends a letter to Jeroboam accusing Amos of conspiring against the king and Israel. Amaziah argues that "the land is not able to bear (לְהָכִיל) all his words." The "words" here are Amos's prophecy about the death of Jeroboam and Israel's exile. This meaning is what is intended in 4Q511. The evil spirits hear the words spoken by the Maskil and are powerless to move against him. The intention, like 4Q510 1 1-6, is to terrify the spirits so that they do not come near, suggesting that this fragment is best understood as apotropaic.

God's glory shines out in 4Q511 1 7-8 like various times described in the Hebrew Bible, making it impossible for evil spirits to draw close. The idea of God's glory "shining out" (הופיע)

is likely based on various descriptions from the Hebrew Bible.[252] Deut 33:2, for example, describes God as having "shone forth (הוֹפִיעַ) from Mount Paran," with his angelic host.[253] God's glory being represented as light is a typical dualistic description of the battle between light and darkness, with God's glory acting as the means by which darkness (and those affiliated with darkness) are dissipated or destroyed. In this case, however, it is actually "his words" which are the catalyst for God's glory to shine. The difference in meaning appears to be that while in the Hebrew Bible God's intentional manifestation of glory is what destroys or intimidates the wicked, in this case God's terrifying glory is made manifest through the vocalization of God's words.

Since the earth and sea are meant to praise God "in their eras" (בקציהם), this seems to point towards a future time of peace where evil spirits have been completely eradicated. Declaring this eschatological age is likely a tactic used by the Maskil to frighten the spirits.[254] Such a song could be used in an exorcistic or apotropaic context. The locale of the evil spirits, however, suggests that an apotropaic function is more probable. The evil spirits exist in the earth and the sea, not within human beings. Thus, the song is declaring an eschatological removal of evil spirits from the world more generally. Therefore, I classify this text as an *anti-demonic, apotropaic, hymn.*

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[252] The idea of deities "shining" is a common trope in Ancient Near Eastern religion. See A. L. Oppenheim, "Akkadian *pul(u)ḫ(t)u* and *melammu*," JAOS 63 (1943): 31–34; E. Cassin, *La Splendeur Divine* (Paris: La Haye, Mouton and Co., 1968).

[253] A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, NCBC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981), 398. Similarly, Ps 50:2 describes "the perfection of God's beauty" shining (הוֹפִיעַ) out of Zion. Ps 80:1–3 petitions God who is "enthroned upon the Cherubim" to "shine forth (הוֹפִיעָה)" over Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh. Of note is verse 3, which asks God to "restore" the nations and to "let your face shine (וְהָאֵר), that we may be saved," a parallel to the Aaronic blessing of Num 6:25. One final example, Ps 94, calls on the "God of vengeance" (94:1) to shine forth (הוֹפִיעַ) and judge the earth because of the wicked (94:3). Throughout the Hebrew Bible, God is also described as a source of light such as being a lamp (2 Sam 22:29), the "sun of righteousness" (Mal 4:2), and as omitting a radiant aura of light (Ps 44:3; 1:27–28, 8:2).

[254] Threatening evil spirits with eschatological punishment can also be seen in some Aramaic amulets: "In every place where this amulet will be seen, you (the evil spirit) should not detain Eleazar the son of Esther. And if you detain him, you will be cast immediately into a burning fiery furnace." Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae,* 50-51.

2.6.3 4Q511 2 I, 1-10

<div dir="rtl">

1 למשכיל שיר֯[...]י֯[... הללו את שם]

2 קודשו ורוממוהו כול יודעי [צדק...]

3 ורוש ממשלו֗ת ה֗שבית לאין [... שמחת]

4 [ע]ולמים וחיי נצח לאיר אור [...]

5 [ג]ו֯רלו רשית ביעקוב ונח֗לת אל[והי]מ֗[ ] ֗ל֗[ ]○○ [ ]י֯שרא֗ל֗ל [ ]○[--]

6 [שומ]ר֯י דרך אלוהים ומסל[ת ק]ו֗דשו לקדושי עמו בד֗ע[ת]

7 [אלוה]י֗ם הנבונה שם [י]שראל [בש]נ֗ים עשר מחנות ק֗ד֗ו֗ש֯[ ]ה לו

8 [...]גורל אלוהים עם מל֗א֗[כי]מאורות כב֗ודו   בשמו ת֗[ש]ב֗ו֗חת

9 [...]ה֗ם תכן למועדי שנה [ומ]משלת יחד להתהל֗ך֗[ב]גורל

10 [אלוהים]ל֗פ֗י כבוד֗[ו ו]לשרתו בגורל֗ עם נ֗סאו   כיא אלו֗ה֗י

</div>

1 Of the Sage. Song [… Praise]

2 his holy [name] and extol him, all those who know […]

3 [He has re]moved the chief of dominio[ns,] without […]

4 [et]ernal, and everlasting life to make the light shine […]

5 His [l]ot is Jacob's best, and the inheritance of G[o]d […] … […] Israe[l …]

6 those who [kee]p the way of God and his [h]oly pat[h] for the holy ones of his people. By

7 [Go]d's perceptive knowled[ge] he placed [I]srael [in t]welve camps … […]

8 […] the lot of God with the ange[ls of] his glorious luminaries. On his name he instituted the pr[ai]se of

9 their […] according to the feasts of the year, [and] the communal [do]minion, so that they would walk [in] the lot of

10 [God] according to [his] glory, [and] serve him in the lot of the people of his throne. For, the God of […]

In addition to the removal of disobedient human beings at the eschaton, God also removes malevolent spiritual forces. 4Q511 2 I, 3 states that God has already removed the "chief of dominio[ns]" (ורוש ממשל[ות). This kind of realized eschatology is reliant on the reconstruction of the letter ה instead of י in שבית[ה. The manuscript is badly damaged at this point, but most scholars follow Baillet's reconstruction of ה.[255] The chief of dominions appears to refer to the leader of a demonic host.[256]

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[255] Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III,* 221.

[256] This interpretation is supported by three texts. Firstly, "the chiefs of the dominions" (לראשי ממשלות) in 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice[b] 14 I, 6 is mentioned in the context of the "divine divinities" (אלי אלים; 4Q401 14 I, 5). While not a demon, the title refers to an angelic or spiritual creature. Secondly, 4Q503 33 I + 34 19 mentions that "this night is for us the beginning of the rule of da[rkness (רוש ממשל ח֗[ושך). This is meant to be a calendrical expression in the midst of a series of daily prayers. The "rule of darkness" may simply refer to a time in which the moon is not visible in the night sky (Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III,* 115). It is possible that this time of the month was considered especially dangerous, a time where evil was more prevalent, but this is only a guess. Thirdly, 4Q286 3 5 mentions "all the spirits of the dominions" (וכול רוחי ממשלות). These spirits are within a fragmentary context that mention "angels who se[rve you" (מלאכי מש]רת), suggesting that they are benevolent spirit beings. The title רוש

The pronouncement of this realized eschatology is probably what constitutes an apotropaic effect. The eschatological age is typically characterized by the judgement of the wicked, thus according to 4Q215a 1 II, 3-4 "wipe out [al]l iniquity on account of his pio[us] ones." Although fragmentary, 4Q511 2 I, 4 may be read as insinuating that the removal of the chief of dominions is for the express purpose of granting everlasting life to the righteous. Declaring God's preemptive eschatological victory over the chief of dominions may represent one of the ways in which the speaker attempts to startle evil spirits. Alternatively, Baillet may be incorrect, and שבית[י ought to be reconstructed instead of שבית[ה. If this is the case, the Maskil is forecasting the future destruction of the evil spirits' leader, which would have a similar effect of startling the spirits.

2.6.4 4Q511 8 4-12

4] ... למשכיל ש[יר שני לפחד מיראיו[ן ... [
5] ...]ת̇עותו בתעניות ולוא לכל]ת עולם ... [
6] ... [◦◦י̇ א̇ל̇ בסתר שדי ◦ ... [
7] ... [לש̇יו יחביאני] ל̇[ן ... [
8] ... [◦נ̇י̇ בקדושיו[ן ... [
9] ... יח[ז̇ עם קדוש]יו ... [
10] ... מ[ו̇ד̇ים [ל]א̇ל vacat כיא] ... [
11] ... ב[ב̇תי כבודם יחברו[ן ... [
12] ... [אתה אל[וה]י̇ ה[א]ל[ו]הים ... [

4 [For the Instructor.] Second [s]ong to startle those who terrify […]

ממשלות may therefore refer to a spiritual being in charge of other spirits, one that has been removed due to their malevolent actions. See Joseph Angel, "Reading the *Songs of the Sage* in Sequence: Preliminary Observations and Questions," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple PeriodI*, eds. Mika Pajunen and Jeremy Penner; BZAW 486 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 195.

5 […] his straying during the humiliations, but not for [eternal] destruct[ion …]
6 […] … God in the secret of Shaddai […]
7 […] he will hide me … […]
8 […] me among his holy ones […]
9 […] with [his] holy one[s …]
10 giv[ing] thanks [to] God. *Blank* Because […]
11 [in] the houses of their glory they are gathered […]
12 […] You are the G[o]d of [g]o[ds …]

The second song of 4Q511 is called "a [s]ong to startle those who terrify." The ones who terrify are evil spirits (4Q444 2 II, 4; 4Q511 121 3). The identity of the one who "strays" in line 5 has been discussed above, and most likely denotes human beings generically or perhaps the Maskil himself. God is said to hide a human being "in the secret [or shelter] (בסתר) of Shaddai" (4Q511 8 6). That the human being is hidden suggests that they are being protected from the evil spirits. A similar phrase, "in the shelter of the Most High (בְּסֵתֶר עֶלְיוֹן)," appears in Ps 91:1, which is placed among the series of anti-demonic hymns of 11Q11 (VI, 3). The phrase, "shadow of the almighty (בְּצֵל שַׁדַּי)," appears in the same verse. It is possible, based on this amalgamation, that the author of 4QSongs of the Sage simply misremembered the exact wording of the psalm or relied on a manuscript tradition which contained the reading. More likely, however, the song represents an intentional combination of themes and phrases from both Ps 91 and Isa 49:2: "He made my mouth like a sharp sword, in the shadow of his hand he hid me."[257]

Nitzan sees this fragment as expressing both the Maskil's understanding from these biblical verses for protection *and* divine election, since God is seen as causing the Maskil to join the heavenly host in praise (4Q511 8 8-11). Additionally, she understands the Maskil's participation in the heavenly host (paralleled in passages such as 1QS XI, 7-9; 1QH[a] XI, 21-22, and XIX, 13-15) as a means to "frighten the spirits of Belial," something which is never explicitly mentioned in the text, but seems to be an inference based on the intended purpose of

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[257] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 270, n. 147.

the song itself.[258] The last bit of the song gives praise, stating that, "You are the G[o]d of [g]o[ds]," a common biblical description for God's preeminence (e.g., Deut 10:17; Josh 22:22; Ps 84:7, 136:2; Dan 2:47; 11:36). The context of this praise is broken off, but it is likely that those who are gathered in the "houses of their glory" (4Q511 8 11), a reference to angelic beings (of which the Maskil is now an honorary member), are the speakers.

2.6.5 4Q511 10 8-12

8 בכנור ישועות
9 [י]פת[חו פ]ה לרחמי אל ידרושו למנו   vacat   הושיׁ֜עׄה אלוהׁ[י]ם
10 [שומר חס]ׁד בׁאמת לכול מעשיו ושופט בצד[ק מׁ]הׁויי עד
11 [ע]ׁד נׁהיי עולמים   בסוד אילים ואנשים ישפוט
12 ברום שמים תוכחתו ובכול מוסדי ארץ משפטי יוד

8 With the lyre of salvation
9 [may] they [op]en their mouth for God's kindnesses. May they search for his manna. *Blank* Save me, O God,
10 [who keeps fav]our in truth for all his creatures, who rules with just[ice those who] exist for ever
11 and will exist for centuries. He judges in the council of gods and men.
12 In the heights of the heavens (is) his reproach and in all the foundations of the earth the judgments of his hand.

This portion of 4QSongs of the Sage contains several components that may individually or together be for apotropaic reasons. The first is the use of music.[259] In the Hebrew Bible music is sometimes used for apotropaic and divinatory purposes. Music is used by David in order to repel evil spirits that afflict Saul: "And whenever the evil spirit from God came upon Saul, David took the lyre and played it with his hand, and Saul would be relieved and feel better, and the evil spirit (רוּחַ הָרָעָה) would depart from him" (1 Sam 16:23). Not only was music used in order to expel/repel evil, but it also accompanied by prophetic ecstasy or the impartation of divine

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[258] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 271, 276; Compare Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 284; See also James Davila, "Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 2:479.

[259] The presence of a lyre (כנור) in 4QSongs of the Sage has caused speculation as to whether or not these songs were actually sung in a congregational setting. Since the word "salvation" modifies the instrument, it is also possible to understand this phrase as being metaphorical. The phrase "with the lyre of salvation" (בכנור ישועות) appears one other time in 1QHᵃ XIX, 26: "I will sing upon the lyre of salvation (ישועות בכנור), and the harp of jo[y, and the timbrel of rejoi]cing, and the flute of praise, without ceasing." The singer expresses their distress during the present age, waiting for a time of eschatological judgement at which point iniquity will be destroyed and "ravaging diseases" (נגע להחלות) will not exist (1QHᵃ XIX, 25). The use of the lyre in the context of the Hodayot does not enact any apotropaic effect and does not itself ward off any diseases, but is the resultant praise of already having received healing.

revelation. In 1 Sam 10:5, the prophet Samuel tells Saul that having arrived at Gibeath-elohim,

he will meet a band of prophets "coming down from the shrine with harp, tambourine, flute, and

lyre (וְכִנּוֹר) playing in front of them; they will be in a prophetic frenzy (מִתְנַבְּאִים)." It is unclear

from this passage whether the music itself caused them to break out into an ecstatic state, but this

is certainly a possibility.[260] For example, in 2 Kgs 3:15 the prophet Elisha specifically asks for a

musician to be brought to him, seemingly in order to enter a trance so that he might prophesy.[261]

Part of the hymn is an exhortation to search for God's manna. The mention of manna and

open mouths in 4Q511 is separated by two vacats, but what purpose this break serves is

uncertain. According to this song, a person is to open their mouth not only to give praise, but

also to search for God's manna. The exhortation for people to open their mouths "for God's

kindnesses" (לרחמי אל) may either mean that the human being is opening their mouth to praise

him *on account of* God's kindnesses, or that they are opening their mouths in order to *receive*

God's kindnesses. The imagery is perhaps that of a person whose mouth is open to praise God,

but simultaneously receives a heavenly gift of manna, understood as God's kindnesses. Since the

manna in the Hebrew Bible contained supernatural properties, the assumption is that, by praising

God, one receives a similar divine blessing that the Israelites received in the wilderness. In early

Judaism and Christianity more broadly, manna is often associated with supernatural revelation or

blessing, normally in an eschatological scenario.[262] In the New Testament book of Revelation,

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[260] PGM IV, 850-927 contains a ritual attributed to Solomon in order to cause an ecstatic trance and petition the gods for a favor. Lines 917–921 gives instructions on dismissing the spirits, and asks them to "protect him, NN, from all evil."

[261] See J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), 58, 88; Robert R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 33–35, 103–106, 129–130.

[262] In 2 Baruch 29:3, 9 the author records: "And it shall come to pass when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed…And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time." A similar scenario also appears in *Sib. Or.* 7.196–206. In the works of Philo, manna is often understood as a heavenly gift that imparts divine wisdom (*Leg.* 3.162–176; *Det.* 118; *Fug.* 137–39; *Congr.* 173–174; *Mut.* 258–260). See John M.G. Barclay, "Manna and the Circulation of Grace: A

for example, the author writes "Let anyone who has an ear listen to what the Spirit is saying to the churches. To everyone who conquers I will give some of the hidden manna (τοῦ μάννα τοῦ κεκρυμμένου)" (Rev 2:17).[263] God imparting understanding to human beings is one of the main mechanics of how demons are warded away in the songs (4Q511 1 7; 4Q511 18 II, 8; 4Q511 28 + 29 3; 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 1[?]). Finally, a petition for protection is given after a vacat in the text: "save me, O God" ([ם]הושיעה אלוה[ים). The object of his salvation is not stated, though God's salvific work in this text is in the context of evil spirits (4Q511 1 5) and the previous lines of this fragment (4Q511 10 1-3 = 4Q510 14-6) deal with protection from a long catalogue of evil spirits. The combination of music, the exhortation to search for God's manna, and a petition for protection seem to point towards an apotropaic quality for all of these activities.

2.6.6 4Q511 35 6-9

6 ואני מירא אל בקצי דורותי לרומם שם דבר[תי לפחד]
7 בגבורתו כו[ל]רוחי ממזרים להכניעם מירא[תו ולוא לכול]
8 [מ[ו]עדין] עולמים כי אם ל[ק]ץ ממשלתם[…] [ ]
9 [… ר]שׁ[ע]ה …] [

6 And as for me, I spread the fear of God in the ages of my generations to exalt the name [… and to terrify]
7 with his power al[l] spirits of the bastards, to subjugate them by [his] fear, [not for all]
8 [eternal t]imes, [but for] the time of their dominion […]
9 [… wi]cked[ness …]

Study on 2 Corinthians 8:1–15," in *The Word Leaps the Gap: Essays on Scripture and Theology in Honor of Richard B. Hays*, eds. J. Ross Wagner, C. Kavin Rowe, and A. Katherine Grieb (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 409–427, esp. 418 ff; Brant Pitre, *Jesus and the Last Supper* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 148–193, esp. 157; Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 83.
[263] See G. K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 251–252; Henry Barclay Swete (ed), *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 2nd ed., Classic Commentaries on the Greek New Testament (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906), 38–39. The idea that the manna in Revelation is "hidden" is paralleled in 4Q511, where one must "search" for his manna, insinuating that it is hidden and must be found. It is never stated how one goes about actually finding God's manna, but perhaps it is meant in a more metaphorical sense, that one ought to seek out the secret things of God through their daily life.

This passage gives yet another statement on how the Maskil intends to ward away evil spirits. Line 6 describes the Maskil's purpose for spreading the fear of God as "to exalt" (לרומם) the name. The ל preposition most naturally is read as a statement of purpose ("in order to"), meaning that God's name is given exaltation through spreading fear. The way in which the Maskil spreads fear is בגבורתו. It is unclear whether the ב preposition should be interpreted to mean that the Maskil is imparted power ("with/by means of his power"), or whether it is the declaration of God's own power that fear is spread. The exact phrase בגבורתו appears a handful of times in the Hebrew Bible. Ps 66 calls upon the earth to praise God, describing how "because of your great power, your enemies cringe before you" (v. 3), and notes that God rules "by his might (בִּגְבוּרָתוֹ) forever" (v. 7). Jer 9:22 calls for the mighty not to "boast in their might (בִּגְבוּרָתוֹ)." 4Q404 4 5 states "For he is] God of al[l who sing forever, and Judge in his power (בגבורתו) over all the spirits of understanding.]." Sir 43:15 may also be reconstructed to give this reading: "In his majesty (בגבורתו) he gives the clouds their strength."[264] Besides Jer 9:22, all other occurrences of this phrase refer to God acting in his own strength. Since the Maskil is describing his own activities, however, it must mean that "to terrify" (reconstructed in line 6) and "to subjugate" (line 7) are activities that are made possible through God's imputation of divine power.

The hiphil verb rendered as "to subjugate" (להכניעם) from the root כנע is directed towards "all the spirits of the bastards," which certainly refers to the Watcher mythology found in *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees*. This verb appears infrequently at Qumran and is not a common biblical term either (occurring 24x in the niphil and 11x in the hiphil). It appears in 4Q511 145 3 (להכנ]יע) without any further context. The verb is used in 1QM I, 5-7, speaking about the eschatological destruction of the "lot of Belial," and declaring that "the rule of the Kittim will come to an end,

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[264] Robert Henry Charles, ed. *Apocrypha of the Old Testament (apparatuses),* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 1:476.

wickedness having been defeated (להכניע), with no remnant remaining, and there will be no escape for [any of the sons] of darkness." This description, however, seems to be directed towards human adversaries rather than spirits. The word also appears in anti-demonic contexts in 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 3 and 6Q18 1 6.[265]

Subjugation of these spirits takes place by means of "[his] fear" (מירא]תו). The reconstructed suffix probably refers to the fear that God instills and which the Maskil speaks about. As with the previously analyzed passages, the main objective of the song is to frighten the spirits so that they will flee and leave humans away. Subjugation is the only instance of an additional result of spreading this fear. Since כנע has both the meaning "subdue" and "humble," it is possible that either: 1) by spreading fear the spirit is humbled by God's power and this is what further instills fear or 2) the evil spirit is subdued in some way, resulting in it being bound or limited in its activities. The first option is more likely, given that no other examples in 4QSongs of the Sage preserves this kind of punishment and the general thrust of the songs are to frighten for the purposes of apotropaism, not to bind them (which is typically an activity that leads to eschatological punishment, something that the songs explicitly say are not their intended purpose).

2.6.7 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 1-8

1 בעצת אל כיא[...]ת̇ בינתו נתן [ב]ל̇ב]בי ... [
2 הודות צדקו ו̇◌[...]ע̇ה ובפי̇ יפחד [כול רוחות]
3 ממזרים להכ̇ניע̇[...]ט̇י ט̇מאה כיא בתכ̇מי
4 ב̇שרי יסו̇ד ד̇◌[...]וב[גויתי מלחמו̇ת חוקי
5 אל בלבבי ואועי̇[ל ...]ע̇ל כ̇ול מופתי גבר מעשי

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[265] The use of this term in connection with the "spirits of the bastards" is compelling, since according to 1 Chr 20:4 "After this, war broke out with the Philistines at Gezer; then Sibbecai the Hushathite killed Sippai, who was one of the descendants of the giants (הָרְפָאִים | γιγάντων); and the Philistines were subdued (וַיִּכָּנֵעוּ)." Whether such a parallel was intentional is unclear, though it is striking that this otherwise rare word is used in 4QSongs of the Sage, especially in connection with the "spirit of the bastards," to which the "giants" are the progenitors.

6 אשמה ארשיעֿ[ן ...]אֿל ○○ וֹת ○○○○אל   *vacat*   הואה
7 ידע ובֿרזיו ○○ [...]○○○○[ריבי כֿול
8 רוחי ○○ [...]מ�ֿ[ ]○[ ]מֿ[ ]○[מׁ]מׁימֿ[...]לֿ[

1 in God's council. Because He has placed [the wisdom] of his intelligence [in my] hea[rt, and on my tongue]
2 the praises of his justice and [...] ... And through my mouth he startles [all the spirits of]
3 the bastards, to subjugate [all] impure [sin]ners. For in the innards of
4 my flesh is the foundation of [... and in] my body wars. The laws of
5 God are in my heart, and I get prof[it …] ... all the wonders of man. The deeds of
6 guilt I pronounce wicked [...] God of ... *Blank* He
7 knows, and in his mysteries ... [...] ... the disputes of all
8 the spirits of ... [...] ... [...]

This final section under consideration gives yet another statement of how the Maskil wards away evil spirits. Similar to 4Q510 1 4, where the Maskil describes that it his declaring the "splendour of his radiance," which frightens away evil spirits, here it is "through my mouth" (ובפי) that "he [God] startles" the "spirits of] the bastards," again with the additional mention of subjugation in line 3. Due to the fragmentary nature of this passage, it is unclear whether the כיא in line 1 means that it is because God has placed wisdom and "praises of justice" in the Maskil's heart and tongue that he is able to startle the spirits, or if he is "in God's council" because (כיא) of those reasons. The former is probably the case, since 4Q511 18 II, 8 states that "God made the knowledge of intelligence shine in my heart."

The target of the subjugation in this fragment is confusing. García Martínez and Tigchelaar reconstruct [כול חו]טי טמאה and translate it as "[all] impure [sin]ners." Baillet translates this line as "pour humilier les...d'impureté," without reconstructing the missing letters: להכניע] [   ]טי טמאה.[266] If García Martínez and Tigchelaar are correct, it is unclear whether the "spirits of] the bastards" are meant to be understood as synonymous with the "impure [sin]ners," since evil spirits are not typically referred to as "sinners" elsewhere.[267] Another possibility is to

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[266] Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 223–224.
[267] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer,* 243 n. 68: Nitzan suggests that this is a reference to *Jub*.10:1, where the evil spirits are referred to as "unclean demons," but again, the term sinner is never used to describe them.

reconstruct this line as follows: "to humiliate [all] impure [mutter]ers" (להכניע [כול אט[טי טמאה]).

The word אטט is attested only once in the Hebrew Bible in Isa 19:3: "the spirit of the Egyptians within them will be emptied out, and I will confound their plans; they will consult the idols and the spirits of the dead (וְאֶל־הָאִטִּים) and the ghosts and the familiar spirits."[268] The word appears among a list of either occult specialists[269] or spiritual entities (cf. Isa 8:19, 29:4), most of which seem to be necromantic in nature. Since the bastard spirits are understood to be the remnants of deceased giants, this word may be appropriate. Another reason for accepting this reconstruction is that, if a human target is intended, אטט may refer to the occult specialist who consults the bastard spirits, which explains why by terrifying the bastard spirits away, it will simultaneously subjugate (or humiliate) the human "mutterers," who rely on the spirits for their divinatory occupation.

2.6.8 Conclusion

This work has typically been classified as a series of either apotropaic[270] or exorcistic songs.[271] Morris offers five reasons for considering 4Q510-4Q511 as apotropaic rather than exorcistic. These reasons include: 1) eschatological elements within the songs that are typical of Eshel's criteria for apotropaic prayers,[272] 2) lists given of demonic beings, which Morris interprets as reference for future protection rather than exorcistic practice, 3) the fact that no adjuration is given that directly addresses the demons, 4) no language in the text suggests a

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[268] R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke, eds., *TWOT* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1999), 34–35.

[269] The ESV, for example, translates the terms as follows: "and they will inquire of the idols and the sorcerers, and the mediums and the necromancers."

[270] Stuckenbruck, for example, sees this as the case along with possibly 11Q11. Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Jesus' Apocalyptic Worldview and His Exorcistic Ministry," in *The Pseudepigrapha and Christian Origins: Essays from the Novi Testamenti Societas*, eds. Gerbern S. Oegema and James H. Charlesworth, JCTS 4 (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 77.

[271] Lange, "The Essene Position on Divination and Magic," 383, 402–403, 430–433.

[272] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 87–88.

person undergoing demonic attack, and 5) the term "subjugate" (להכניעם) in 4Q511 35 7 does not demand an exorcistic context similar to the word ארור in 4Q444 2 I, 1.[273] Most, if not all, of these reasons are problematic.

Whether all the songs are strictly apotropaic, exorcistic, or some combination of both is actually unclear. Taking Morris's criteria as a guideline, I will highlight some of the issues with classifying this text as strictly apotropaic. Morris's first and third points draw on Eshel's criteria for designating this as an apotropaic rather than exorcistic song. This is difficult to accept since Eshel lists "forecasting the doom of the evil forces" and addressing demons specifically by name as characteristics of incantations (i.e., exorcisms). If 4Q510 1 6-8 is accepted as an address to the demons just listed in lines 5-6, then a direct address *is* present (and one that certainly forecasts their future destruction). Morris's second point, that a catalogue of spirits envisions future protection, is of course possible, but nothing in the list itself demands that *future* protection is in mind.[274] His fourth point is also technically incorrect, since the term usually translated as "demon possessed" (הפגועים) occurs in 4Q511 11 8.[275] His fifth point about the lack of exorcistic terminology is also wanting. להכנ[י]ע ("to subdue") appears in 4Q511 145 3, though without any further context. His further argument that petitions do not play a significant role in the scroll is also an argument from silence.[276] Morris's criteria, therefore, for designating 4Q510-4Q511 as strictly apotropaic are either lacking convincing explanatory power or are incorrect.

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[273] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 119–120.

[274] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 119 gives no reason other than that the Maskil could not be attempting to target all of these evil spirits at once if it were exorcistic. Below I deal with why this interpretation is problematic.

[275] 4Q510 1 6 refers to "those who strike unexpectedly" (והפוגעים פתע פתאום) as a class of evil spirit. 4Q511 11 8 is followed by a הֹ with a series of indiscernible letters. This fragment contains remnants of a number of parallel terms to 4Q510 1 1–6 such as יֹפגעו לענות (4Q511 11 4), מיראיו (4Q511 11 5), and עו[למים כיא אחרֹוֹן (4Q511 11 9). Perhaps this is part of another list of evil spirits?

[276] Morris, *Warding off Evil,* 120. The phrase [הושיעה אלוה[ים appears in 4Q511 10 9, לפדויים כֹֹיֹא אלוהֹ[ם in 4Q511 36 3 just after the mention of purification (וטהרם) in the previous line, יֹשֹועתו יענה .[י] in 4Q511 38 3, and א,[ל[ו]הי, אלוהים and אֹלוֹהֹ, appear without any known context in 4Q511 19 4, 4Q511 90 3, and 4Q511 133 2 respectively.

Despite the problems with Morris's argument, however, I argue that this text most likely *should* be interpreted as apotropaic for the following reasons: 1) If Nitzan is correct, the catalogue of spirits offered in 4Q510 1 1-9 (= 4Q511 10 1) are spirits that strike unexpectedly and thus, the songs are most likely being sung as a preventative measure against future attacks; 2) The aim of the Maskil in 4Q511 1 1-8 is to announce God's qualities and victories in such a way so that the evil spirits will hear and not approach him; 3) 4Q511 2 I, 1-10 utilizes a realized eschatology as the basis for frightening away evil spirits. This approach is known from other apotropaic works; 4) 4Q511 8 4-12 may be interpreted as a form of angelomorphism, the intent of which is to situate the singer within God's heavenly courts and by extension is protection;[277]

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[277] In several instances within 4QSongs of the Sage, human beings are thought of as being in communion with the angels or identified as being angelic. According to 4Q511 2 I, 7-10, Israel has been placed by God in the lot "with the ange[ls of] his glorious luminaries" to serve him "in the lot of the people of his throne" (comp. 1QM XVII, 7; See Qimron's suggestion that line 10 ought to read צבאו and not כסאו; Elisha Qimron, T*he Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*, 3 vols. [Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2013], 2: 318). Similarly, 4Q511 35 2-5 states that God has made certain individuals holy so that they will be "priests, his just people, his army and servants, the angels of his glory" (See Alexander, *Mystical Texts*, 69; Davidson, *Angels at Qumran*, 283–284; Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam,* 164–165). The use of the word עם in line 3 with reference to angelic beings is confusing (Compare Baillet, *Qumran grotte 4.III*, 237 and Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010], 127). Joseph Angel, *Otherworldly and Eschatological Priesthood,* 131 and M. L. Walsh, *Angels Associated with Israel in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2016), 272 n. 150, 281–282 have both suggested that, similar to 4Q400 1 I, 6, where the phrase "people of the intelligence of his divine glory" (אלוהים עם בינות כבודי) is typically used of human beings (Isa 27:11; CD V, 16; 1QHᵃ X, 19), in the context of the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, it is likely that the "list of intentionally inclusive epithets was meant to underscore the unity of the heavenly and earthly groups in a single community." Angel, "The Material Reconstruction," 64–66 has also suggested that fragment 35 of 4Q511 may have originally been situated before fragment 18, which contains similar language related to the Maskil's self-designated purpose within the community. If he is correct, Walsh's comments are especially important: "the *Yahad's* station with the angels is related to the benefits of the piety of the sectarian leadership" (Walsh, *Angels,* 282). Walsh also suggests that 4Q511 2 I, 6 may contain angelomorphic language: "those who [kee]p the way of God and his [h]oly pat[h] for the holy ones of his people (לקדושי עמו)." Here, he suggests that לקדושי עמו should be understood as implying that the way in which the community obeys God's commands is of a similar nature to that of the angels, insinuating that they are, in some way, like the angels (Walsh, *Angels,* 283 (italics his); Compare Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 19ff.). If this conclusion is correct, this means that the Maskil's explanation of his purpose "to spread the fear of God" (4Q511 35 6) is connected in some way with angelomorphic language. Perhaps because the Maskil embodies an angel-like form, this is the reason why he is able to terrify and "spread the fear" to the demons. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory,* 168–174, contends that 4Q511 35 6 can be interpreted as "and I, a god, causing fear" (ואני מירא אל), arguing that the Maskil has been elevated in angelomorphic or theomorphic terms.

Various clues within 1QS IV, 20-23 also suggest angelomorphic or theomorphic language. For example, the righteous are made to have the same understanding as the angelic "sons of heaven" (בני שמים; comp. 1QHᵃ V, 25). According to 1QS IV, 23, after being cleansed of the unclean spirit, the author states that, on account of God having chosen his people to receive this purging, "to them belong all the glory of Adam (ולהם כול כבוד אדם). The term "glory of Adam" appears in CD III, 18-21, where it is within the context of God atoning for his people by building a

5) 4Q511 10 8-12 contains a petition for salvation as well as the use of music which sometimes contained anti-demonic characteristics; 6) the means of terrifying evil spirits in 4Q511 35 6-9 and 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 1-8 is by announcing certain attributes of God. Like 4Q511 1 1-8, the idea is for the spirits to hear these vocalized truths and be too afraid to approach the speaker.

Two specific points can be made about the importance of community membership in these passages. First, and most obvious, is the presence of the Maskil. The Maskil is a leader in the community who apparently has the spiritual fortitude necessary to repel evil spirits from attacking community members either by reciting them himself during specific times, or by having the congregation join in with him (or simply having the congregation read, pray, or sing these on their own terms). Secondly, since the songs are for "the upright," this assumes that only community members can reap their rewards since those outside are, by definition, unrighteous.

2.7 4QIncantion (4Q444)[278]

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temple within the community on the basis of a prophecy in Ezek 44:15. The term also appears in 1QH[a] IV, 27 in the context of God removing iniquity from his people. The "glory of Adam" has been connected with cultic language found, for example, in Sir 49:16-50:21 and a liturgical setting (4Q504 8; 4Q381 3-11) where Adam's glory is linked with angelic worship/servitude and transferred to Israel (Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory,* 95–103; Eileen Schuller, "Non-Canonical Psalms," in *Qumran Cave 4. VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts. Part 1*, eds. Esther Eshel, et al., DJD 11 [Oxford: Clarendon, 1998], 94–96). The "glory" referred to seems to be God's glory, which Adam and now Israel shares in (Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory,* 382; R.M.M. Tuschling, *Angels and Orthodoxy,* 122–124). It is not that the "glory of Adam" exorcises the unclean spirit, but that this transformation facilitates perfect obedience once it is removed. Since it is the "spirit of injustice" and the "unclean spirit" that cause the "deeds of trickery" in IV, 23, the assumption is that human beings will no longer be able to come under the sway of these spirits again. The new status, whether angelomorphic or theomorphic, contains, by its very nature, an apotropaic effect, since human beings are given a state in which they are completely impervious to demonic invasion, whether pneumatic or ethical.

Similarly, as part of God's protective measures in 1QSb, he is said to open the heavens (1QSb I, 4) and a fragmentary mention of "congregation of the holy [ones]" ([בדעת קדוש]ים; 1QSb I, 5). Holy ones can be used of human beings (קודש]י[כה; 1QSb III, 3; IV, 1) or of angels (קדושים; 1QSb III, 26; IV, 1, 23). The phrase עדת קדושיכה appears in 1QH[a] XXV, 5, notably in the context of God causing "wicked spirits" (ורוחות רשעה) to "dwell away from…" (תבית מא; 1QH[a] XXV, 6) some unknown group as well as the eradication of "evil" (רֹעֹ; 1QH[a] XXV, 7). The phrase עדת קדושיכה is probably dependant on בִּקְהַל קְדֹשִׁים from Ps 89:5, which described God's heavenly audience offering him praise. Perhaps God places the audience within his heavenly court as a protective measure, suggesting a form of angelomorphism.

[278] Transcription and translation from Esther Chazon, "4QIncantation," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts,* eds. Esther Chazon, James VanderKam, and Monica Brady, DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 372, 374.

4Q444 1-4 I + 5 I

1 ואני מיראי אל בדעת אמתו פתח פי ומרוח קודשו ○] ... [
2 אמֹת לכֹ[ו]לֹ[ן אל]הֹ   ויהיו לרוחי ריב במבניתי חוק[י אל ... [
3] ... ב]תֹכמי בשר   ורוח דעת ובינה אמֹת וצדק שם אלֹ בלֹ[בבי ... [
4] ...ֹ]וֹה ותתחזק בחוקי אל ולהלחם ברוחי רשעה ולוֹא ○○] ... [
5] ...]לֹ[ ]תֹ] דיניה   vacat   ארור
6] ...]רוֹן האֹמֹת והמשפט
7] ...]הֹ עד תום ממשלתה
8] ... מ]מֹזרים ורוח הטמאה
9] ...]○○קֹל והגנֹב]ים ... [
10] ... צֹ]דיקים ארוֹ] ... [
11] ...]○ֹדת תועבֹ]ה ... [

1 And as for me, because of my fearing God, he opened my mouth with his true knowledge; and from his holy spirit
2 truth to a[l] [the]se. They became spirits of controversy in my (bodily) structure; law[s of God
3 in] blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness, God put in [my] he[art
4] And strengthen yourself by the laws of God, and in order to fight against the spirits of wickedness, and not [
5] its judgements. *Vac* Cursed be
6 of the truth and of the judgement
7] until the completion of its dominion
8 ba]stards and the spirit of impurity
9] and the thieve[s?
10 ri]ghteous ones [
11] abominate[on

Six fragments of a scroll dated paleographically between the years 30 BCE and 68 CE has been commonly identified as an apotropaic or exorcistic text. The opening line (ואני מיראי אל) can be variously understood as either: 1) "I belong to those who fear god"; 2) "because of my fearing God"; 3) "and I exorcise/spread fear [in/by the name of] God." The lack of context (and the absence of the name of evil spirits or demons) makes determining whether this is to be taken as exorcistic or apotropaic uncertain. God opening the mouth of the speaker draws to mind the words of the Maskil in 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 2.

Line 2 mentions "spirits of dispute" (לרוחי ריב) which, being in juxtaposition to more favorable spirits such as "holy spirit" and "spirit of knowledge," suggests that these are anthropological spirits, not demons. Line 4 mentions the "spirits of wickedness" (ברוחי רשעה) which refer either to oppositional ethical proclivities (which is most likely given the previous

lines) or to evil pneumatic powers (the word ולהלחם suggesting spiritual warfare of some kind; see 2.5.4).[279]

Being strengthened by the laws of God (ותתחזק בחוקי אל) in line 4 may show a link between obedience and apotropaism similar to CD XVI, 5 where Mastema is repelled from following an individual if they perpetually obey God's commands; However, as Morris points out, this is only relevant if the being in question is a demon, which it most likely is not.[280]

4Q444 1 5 contains the remains of the word ארור ("I curse") or possibly ארוד ("I subdue") which seem to be directed towards the spirits preserved in line 8 which mentions both the "b]astards" and the "spirit of uncleanness." The first is a reference to the Watcher mythology addressed above and the spirit of uncleanness may have to do with Zech 13:2.

Line 7 mentions "until the completion of its dominion," which, due to its fragmentary context makes its meaning unknowable, though it could refer to the time given for evil spirits to reign on earth as previously discussed. Lines 7-8 share a parallel with 4Q511 121 2-3:

[...]◌ כול מֿיראיו [...] מֿ[...] תעני֯ות וֿעד תום[...] ("Until the completion of its dominion … ba]stards and the spirit of impurity")

ממשלתה עד תום]ה֯ [...] מֿ[זֹרים וֿרוח הטמאה ...] מֿ[...]… ("Humiliation until completion … I spread fear all)

The presence of similar language and concepts found in 4Q444 and 4QSongs of the Sage may suggest that they are related to one another in function, if not literarily.

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[279] The term רוחי רש]עה appears in 1QM XV, 14 in reference to external spiritual entities connected with Belial. ורוחות רשעה appears in 1QHᵃ XXV,4 and is best interpreted anthropologically. רוח רשע appears in the singular in 1QS V, 26 in the context of rules against speaking out against a member of the community with harshness, suggesting that the term is best understood as a human disposition.

[280] The recipients of the letter in 4QMMT are characterized as already having knowledge and wisdom, but they are exhorted to ask God to "strengthen" (שׁיתֹקֵן; C 28) their will. God strengthening a speaker in knowledge and wisdom is a common trope in the apotropaic and exorcistic texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

2.7.1 Conclusion

Whether 4Q444 was used in an exorcistic or apotropaic context cannot be known with certainty, but it is anti-demonic. This work might best be classified as exorcistic-apotropaic. The presence of terms like "fearing God" and strengthening oneself by the "laws of God," suggests that obedience and community membership are part of what makes this ritual effective.

2.8 Hodayot[281]

The Hodayot are a collection of 28-34 hymns which draw heavily from other poetic compositions, most notably the Psalms.[282] 1QH[a] is the most substantially preserved copy of this document, although seven other copies exist (1QH[b]; 4QH[a-f]). The scroll is written with two distinguishable scribal hands, noticeably changing at column XIX, 25. Additionally, a third scribe has been observed to have made various editorial changes.[283] 1QH[a] dates from "the beginning of our era or shortly before." The oldest copy, 4QH[b], dates "from the first quarter of the first century BCE, shortly after 100 BCE (middle Hasmonean)."[284] The Hodayot have a complicated publication history, which can only be covered in a cursory manner here. Sukenik published 1QH[a] from the best-preserved content to the least in order to make the work accessible to scholars. The order of the columns and thus the numbering system was inaccurate.[285] Hartmut Stegemann and Émile Puech independently of one another, each produced a reconstruction of

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[281] Transcriptions and translations are taken from Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom, *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QHᵃ*, EJL 36 (Atlanta: SBL, 2012).

[282] Hartmut Stegemann, "The Number of Psalms in 1QHodayotᵃ and Some of Their Sections," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceeding of the Fifth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000*, ed. Esther Chazon, STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 191–193.

[283] Angela Kim Harkins, "A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QHᵃ Sixty Years After its Discovery," in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery; Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, eds. Daniel Falk, Sarianna Metso, Donald Perry, and Eibert Tigchelaar, STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 101–34.

[284] Émile Puech, "Hodayot," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1:366.

[285] Eliezer Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1954).

1QHᵃ which were nearly identical. The columns were reordered, the numbering adjusted, and various misplaced fragments situated into their proper order within the scroll.[286] The Cave 4 copies of the Hodayot were published in the DJD series in 1999. Stegemann and Eileen Schuller set out to complete a critical edition of the Hodayot.[287] After Stegemann's death in 2005, Schuller took up the project and published the completed work in 2009.[288]

In the 1960s, the hymns of the Hodayot were broken up into two basic categories called the "Teacher Hymns" and the "Community Hymns." The title "Teacher Hymns" came about due to the suggestion by Sukenik that the first-person hymns had similarities to what was known about the "Teacher of Righteousness" found in other sectarian documents such as 1QpHab and CD. The similarities included details such as being exiled (1QHᵃ XII, 6–XII, 6) and persecution (1QHᵃ X, 5–21; X, 22–32). As early as 1960, Svend Holm-Nielsen noted that it was impossible to know who composed these songs, and that the Hodayot were created to be used in liturgical settings similar to the biblical psalms.[289] Schuller notes that despite "hints of increasing disillusionment" with the traditional divisions, it "continues to provide a well-recognized terminology and serves multiple heuristic purposes."[290]

2.8.1 1QHᵃ IV, 33-37

33 [...]תמו רשעים ואני הובינותי כי את אשר בחרתה ה[כינותה] דרכו ובשכל
34 [...ת]חשכהו מחטוא לך ול°°°ב לו ענותו ביסוריך ובנס[וייך חזק]תה לבו

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[286] Hartmut Stegemann, *Rekonstruktion der Hodajot: Ursprüngliche Gestalt und kritisch bearbeiteter Text der Hymnenrolle aus Höhle 1 von Qumran* (PhD diss., University of Heidelberg, 1969).

[287] Émile Puech, "Hodayot," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX,* 2:69–254.

[288] Hartmut Stegemann with Eileen Schuller. Translation of texts Carol Newsom, *1QHodayotᵃ with Incorporation of 1QHodayotᵇ and 4QHodayotᵃ⁻ᶠ* , DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009).

[289] Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 273, 332–348.

[290] Eileen Schuller, "Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993–2010," *CurBR* 10 (2011): 139. For a new perspective on the genre(s) of the Hodayot, one ought to consult Michael Johnson, *Reassessing the Genres of the Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran)* (Phd diss., McMaster University, 2019).

35 [...] עבדך מחטוא לך ומכשול בכול דברי רצונך חזק מתנ[יו לעמו]ד על רוחות

36 [ולה]תהלך בכול אשר אהבתה ולמאוס בכול אשר שנאתה [ולעשות]הטוב בעיניך

37 [...] [ממ]שלתם בתכמו כי רוח בשר עבדך vacat [...] vacat [...]

33. […]*tmw* the wicked. As for me, I understand that (for) the one whom you have chosen [you determi]ne his way and through insight

34. [… you] draw him back from sinning against you. And in order to °°*b* to him his humility through your disciplines and through [your] tes[ts] you have [strengthened] his heart

35. […] your servant from sinning against you and from stumbling in all the matters of your will. Strengthen [his] loi[ns that he may sta]nd against spirits

36. […] and that he may w]alk in everything that you love and despise everything that [you] hate, [and do] what is good in your eyes.

37. […]their [domi]nion in his members; for your servant (is) a spirit of flesh. […] vacat […] vacat

This hymn contains a petition for God to grant the speaker "strength" (חזק) in order to "sta]nd against spirits" (לעמו]ד על רוחות) and a fragmentary mention of "their [domi]nion in his members" ([ממ]שלתם בתכמו; 1QHᵃ IV, 35, 37). This petition is apotropaic, since the speaker is asking God to allow him to fend off the attacks of spirits.[291] Whether the spirits are meant to be understood in an anti-peccable or anti-demonic sense, however, is unclear, though both seem to be in view.[292]

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[291] Compare Paul's statement in 2 Thess 3:3: "But the Lord is faithful; he will strengthen (στηρίξει) you and guard (φυλάξει) you from the evil one (τοῦ πονηροῦ)." The preceding warning given by Paul is to pray that God will rescue he and his companions from "wicked and evil people (ἀτόπων καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων)" (3:2). On the one hand, it is possible that Paul here refers not to Satan (comp. 2 Thess 2:9), but to generic evil, the kind perpetrated by human beings against the cause of Paul's mission. On the other hand, if "evil one" is meant, then Paul may be creating a parallel between evil humans and evil spirits. Elsewhere, Paul tells us that Satan is the one who kept him from coming to Thessalonica (1 Thess 2:18). Charles A. Wanamaker, *The Epistles to the Thessalonians: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 276 suggests that the verbs στηρίξει and φυλάξει are to be understood as progressive futures so that the meaning is meant to be understood as "the Lord "will continue strengthening and guarding them"." This seems to point towards an apotropaic context of the prayer request.

See also the comments of Eibert Tigchelaar in his paper "Historical Origins of the Early Christian Concept of the Holy Spirit: Perspectives from the Dead Sea Scrolls" presented at the University of Leuven, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, Research Unit Biblical Studies, 17: "The third section, quoted above, praises God for spirits that he has given to, or rather, placed in, the hymnist, and prays to God to strengthen him against spirits. Whereas the Hodayot generally refers to a singular spirit given to the hymnist, the plural spirits may be opposed here to the different spirits mentioned in the first section, and at the end of this sections. The spirits given by God enable the hymnist to speak the right words to God, to praise God for his deeds, and to confess his own former transgressions. In other places in the Hodayot, references to the spirit(s) which God has placed in the hymnist are associated with knowledge, and similar phrases sometimes replace "spirit you have place in me" by "your insight." At the same time, the section still acknowledges the dominion that evil spirits have over the inner parts of the hymnist. In the final clause of the third section acknowledges that he is a spirit of flesh, as an explanation for his being subject to the dominion of evil spirits, and his need for strength."

[292] Miryam T. Brand, *"At the Entrance Sin is Crouching:" The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature* (PhD diss., New York University, 2011), 82: comments on this passage and states that "spirit"

An anti-peccable interpretation can be inferred on the following basis: The spirits of line 35 may be viewed as being in juxtaposition to the spirits in line 29: "[Blessed are you, O God of compassi]on on account of the spirits that you have placed in me" (ברוך אתה אל הרחמי[ם מרוחות אשר נתתה בי). Elsewhere in the Hodayot, the speaker thanks God for placing "the spirit" (ברוח) in him, which is connected with "all your [God's] deeds of righteousness" (וצדק כול מעשיך; 1QHᵃ V, 36; cf. VIII, 29; XX, 15; XXI, 34).[293] Similarly, the speaker elsewhere thanks God for placing God's Holy Spirit within him (1QHᵃ VIII, 20). The singular "spirit" given to human beings in the Hodayot is best understood as God's spirit based on Ezek 37:6 and 14.[294] The strongest reason for this correlation is that the spirit given to humans in Ezekiel and in the Hodayot are both connected with knowledge (XX, 35-38).[295] The hymn in column IV differs from every other found in the Hodayot in the curious case of the plural phrase מרוחות. In every other occurrence that refers to God giving a spirit to the speaker, it is described using the singular phrase ברוח (V, 36, VIII, 29, XX, 14-15, XXI, 34).[296] The use of the plural "spirits" in IV, 29, however, does not seem to refer to God's spirit, but rather a number of ethical dispositions granted by God for the

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(rûaḥ) in the Hodayot does not refer to an external being, but rather to humans, their tendencies, and occasionally to internal enlightenment granted by God." This seems to ignore such passages as 1QHᵃ V, 25; IX, 12-13; XXIV, 26.

[293] Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1993), 393–394: Puech interprets these as referring to the Two Spirits of 1QS. This interpretation seems unlikely since the spirits in this passage are understood as being positive attributes, whereas the "spirit of deceit" in 1QS is viewed as negative.

[294] See Carol A. Newsom, "Predeterminism and Moral Agency in the Hodayot," in *The Religious Worldviews Reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls : Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 28-30 May, 2013*, eds. Ruth A. Clements, Menahem Kister, and Michael Segal, STDJ 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 193-211; Rony Kozman, "Ezekiel's Promised Spirit as adam's Revelatory Spirit in the Hodayot", *DSD* 26.1 (2019): 30-60; For older studies of this connection, see Armin Dietzel, "Beten im Geist: eine religionsgeschichtliche Parallele aus den Hodajot zum paulinischen Gebet im Geist," *TZ* 13 (1957): 25; Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwaertiges Heil*, SUNT 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 130; R. Schnakenburg, "Die Anbetung in Geist und Wahrheit (Joh. 4, 23) im Lichte von Qumran-Texten," *BZ* 3 (1959): 92; Erik Sjöberg, "Neuschöpfung in den Toten-Meer-Rollen," *ST* 9 (1955): 135 n.6; A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966), 35; Hauschild, *Gottes Geist und der Mensch,* 251.

[295] J.W. Yates, *The Spirit and Creation in Paul*, WUNT 2/251 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 72; Jason Maston, "Anthropological Crisis and Solution in the *Hodayot* and 1 Corinthians 15," *NTS* 62 (2016): 539.

[296] Compare Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot,* 247 n. 2.

speaker to be obedient. Like in 1QHᵃ V, 36, the speaker in IV, 29 also praises God for his "righteous deeds" (צדקותיך).

If one looks at the way the plural word "spirits" is used elsewhere in contexts of obedience, we may conclude that its use here designates a series of ethical principles. In a hymn written for the Maskil, which likely describes some of his own activities such as prostrating himself before God and helping the simple understand (1QHᵃ V, 13), the author states that "humankind may understand concerning […] flesh and the council of the spirits (וסוד רוחו[ת) of […]° they walk" (V, 14). The "spirits" here are probably similar to the context found in 1QS (e.g., II, 20, III, 14, V, 21). 1QS V, 21 instructs members of the community to examine newcomers concerning "their spirits," specifically "in respect of his insight and of his deeds in law." In this context the term "spirits" refer to the mental capacities and determination or zeal of the individual for obeying the law.[297] This sense of "spirits" is what is meant in 1QHᵃ IV, 29. What other "spirits" God could possibly transfer to the speaker is unclear. God is not segmenting himself into multiple spirits and sending them into an individual, nor does it seem probable that these spirits are angels or some other celestial being. The plural "spirits" was, therefore, probably chosen in order to create the juxtaposition between lines 29 and 35. If this is the case, the "spirits" in line 35 should be understood as contrasting dispositions to the ones God has granted the speaker.[298]

There are several reasons, however, for taking the spirits in this passage as malevolent external beings. Firstly, the phrase "to stand against spirits" is followed by a lacuna which has been variously filled in by scholars with demonic characteristics.[299] García Martínez and

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[297] Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning,* 176–177.
[298] Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruach at Qumran,* 136.
[299] Jason Maston, *Divine and Human Agency in Second Temple Judaism and Paul: A Comparison of Sirach, Hodayot, and Romans 78* (PhD diss., Durham University, 2009), 145: "Along with purifying the elect from sin, God

Tigchelaar, for example, fill in the lacuna with "Strengthen […] against [fiendish] spirits" (רשעה]

ד על רוחות לה[תהלך] מ[...]חזק),[300] which gives the impression of an anti-demonic petition.[301]

Describing the spirits as "wicked," however, does not necessitate that they are demonic. This

could be a way of referring to wicked dispositions. Secondly, the term "dominion" in the phrase

"their [dom]nion in his members" (ממ]שלתם בתכמו]) is often connected with demonic beings

(4Q511 35 10; 1QS I, 18; 4Q256 II, 3). Thirdly, the word translated as "his members" (בתכמו)

has been carefully studied by Noam Mizrahi, who argues that this is a partonomic, Aramaic loan

word similar to the Hebrew word "shoulder" (שכם). Importantly, Mizrahi highlights that this

word has been borrowed from a larger body of technical literature concerned with magic and

medicine.[302] The presence of spirits having dominion within the תכמים could place the petition

within a broader anti-demonic context. Fourthly, the plural "spirits" is used many times

elsewhere in the Hodayot either of God's celestial host (V, 25, 39(?); IX, 12-13; XI, 23-24; XVI,

13) or of demonic spirits (XI, 19; XXIV, 26; XXV, 6-8), but only of humans once or twice (VI,

22, V, 13[?]). This statistical argument lends favor towards an anti-demonic interpretation.

Lastly, 4Q444 1 1-2 and 4Q511 48-9 + 51 II, 4, 7-8 contain references to feuding spirits within a

human being. In these two texts, the positive spiritual element is likely to be interpreted as an

imputed disposition, whereas the negative spirit is understood to be an evil external spirit that is

strengthens them so that they will not continue to commit sins or fall prey to spirits of wickedness (4.23; 9.32; 15.6–9). The hymnist recognises that the human spirit is weak and given to transgress God's will. With God's assistance and protection, though, the human can obey God's will."

[300] On the reading of חזק against חוק see DJD 40, 71.

[301] García Martínez, and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 1:150; Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 234: "Strengthen the [loins of Thy servant that may] resist the spirits [of falsehood, that] he may walk."; Michael Wise, Martin Abegg Jr., and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation,* rev. ed. (New York: Harper One, 2005), 173: "spirits of [wickedness to] walk."

[302] Noam Mizrahi, "תכמי בשר = "Body Parts": Interpreting an Enigmatic Lexeme לביאורה של מילה סתומה בלשון המגילות" of Qumran Hebrew," *Lešonenu* 77.1 (2015) 25–57; Noam Mizrahi, " תכמי בשר "Body Parts": The Semantic History of a Qumran Hebrew Lexeme," in *The Reconfiguration of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of the Seventh International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira at Strasbourg University, June 2014,* eds. Jan Joosten, Daniel Machiela, and Jean-Sébastien Rey, STDJ 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 123-157.

influencing the person. These two examples showcase evidence that two spirits can exist side by side within a text, but one be a spiritual disposition and the other a malevolent external entity. This may support an anti-demonic reading of the "spirits" in 1QH[a] IV, 35.[303]

The concern for the speaker is to avoid disobedience. This is communicated by the fact that he proclaims God strengthens the righteous so as not "to sin against you" (מחטוא לך ;1QH[a] IV, 35). Whether sin is influenced by a series of demonic beings or internal ethical dispositions is unclear, though both are probable. This work, therefore, may be classified as an *apotropaic anti-peccable/anti-demonic petition.* Concern for obedience is clear, and therefore the anti-peccable classification is listed first, though if the concern is demonic, the primary objective is to thwart the demons who *cause* sin.

2.8.2 1QH[a] XXII, 20-28

20 [לגתה]פ ... [20
21 [אשר א[...] 21
22 [בוא]מ עם ובוקר ע[רב ... 22
23 [אנוש וב]וממכא גבר נג[י]עי ... 23
24 [תיצבו]י משמרתם ועל יצפו חות[לסלי כעא] בשמחה [תוצ]יא 24
25 [ומרץ משחית שטן בכול תג[י]ר כיא [...לו]כ לוא ונדיבים 25
26 [כ אוזני גליתה ואתה בה [...] ל כוננתי מאז לי 26
27 [ויבוא בם פותו ברית אנושי או [...] כי יבוא לוא 27
28 [ממשפטכה פחדתי ואני לפניכה כחות]בתו י[ותכמ ובבניתי 28

20. […] you [di]vided[…]
21. […] ' which °[…]
22. [… ev]ening and morning with the co[ming of …]
23. [… the afflic]tions of a man and from the suffer[ing of a person]
24. [you bring] forth with joy, [for] they look expectantly [for forgive]ness, and upon their lookout they [take their stand],

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[303] Chazon, "4QIncantation," 370.

25. and the volunteers do not fa[il], for you rebuke every destructive adversary and *mrṣ*[…]
26. to me, from that time I was established *l*°[…]°*bh*, and you yourself have opened my ear *k*°[…]
27. it will not enter, for °[…]° *'w*, and the men of the covenant were deceived by them, and entered[…]
28. into my frame and [my] bowels [in re]proof before you. And I myself was terrified by your judgment[…]

The phrase כיא תג֯ר בכול שטן משחית (1QHᵃ XXII, 25) has sometimes been interpreted as part of an apotropaic petition.[304] Esther Eshel labeled this prayer from the Hodayot as apotropaic based upon three criteria: 1) the prayer "begins with a request for protection against evil spirits" and 2) a "reproof" of those evil spirits, as well as 3) based on a number of Flusser's own criteria for designating texts as apotropaic which are present in the hymn.[305] Morris, however, disagrees with Eshel's classification for three reasons. Firstly, Eshel's interpretation that line 23 is a request for protection is dependent on the use of נגע and מכאב as referring to demons, is beyond the evidence of the fragmentary passage. Secondly, the presence of the verb גער, while sometimes having exorcistic tones, is used here as a second masculine singular imperfect and does not necessarily constitute a petition, but rather a description of God's activities. Lastly, Morris disagrees with using Flusser's criteria for classifying this text as apotropaic because the themes present are too general given the fragmentary nature of this hymn.[306]

Morris is probably correct in noting that נגע and מכאב should not be understood *as* evil spirits, though they may be the *effects* of evil spirits. נגע appears in demonic contexts, notably as an activity of the "angels of destruction" in 1QS IV, 12 and as something that angels protect God's people from in 11Q11 VI, 10-11. Puech reconstructs 11Q11 II, 3 as follows: לפלט מכול נגע הר[וחות ("pour qu'il délivre de tout fléau des esprits"), which, if correct, gives yet another example of נגע being used in a demonic context.[307] Ps 155 also petitions God to save the speaker

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[304] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 83 translates this line as "You rebuke every adversary who ruins." García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE,* 197 translate it as "you threaten every destroying and murderous adversary."
[305] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 83.
[306] Morris, Warding Off Evil, 105–106.
[307] Puech, "Un ritual d'exorcismes," 386–387.

from an "evil scourge" (מנגע רע) with a request for it not to return again (11Q5 XXIV, 12). The word נגע in the Hodayot is used in a variety of ways. In 1QHᵃ III, 16-18, God is described as helping "those who are will[ing]" (נדיב֯י), comforting those who mourn and somehow helping those who are afflicted by נגע. 1QHᵃ VIII, 33 is a petition asking God to not let "any affliction (that causes) stumbling from the precepts of your covenant" (כול נ֯גע מכשול מחוקי בריתך). Similarly, in 1QHᵃ IX, 34, the speaker describes God as having "strengthened the human spirit in the face of affliction" (חזקתה רוח אנוש לפני נגע), which is paralleled with "iniquity" (עוון) in the following line. These instances of נגע seem to suggest that it is a moral blemish, rather than a spiritual affliction. Importantly, however, is a reference to נגע found in 1QHᵃ XIII, 22-41. This hymn expresses the speaker's conflict with the "children of destruction" (לבני הוות; XIII, 27) who are described as speaking with "devilish wor[ds]" (ו֯ד֯ב֯רי [ב֯ליעל; XIII, 28). These enemies are then likened to serpents that are unable to be controlled by a "charm" (חבר; XIII, 30). In this same line, the words spoken against the speaker are compared to a "incurable pain and a malignant affliction in the bowels of your servant" (לכאוב אנוש ונגע נמאר בתכמי עבדכה). The presence of the magical term תכמי within the same context as חבר and בליעל further suggests a demonic affiliation with the words נגע and מכאב. Morris argues that the presence of the term גבר in line 23 suggests that נגע and מכאב ought not to be understood as demons and that if these were the *effects* of demons, then no mention of protection is given in the fragmentary passage.[308] The presence of the מ preposition, however, is suggestive of a petition *from* these afflictions.

Morris's second point is not convincing for two reasons. Firstly, כיא תג֯ר could easily be translated as a petition ("may you rebuke"). This use of the imperfect suggests that future protection is in mind. Even if this were not the case, it is the *act* of singing the song of the Hodayot that is meant to enact the apotropaic effect, not whether it is a petition or a description.

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[308] Morris, *Warding Off Evil*, 105.

Declaring that God does a certain activity may have had same intended effect in the context of a song as a petition would, such as we find in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b].

Thirdly, Morris argues that using Flusser's criteria for designating this work as apotropaic is fallacious. He notes that the presence of terms like "knowledge" (בינה) and acknowledgment of sin in lines 28 ff. are "simply common themes appearing in some apotropaic prayers and are not themselves classifying features."[309] This criticism is curious, given that there is a direct reference to a demonic being (שטן) in the hymn (which Morris accepts as a reference to an evil spirit), as well as a possible petition *against* this evil. Thus, the presence of these apotropaic elements *is* significant to the classification of this hymn.

The phrase כול שטן in line 25 is best understood as a reference to a class of demonic being. Similar phrases appear in petitions found in 4Q213a 1 I, 17 and the *Plea for Deliverance*. "ודש[ק...] כו[ל] שטן" appears in 1QSb I, 8 in a fragmentary blessing uttered by the Maskil. While García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate this line as "eve]ry foe [… of ho]lines," I have argued above that this is best read as a reference to an evil spirit. The phrase כול שטן ומשחית appears also in 1QH[a] XXIV, 23 which is situated within the context of a hymn mentioning final judgement and the "bastards," probably referring to the Watcher mythology of *1 Enoch*.

Whether a direct petition can be reconstructed in this hymn, the recitation of this hymn is intended to ward off evil spirits by declaring God's power to do so. The reason that the volunteers of the community are able to be obedient is attributed to God's sustained apotropaic protection of his people.

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[309] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 106.

2.8.3 1QHᵃ XXIV, 6- XXV, 33

This hymn contains language centered on the eschatological judgement of wicked spirits and humans. After describing a time of judgement, the speaker states that "You cast down (ותכנע) the heavenly beings (אלים) from [your holy] place, [and they could no longer ser]ve you in your glorious dwelling" (1QHᵃ XXIV, 11-12). The אלים are best understood as a reference to the rebellious Watchers in *1 Enoch* whom God imprisoned after their union with human women. After having Enoch speak with God on their behalf, God chastises them and they are unable to "ascend to heaven unto all eternity" (*1 En.* 14:5; cf. 15:7). The following line, however, is confusing. The speaker addresses a singular "you" (ואתה; XXIV, 12) who is designated as a "man" (אדם; XXIV, 13) that is imprisoned like a bird "until the time of your favor" (עד קץ רצונכה; XXIV, 13). Line 13 is broken off after mentioning the man, with only על הכֿֿ preserved. This is probably best reconstructed as "upon the Cheru[bim" (על הכר[בים). This might be an allusion to 2 Sam 22:11. In this hymn, David petitions God to save him from the "torrents of perdition" (נַחֲלֵי בְלִיַּעַל; 2 Sam 22:5). God responds to the prayer by riding "on a cherub" (עַל־כְּרוּב) and delivering David from evil. This allusion, however, breaks down. Why does the man riding the Cherub become imprisoned? It is possible that an unknown target not preserved in the gap is the recipient of the imprisonment. If this is the case, then "your favour" is a reference to God's favour, a time when God metes out eschatological judgement upon the righteous and wicked.[310]

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[310] A second interpretation is possible, one that views the אדם in this passage as a reference to a demonic being, not a human. על הכר[בים may be translated "on account of the Cheru[bim." This is meant to be understood as a reference to the imprisonment of the Watchers by God's angels. Demons are sometimes referred to as the offspring of man. Thus, according to 11Q11 V, 6 "Who are you, [oh offspring of] man (אדם[מ) and of the seed of the ho[ly] ones?" Elsewhere, angels are sometimes referred to as appearing in human form and are referred to as such. For example, Dan 10:16 refers to the angelic being guiding Daniel as "one in human form" (כִּדְמוּת בְּנֵי אָדָם). Likewise, when Raphael is seen by Tobias and his father, he does not appear as an angel, but as a human being: "So Tobias went out to look for a man (ἄνθρωπον) to go with him to Media, someone who was acquainted with the way. He went out and found the angel Raphael standing in front of him; but he did not perceive (καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει) that he was an angel of God" (Tob 5:4). The bastards, another name for the Nephilim, had corporeal bodies, evidenced by their ability to eat and their described height. Lamech's fear that Noah may be the offspring of the Watchers also suggests that these

Several other mentions to demonic beings can be found in this hymn. Fragmentary mention of "the bastards" (הֿממזרים) and "corpses" (פֿגרים), for example, are found in XXIV, 16-17, which point towards the reliance on the Enochic tradition. Notable are the words [כי ל[וא after הֿממזרים, perhaps as part of a description of God's ban on the bastard's activities. Additionally, XXIV, 22-23 describes a time when God will judge sin and "every adversary and destroyer" (כול שטן ומשחית). XXIV, 26-27 contain a difficult passage that reads as follows: "for all the spirits of the bastards to act wickedly with flesh and *m*[…]they acted wickedly during their lives and *k*[…]*l*° thus their spirit to act wickedly." This appears to be a description of *why* the bastard spirits act wickedly. The reason given is that they acted in the same manner when they were alive, which is probably a reference to when the giants attempted to devour humanity and unclean animals (*1 En.* 7:2-6). The bastards are said "to act wickedly" (להרשיע), which raises the question behind the use of the infinitive. It is preceded with the conjunction כי, which means that the bastards are sent to do their destructive activities for an intended purpose. XXIV, 21-27 seem to be dealing with the punishment of God upon the wicked, including wicked humans whom God is described as "dispossessing" (בֿרֿשתם; XXIV, 24) and "sending away" (ולשלחם; XXIV, 24). These humans, now separated from God's lot, are then tormented by the bastard spirits. Declaring the separation between the righteous and the wicked, both human and demonic, may have had an apotropaic effect.

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evil beings had some kind of corporeal existence (1QGenAp II, 1 ff.). The Watchers could have been addressed as a אדם, since they may have taken on a human form in order to have sexual relations with their human wives. Since the immediately preceding line is a reference to the Watchers, as well as the reference to "imprisoned" (אסור) in line 13, I suggest that אדם is used here as a pejorative title towards the Watchers. Since the Watchers wanted to become like human beings in their activities, this moniker is meant to poke fun at the consequences of their desire. The phrase "like a bird" (כעוף) has been reconstructed in line 13 on the basis of the singular letter פ preserved in 4QH^b 15 5. I suggest, however, that one should reconstruct the following: על הכר[בים ביד ובכ]ף ("on account of the Cheru[bim, by hand and by foot"). This reconstruction situates the binding of the Watchers using the terminology found in *1 En.* 10:4–11.

Column XXIV, 28-36 contain the remains of language that is often part of apotropaic rituals. Mention is made, for example, of God revealing heavenly knowledge to his people. The speaker notes that "you revealed your mysteries to my mind" (רזיכה גליתה לבי; XXIV, 28-29). The speaker then mentions the "boundaries of the peoples" (ג]בולות עמים; XXIV, 34), a biblical phrase found in Dt 32:8. The passage in Deuteronomy states that God has separated the people according to the number of the "sons of Israel" (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) according to the MT. The LXX, however, contains the reading "according to the number of angels" (κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ). 4QDt^j XII, 14 contains a similar reading to the LXX, preserving "sons of God" (בני אלוהים). This allusion found in the Hodayot, which mentions the בני אל in lines 33-34, suggests that the boundaries of the people (i.e., God's righteous lot), are protected from the bastard spirits and the wicked on the premise that God will "strengthen them" (לחזקם; XXIV, 35). חזק is a common word found in the apotropaic rituals of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and thus its appearance here situated around God's protective boundaries is important to consider.

This hymn seems to continue into the next column, where God is said to "scatter them from the station of the ho[ly ones]" (ולהפרידם ממעמד קד]ושים; XXV, 1). Whether the object of the third person suffix is meant to signify a human or spiritual target is unclear. קדושים can refer to both human beings or angels, though the presence of the term מעמד may suggest that this is a heavenly location (comp. 1QH^a XXVI, 7, 36). That the judgement of spirits is in view may also be supported by lines 13-14, which discusses how God will judge the host of heaven. XXV, 6 further describes that "wicked spirits you will cause to dwell away from" (ורוחות רשעה תבית מא). This description is eschatological, since "evil will exist no longer" (רע לוא יהיו עוד; XXV, 7). God will also destroy the "place of wick[edness" (מקום רש]עה; XXV, 7). This is a generic statement about the wicked having no place on the earth (comp. Ps 37:10).

Column XXV once again highlights God having given knowledge to the righteous, stating that he has "made known" (הׄ[וׄ]דׄעתה; XXV, 11), "opened the ear of flesh" (ואוזן בשר גליתה; XXV, 12), given "[insight]" (הבינותה; possible reconstruction of XXV, 12), and "caused fles[h] to understand" (השכלתה לבשׄ[ר; XXV, 13). After this point, the scroll becomes extremely fragmentary, though remnants of apotropaic phrases can be recognized. XXV, 16, for example contains the remains of either a description or a petition for God "not to be scattered from […] your word" (להפרד מ[...]דׄברכה). There is a significant portion then missing between lines 17-21, but lines 22 onward can be reconstructed in part on the basis of a number of Cave 4 manuscripts. Line 23 mentions "and also the spirits of…from darkness" (וגם רוחות ... מחושך). Line 24 also preserves "and the malignant ones" (ונמארים). The term מאר is not a common biblical term and appears in the context of diseases (c.f. Lev 13:5, 14:44; Ezek 28:24). The use of the Niphal participle in this context could refer to those suffering from a malignant disease *or* perhaps describe a kind of spirit that causes such diseases.

While this text suffers from extreme fragmentariness, the collection of these terms may point towards a catalogue of spirits against which the speaker is petitioning God for protection, similar to what is found in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b].

2.8.4 Conclusion

In the Hodayot, apotropaic protection is allotted to community members on the basis of God providing knowledge and sustaining his people against demonic attacks. The three passages analyzed seem to be anti-demonic in scope, although 1QH[a] IV, 33-37 is predominantly concerned with aversion to sin.

2.9 4QBerakhot[a] (4Q286) 7 II, 1-12[311]

4QBerakhot[a-e] constitute a series of liturgical blessings and curses that were possibly conducted within an annual ceremony to commemorate the establishment of God's covenant with the community.[312] 4QBer[a] (4Q286) was first published by Milik in 1972 with the title "Blessings (and Curses),"[313] and the manuscript is dated to around 1-50 CE.[314]

1 עצת היחד יומרו כולמה ביחד אמן אמן *vacat* ואחֹר יזעמ[ו] את בליעל
2 ואת כול גורל אשמתו ⸱ וענו ואמרו ארוֹרֹ [ב]ליעל בֹּ[מ]חֹשבת משטֹמתו
3 וזעום הוא במשרת אשמתו וארורים כול רֹוֹ[חי גו]רֹלו במחשבת רשעמה
4 וזעומים המה במחשבות נדת [ט]מאתמה כיאֹ[המה גור]ֹל חושך ופקודתמה
5 לשחת עולמים אמן אמן *vacat* וארור הרש[ע בכול קצי] ממשלותיו וזעומים
6 כול בני בלי[על] בכול עונות מעמדמה עד תוממה [לעד אמן אמן *vacat*
7 ו[הוסיפו ואמרו ארור אתה מלא]ֹך השחת ורו[ח האב]דון בכֹו[ל] מחשבֹות יצר
8 א[שמתכה ובכול מזמות תוע]בֹּה ועצת רשע[תכה וז]עֹום אתה במֹ[מש]לֹ[ת]
9 [עולתכה ובמשרת אשמתכה ורשעתכ]ה עם כול גֹ[אולי שאו]ֹל וֹעֹ[ם חרפות שח]וֹת
10 [ועם כל]מֹות כלה לֹ[אין שרית בלוא סלי]חֹות באף עברֹתֹ[א]ֹל [לכול עדי עולמי]ֹם אמן אֹ[מן].
11 [וארורים כ]וֹל עושֹי מחשבות רשע[תֹמה ומקימי מזמתמֹה [בלבבמה לזום]
12 [על ברית א]ֹל ֹוֹל[... דברי חוזי אמ]ֹתו ולהֹמֹיר את משפֹ[טי התורה]

1 of the council of the community all of them will say together: 'Amen. Amen.' vacat And then [they] will curse Belial

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[311] Texts and translations are from Bilhah Nitzan, "4QBerakhot[a]," in *Qumran Cave 4. VI,* 7-48.

[312] Bilhah Nitzan, "Berakhot," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. Lawrence H Schiffman and James C. VanderKam (Oxford: Oxfrod University Press, 1994), 1:93–94

[313] Milik, "Milki-sedeq et Milki-resa' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 126–135.

[314] Nitzan, "Berakhot," 93.

2 and all his guilty lot. And they will speak up saying: 'cursed be [B]elial in his hostile [sc]heme,

3 and damned is he in his guilty authority. And cursed are all the spir[its] of his [lo]t in their wicked scheme,

4 and they are damned in the schemes of their [un]clean impurity. For [they are the lo]t of darkness, and their punishment

5 is in the eternal pit. Amen. Amen. *vacat* And cursed is the wick[ed one during all periods…] of his dominions, and damned are

6 all the sons of Beli[al] in all their periods of service until their consummation [Forever amen amen.] *vacat*

7 And [they will say again cursed are you ange]l of the pit and spir[it of Aba]ddon in al[l] the schemes of [your] g[uilty] inclination

8 [and in all (your) abomin]able [purposes] and [your] wicked council [and da]mned are you in [the] d[omi]n[ion of]

9 [your perversity and in yo]ur [wicked and guilty authority] with all the con[taminations of Sheol] and wit[h the disgraces of the pi]t.

10 [and with the humi]liations of destruction with [no remnant, with no forgive]ness, with the anger of [G]od's wrath [for all ages of eternit]y. Amen. A[men].

11 [And cursed are a]ll who execute their [wicked schemes] and confirm their evil purpose [in their hearts by plotting evil]

 12 [against the covenant of Go]d and by […the words of the seers of] his truth and by exchanging the judgem[ents of the law.

The curse found in 4QBerᵃ contains language of eschatological punishment directed towards Belial and his spiritual entourage, including "damned" (וזעום), "cursed" (ארור), "eternal pit" (לשחת עולמים), "consummation/annihilation" (עד תוממה), "destruction" (כלה), and the "anger of God's wrath" (באף עברת] אל). Belial and his spirits are best understood as demonic beings since they will undergo torment and are described as being able to plan (line 4) and have their own inclination (line 7).

Declaring the spirits' future destruction may have aided in attempting to discourage the spirits from coming near human beings. The curse, however, is not strictly eschatological. According to lines 4-5, the spirits of Belial's lot are cursed to the "eternal pit" on the basis of ופקודתמה. This element of the curse could be interpreted as apotropaic. פקדה can have the meaning of "punishment" or "visitation."[315] If "punishment" is meant here, then the curse is simply meant to explain that after the spirits undergo some manner of punishment, they will then enter the everlasting pit. Alternatively, if "visitation" is meant, then the curse may be uttered so as to create a kind of protective boundary around the one speaking it. The logic is such that if a spirit

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[315] HALOT, פקד, 955–956.

were to breach the boundary and attempt to lead the sectarian away from following God's laws (i.e., by "visiting" them), the spirit would come under the curse and reap eschatological punishments. As a result, the curse is meant to dissuade the evil spirit from getting close to the speaker on account of the judgements it might accrue.

The curse seeks to torment the spirits in the present. According to lines 5-6, the "sons of Beli[al]" (בני בלי[על]; comp. 4Q174 1-2, 8; 4Q386 1 II, 3; 11Q11 VI, 3) are damned "until their consummation" (עד תוממה), insinuating that some form of present consequence is enacted against them through the curse. The basis for the curse, according to Nitzan is because of "their periods of services," taking עונות to be a temporal reference from עונה.[316] Alternatively, others have translated this line as "all the iniquities of their office" (בכול עונות מעמדמה).[317] The preposition ב could be understood here in a causal sense, thus "*on account of* all the iniquities of their office." This might mean that the curse is enacted when the spirit acts upon its nature to perform evil. Regardless of whether this is the case, the purpose of uttering the curse is to ward off the spirits through the threat of eschatological punishment, the effects of which the speaker curses them to undergo part of in the present.

Lines 11-12 could be interpreted as a curse towards evil spirits or human beings or both. The target of the curse has been reconstructed as "a]ll who execute their [wicked schemes]" כֹ[ול (עוש]י מחשבות רשע[תמה). The reading רשע[תמה can be confirmed by the presence of a ע in the parallel passage of 4QBer[b], but this does not tell us whether this refers to human beings carrying out the temptations of evil spirits or whether the evil spirits are carrying out their own evil purposes.[318] Nitzan interprets the lines as referring to human beings due to the parallel structure

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[316] Nitzan, "4QBerakhot[a]," 29.
[317] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2:647.
[318] Nitzan, "4QBerakhot[a]," 28.

of the curses found in 1QM XIII, 4-5 and 4Q280[319] as well as the theme of opponents of the community plotting against the covenant of God (1QHᵃ II, 16-18, IV, 10-11, 1QpHab V, 11-12, 4QpIsaᵇ II, 7-8, CD V, 21-VI, 1, and CD VII, 17-18).[320] Alternatively, one could read "and those who implant wickedness" (ומקימי מזמתמה) as being in juxtaposition to the previous description, leading one to conclude that the first group ("a]ll who execute their [wicked schemes]") mentioned is human beings and the second ("confirm their evil purpose") is evil spirits. The consequence of the curse is not preserved, though the apotropaic function is similar to that of lines 4-5, where the curse is enacted on anyone that attempts to exchange or "to alter" (ולהמיר) God's laws. Altering the law likely refers to halakhic decisions that differ from the community's interpretations and not strictly disobedience.[321]

2.9.1 Conclusion

This curse includes a number of fear tactics that could be used in order to keep evil spirits at a distance. Besides the threat of eschatological punishment, the curse also asks that they be "damned" until the final eschatological punishment, a vague description of a consequence that will continually befall the spirits for attempting to influence community members. These measures seem to be apotropaic in nature, since the goal is to impede the spirits either through the use of threats *or* through some kind of supernatural effect that is inherent within the curse. The curse also is meant to affect human beings who fall prey to the evil spirits' sway, simultaneously incentivizing obedience within the community and condemning outsiders.

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[319] Nitzan "4QBerakhotᵃ," 3.
[320] Nitzan, "4QBerakhotᵃ," 30.
[321] Nitzan, "4QBerakhotᵃ," 30.

2.10 4QCurses (4Q280)[322]

1[ויבדילהו אל]לֹרעה מתוך בני הא[ור בהסוגו מאחריו ⟦ ⟧ והוסיפו]

2 [ואמרו ⟦ ⟧ אר]ור אתה מלכי רשע בכול מח[שבות יצר אשמתכה יתנכה]

3 אל לזעוה ביד נוקמי נקם לוא יחונכה אל [ב]קוראכהֹ [ישא פני אפו]

4 לכה לזעמה ולוא יהיה לכה שלו[ם] בפי כול אוחזי אבו[ת ארור אתה]

5 לאין שרית וזעום אתה לאין פליטה וארורים עושֹ[י מחשבות רשעתמה]

6 [ומ]קֹימי מֹזֹמתכה בלבבמה לזום על ברית אל[...על התורה ועל]

7 [דבר]ֹי כול חוֹזֹי אמֹ[תו וכ]וֹל המואֹס לבֹואֹ [בברית אל ללכת בשרירות]

1 [and God will set him apart] for calamity from the midst of the sons of li[ght for he has turned away from following Him. Vacat And they shall continue]
2 [saying: vacat Cur]sed be you, Melki-resha, in all the sch[emes of your guilty inclination. May] God [give you up]
3 to terror at the hand of those who exact vengeance. May God not be merciful unto you [when] you call (on Him) [May he lieft up His angry face]
4 upon you for a curse. And there will be no pea[ce] for you at the mouth of any intercesso[rs. Cursed be you]
5 with no remnant and damned be you with no escape. And cursed be those who execute their wicked schemes]
6 [and those who] confirm your purpose in their heart, by plotting against the covenant of God [and …against the Law and]
7 [the word]s of all the seers of [His] tru[th. And who]ever refuses to enter [the covenant of God, walking in the stubbornness]

This curse, which has direct parallels with 1QS II, differs in a number of important aspects. Firstly, unlike 1QS II, this curse does not contain communal responses in the form of a double amen. Secondly, the curses in 1QS II and 4Q280 follow different orders. 1QS II first has curses against the "men of the lot of Belial" (1QS II, 5-9) followed by curses against disobedient community members (1QS II, 11-18). 4Q280 lists nearly identical curses, but in the opposite order, first cursing those who intentionally break the covenant and then a curse against Melki-resha and his lot. Thirdly, the target of the curse begins similarly to 4QBer[a] 7 II, 2 and 1QM XIII, 4, where the head demonic force, in this case Melki-resha, is cursed.[323] Like 4QBer[a] 7 II, 7, which curses the angel of the pit on account of "al[l] the designs of [your] g[uilty] inclination" (בכון[ל] מחשבות יצר), 4Q280 curses Melki-resha for the same reason (בכול מח[שבות יצר אשמתכה; line 2).[324]

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[322] Transcription and translation are from Bilhah Nitzan, "4Q280," in *Qumran Cave 4 XX,* 5–6.
[323] Nitzan, "4Q280," 2.
[324] Nitzan, "4Q280," 6.

Proper interpretation of the use of this curse is connected with the interliterary dependence among 1QS II, 4QBerᵃ, 1QM XIII, and 4Q280. Paul J. Kobelski argued that 4Q280 is dependent on 1QS II on the basis that it makes little sense for Melki-Resha to call upon God for forgiveness or for others to intercede on his behalf as lines 3-4 suggest.[325] Nitzan, however, argues that such a conclusion is not necessary based on similar curses against angels in *1 En.* 5:4, 12:5, 13:1-14:7, 16:2-4, and 101:3.[326] Additionally, it is clear from *Jub.* 10:8 and Matt 8:31//Luke 8:32 that evil spirits *do* have the potential and will to entreat God or charismatic healers for requests, thus the element of the curse to bar them from doing so is not out of place in the context of 4Q280. Based on its more simplistic structure compared to 1QS II and 4QBerᵃ, Nitzan suggests that this is an earlier form of the curse.[327] Milik posited that a version similar to 4Q280 may have been used in the covenant renewal ceremony before the established version of 1QS II, though this cannot be confirmed.[328]

2.10.1 Conclusion

If 4Q280 represents the precursor to the curses found in 1QS II, 4QBerᵃ, and 1QM XIII, several interpretations of its function may be suggested. Firstly, 4Q280 may have been used in a liturgical context such as an earlier version of the covenant renewal ceremony. Communal responses were perhaps not yet incorporated into the ritual or part of fragmentary sections of the manuscript that are not preserved. Cursing Melki-resha in this communal setting could have had an apotropaic effect designed to threaten the evil spirit and deter his attacks. Alternatively,

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[325] Paul J. Kobleski, *Melchizedek and Melkiresa'*, CBQMS 10 (Washington: Catholic Bible Association, 1981), 40–41.
[326] Nitzan, "4Q280," 3.
[327] Nitzan, "4Q280," 4. Wise, Abegg, and Cook contend that the fragmentary nature of the text is to account for the lack of liturgical language, Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *Dead Sea Scrolls,* 371–372.
[328] J.T. Milik, "Milki-sedeq et Melki-resa'," 135.

4Q280 may have been read aloud or privately by members or officers of the community for devotional purposes. The lack of communal responses could signify that this text was meant for private or limited used, perhaps in times of danger.

2.11 4QPrayer A? (4Q449)[329]

This text, which consists of 3 fragments dated to the Herodian period, contains what Chazon believes to be the remains of a prayer.[330] Some reasons for interpreting this text as a prayer include the second person address to God (4Q449 1 4) and the first-person plural of the speaker (4Q449 1 2, 5-6; 3 3).[331] Chazon remarks that "[t]he topic seems to be punishment of the speaker's enemies. These enemies are apparently identified with Belial's lot."[332] She does not, however, give any further comment about the function of the prayer. Dimant has classified this text as a "miscellaneous liturgical" text, noting that it is sectarian due to the presence of the phrase רוחי גורלו in fragment 1.[333]

Fragment 1

1 [...] ○○מל○ ○○ט ובכ[○ ...]
2 [...]○נו ועד היום הזה[...]
3 [...]ממשלת רוחי גורלו במש○○[...]
4 [...]קנאת משפטי אמתכה ונקמת[...]
5 [... כ]ול אויבינו ו[○]○ביך את כול ○[...]
6 [...]ו נפשנו[ ]○ ○[...]

1] and in [
2] our [ ], and until this day [
3] the dominion of the spirits of his lot in [
4] the ardour of the judgements of your truth, and (the) vengeance of [
5] all our enemies and your(r) [ ] all [
6] our soul[ ] [

Fragment 2

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[329] Transcriptions and translations from Esther Chazon, "4QPrayer A?," in *Qumran Cave 4 XX,* 29, 391–393.

[330] Chazon, "4QPrayer A?," 391.

[331] Chazon"4QPrayer A?," 392.

[332] Chazon, "4QPrayer A?," 392.

[333] Devorah Dimant, *History, Ideology and Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, FAT 90 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 44.

<div dir="rtl">

1 [...]◌ד אמ◌[...]

2 [...]י֯ מֹגן עֹזֹי[...]

</div>

1] [

2] shield of might of [

Fragment 3

<div dir="rtl">

1 [...]◌ בלֹהֹבֹי אש [...]

2 [...]הֹנועדים [...]

3 [...]אלוהינו אֹ[...]

</div>

1] in tongues of fire [

2] the assembled ones [

3] our God [

The mention of the "spirits of his lot" (רוחי גורלו; 4Q449 1 3) is significant. This phrase is used of Belial's spirits in 1QM XIII, 11-12, 4Q286 II, 3, 1QS III, 24, and 11Q13 2 12-13. The phrase "until this day" (ועד היום הזה; 4Q449 1 2) may refer to the time in which the spirits of Belial have had "dominion" (מֹמשלת; 4Q449 1 3). If this is the case, this could be a petition for their activity to cease "this day" (i.e., the day they are reciting this). The only enemies (אויבינו; 4Q449 1 5) that are preserved are the spirits, therefore it is reasonable to assume that the vengeance (ונקמת; 4Q449 1 4) is directed towards them.[334] The mention of "our soul" (נפֹשנֹו; 4Q449 1 6) could refer to God protecting the physical well being of the speaker, or perhaps their inclination, of which the spirits have dominion over. If we reconstruct line 6 as "and lead ast]ray our soul" (וית[עו נפשנו) this makes it all the more likely that this is an apotropaic ritual used to ward off the temptations of evil spirits (comp. CD XII, 2-3; 4Q510 1 6; *Jub.* 10:2, 12:19-20).

Fragment 2 contains the remains of "shield of might" (מֹגן עֹזֹי; line 2), a protective element, perhaps descriptive of God (comp. Gen 15:1; Deut 33:29; Pss 3:4; 7:11; 18:2-3, 19, 36; 61:3-4; 91:1-4; Prov 2:7; 30:5; Sir 31:19; 1QGenAp XXII, 31; 4Q404 2+3AB 6; 4Q437 2 I + 7 +

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[334] Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature,* JAJSup 5 (Gottingen: Vadenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 382 state that 4Q449 contains no biblical allusions or parallels that can be identified. This is inaccurate. There is the presence of כֹּול אויבינו, which does appear in Neh 6:16 and Lam 3:46. Additionally, Sir 31:19 mentions the "shield of might" (ὑπερασπισμός δυναστείας) present in 4Q449 2 2. Moreover, the "tongues of fire" appear also in Isa 29:6, 30:30, 66:15, and Joel 2:5.

8 + 9 5), which is used at least once in an anti-demonic context (11Q11 VI, 6). Fragment 3 may describe an eschatological scenario as well. God's visitation is often described as fiery (Isa 66:15; CD II, 5), as well as his general appearance (1Q29 1 3; 4Q376 1 II, 1). The "assembled ones" (הנועדים) is more confusing.[335] If this refers to a time of judgement, there are instances in the Hebrew bible where the term refers to negative gatherings (Num 14:35, 16:11, 27:3), but it can also refer to positive ones (1 Kgs 8:5).[336]

2.11.1 Conclusion

This text, which appears to be the remains of some kind of prayer, contains language similar to other apotropaic works found at Qumran. The "spirits of his lot" are best understood as a reference to the evil spirits under Belial's control found in other sectarian works considered elsewhere. Thus, a designation as an anti-demonic prayer is appropriate. The phrase "and until this day" in fragment 1 may possibly be interpreted as the intended duration of the prayer, that is, that the evil spirits will continue to be at the mercy of God. Without the remainder of the scroll it is impossible to know for sure whether a continuing statement as made such as "and forever," signalling God's future apotropaic protection.

2.12 Summary

One of the major ways in which demons were thought to be thwarted from interfering in human affairs in the apotropaic sectarian texts was through obedience to God's commands. This

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[335] On the fragmentary mention of "tongues of fire," see Isa 5:24, 1 Enoch 14:9, 10, 15.
[336] Chazon, "4QPrayer A?," 393.

obedience involved 1) a divine impartation of a new spiritual disposition,[337] 2) repentance, and 3)

participation within a covenant agreement ratified by God. According to the Qumran sectarian

texts, the community understood themselves as the eschatological and present recipients of a new

spiritual disposition towards holiness, commonly referred to as the "Spirit of Holiness."[338] By

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[337] In some Second Temple non-sectarian texts, the idea of God granting an eschatological disposition towards holiness can be found. In a prayer offered by Moses in *Jub.* 1:19–25, he implores God not to "abandon your people and your inheritance to walk in the error of their heart." Moses prays this because he is given a revelation by God about a future national apostasy (*Jub*.1:7–14). Drawing on God's mercy, Moses petitions God to "create for them an upright spirit" and explicitly asks God to not let the "spirit of Beliar" have power over the Israelites. The "upright spirit" appears to be synonymous with what Moses also calls a "pure heart and a holy spirit," which causes human beings to not be "ensnared by their sin." God's reply to Moses is that the Israelites will repent and "return to me in all uprightness" at which point God will "cut off the foreskin of their heart" and "create for them a holy spirit." The creation of a holy spirit within them is understood to be the means by which God is said to "purify them so that they will not turn away from following me from that day and forever." By following God, it is meant that they will "do my commandments." Moreover, God states that as a result of this principle of obedience "every angel and spirit will know and acknowledge that they are my sons and I am their father in uprightness and righteousness." This prayer offered by Moses is clearly based on Ps 51:10, in which the author asks God to "Create in me a clean heart" and to "put a new and right spirit within me" and "sustain in me a willing spirit." The identical themes between Ps 51:10 and *Jubilees* involve having God purify individuals from sin by means of imparting a new spiritual disposition which is understood to "sustain" the human being from departing from God's laws. From the second century BCE perspective of *Jubilees*, despite the Israelites having come out of exile, this promise was still understood as eschatological.

The creation of an eschatological principle of obedience within the human being is found also in the non-sectarian work 4QWords of the Luminaries[a]. This text is part of a collection of Second Temple prayers for each day of the week that may have been recited on special occasions. In the prayer that is to be recited on Friday (4Q504 1–2 V, 11–16), the author mentions God's mercy in the context of the Israelites' exile. Since God remembered his covenant with Israel, he took measures to ensure their future obedience through the subsequent action of placing "upon their heart to turn to you and to listen to your voice, [in agreement] with all that you commanded through the hand of Moses, your servant." This return to obedience is made possible because God is said to have "poured your holy spirit upon us, [to be]stow your blessings to us, so that we would look for you in our anguish." The idea presented in this text is that God granted the Israelites a new spiritual disposition so that they might not stray further away from him, but would lead them into repentance and thus restoration. In other words, God's granting of this disposition towards holiness is what makes repentance *possible*. The use of collective pronouns such as "we" and "us," suggests that this reflection on the history of Israel allowed the speaker of this prayer to understand himself as a beneficiary of this outpouring of the Spirit of Holiness. Whether the author of this prayer understood this outpouring as effectual for all Israelites or only a remnant of faithful Jews is unclear.

See Esther Chazon, "The Classification of 4Q505: Daily or Festival Prayers?" in *"Go Out and Study the Land" (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical, and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel*, eds. Aren M. Maeir, Lawrence Schiffman, and Jodi Magness (Leiden: Brill, 2011); idem, "Is 'Divrei Ha-Me'orot' a Sectarian Prayer? [4Q504]," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research,* ed. Uriel Rappaport (Leiden: Brill, 1992); Daniel K. Falk, "Scriptural Inspiration for Penitential Prayer in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Seeking the Favor of God*: *The Development of Penitential Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, eds. Mark J. Boda, Daniel K. Falk, and Rodney Alan Werline, EJL 2, 3 vols. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 2:141.

[338] This common theme was first identified by Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 196 in his analysis of *Plea for Deliverance* and 4QAramaic Levi[b]. The granting of an eschatological disposition towards holiness can be found in the Qumran sectarian texts, notably 1QS and 1QH[a]. According to 1QS IV, 18-22, God's eschatological visitation is intended to purify the sectarian so that the possibility of human disobedience is abolished (comp. 1QSb II, 24). God's granting of a new spiritual disposition is necessary because righteous Jews, despite being part of God's covenant people, are still able to be influenced by evil spirits due to the "mysteries of God" (IV,

entering into the community, individual members were understood to come under a principle of obedience that facilitated their capacity to properly adhere to God's laws as interpreted by the community's leadership. According to some of the works analyzed above, this principle of obedience had the added benefit of apotropaism. Obedience functions in two distinct ways. Firstly, being obedient to God sometimes has a built-in apotropaic mechanic. In other words, simply doing what God commands will cause evil spirits to be repelled. More often, obedience is tied in with God answering an apotropaic petition or not. If someone is obedient, they have the confidence to expect God to protect them from evil spirits.

The connection between obedience and apotropaism is of two different kinds. First, obedience is sometimes intrinsically apotropaic. By obeying God's commands, evil is warded off by virtue of piety. Second, apotropaic protection is sometimes only given on the basis of obedience. Thus, petitions to God for apotropaic protection, devoid of obedience, are understood to be ineffective.

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18). Yet, according to 1QS II, 19-III, 12 God's principle of obedience is presently at work within the community enacting repentance and atonement. According to 1QHᵃ VIII, 25, the speaker is said to strengthen himself through "your holy spirit and clinging (וֹלִדְבוּק) to the truth of your covenant, and serving you (וֹלְעוּבדך) in truth and (with) a perfect heart, and loving (ולאהוב) the word of [your] mou[th]." Being strengthened by God's holy spirit likely denotes the means by which one is able to obey the law, which the three subsequent infinitive constructs express in different ways. The need for God's holy spirit to be obedient is stated in lines 29-30: "I know that no one can be righteous apart from you, and so I entreat you with the spirit that you have placed in me…cleansing me by your holy spirit and drawing me nearer by your good favor." Similarly, in 1QHᵃ XV, 9-10, the speaker thanks God because he has "sustained me by your strength and that you have spread your holy spirit upon me, so that I am not shaken…you have not *ḥḥt°°h* from your covenant." Likewise, according to 1QHᵃ XII, 32-33 "The way of humanity is not established except by the spirit God has fashioned for it, in order to perfect a way for mortal beings." Thus, according to the Hodayot, God's granting of a new spiritual disposition towards holiness is necessary for initial and perpetual obedience to God's laws.

In all of the texts just mentioned, the following assumptions are made: 1) human beings are, by nature, unable to obey God perfectly; 2) Because of this deficiency, God grants human beings a new spiritual disposition towards holiness in order to obey him; 3) God's decision to grant this disposition is predicated on his mercy and covenant agreement with Israel; 4) This principle of obedience will be fully realized eschatologically, but to some degree is effective within a remnant of Israel; 5) The present work of the Spirit of Holiness allows for human beings to be obedient, but individuals may still stray from God's laws, requiring petitions to be sustained by God's power in order to remain in a state of obedience. According to our analysis of 1QS I, 16-19 and CD XVI, 4-6, obedience to God's commands contains an apotropaic effect. This apotropaic quality is best understood in the broader context of the assumptions listed above.

According to the narrative presented in the Damascus Document, when Israel was disobedient to God's laws, he "hid his face from Israel" and let the nation be destroyed (I, 4). God, on the basis of his covenant promises with Israel, "saved a remnant for Israel" (I, 4-5). Due to a visitation by God (I, 7), this remnant realized their sins and God raised up the Teacher of Righteousness "in order to direct them in the path of his heart" (I, 11). Based on God's predetermined plan, he taught the remnant through "his holy spirit and through seers of the truth" (II, 12-13). It is unclear whether the holy spirit's purpose in this passage is to dispense revelatory information or to act as a principle of obedience to stir the remnant to holiness. In a speech given in the first person, the author of the Damascus Document tells his "sons" to listen to him in order that he might cause them to understand the "deeds of God" and walk in obedience and not be lead astray by the "guilty inclination and lascivious eyes" (II, 14-16). The author then goes on to tell of a series of figures from Israel's history as examples of obedience and disobedience. One of these figures, Abraham, is said to have not walked "in it," by which is meant the "stubbornness of their hearts" (II, 17-18). Abraham is credited with being a friend of God for "keeping God's precepts and not following the desire of his spirit" (III, 2-3). That Abraham did not follow his own spirit suggests that it was God's spirit that allowed him to be obedient. Similarly, the sons of Israel, while in Egypt are said to walk "in the stubbornness of their hearts" and they "preferred the desire of their own spirits" (III, 7-8). That the Israelites "preferred the desire of their own spirits" suggests that they did not allow themselves to, by contrast, be brought into obedience by the holy spirit. Israelites who remained obedient, however, are said to have God atone for their sins and establish a covenant with them (III, 13, 18). During these years, however, Belial is set loose to tempt Israel (IV, 12-13). According to CD V, 11-12 Israel is able to "defile their holy spirit" by speaking out against the "statues of God's covenant." Similarly, in

VII, 3-4, the author states that one should keep away from all uncleanness "according to their regulations" so that one might not "defile his holy spirit." Thus, for one to "defile" their holy spirit means to act against the working of the new disposition that God has given Israel through his covenantal promises.[339]

Given this brief sketch of the Damascus Document's understanding of obedience, light can be shed on the meaning of CD XVI, 4-6. According to the author of the Damascus Document, righteous Israelites may be swayed by the "stubbornness of their hearts" or by evil spirits such as Belial or Mastema. That the author draws on the book of *Jubilees* in XVI, 4-6 is especially important, since both Mastema and Beliar/Belial are noted as possible negative influences on a person's moral abilities. According to Moses's prayer in *Jubilees* 1, Israel is influenced by the "spirit of Beliar" as is found in the Damascus Document. To "return to the Law of Moses" (XVI, 4-5) in the Damascus Document means to "enrol him with the oath of the covenant" (XV, 8; comp. Bar 4:1–2; *2 Bar.* 21:21; 41:3; 42:2–8; 48:20; 85:15). The

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[339] According to 4QD^e, regulations are set up against anyone who "divulges secrets" to pagans or "curses" or "[preaches] rebellion" against "those anointed with the spirit of holiness" (4Q270 2 II, 13–14). It is unclear whether "those anointed with the spirit of holiness" are specific leaders within the sect, or general members. What is meant that they are "anointed" is also unclear. If this appellation refers to leaders, it could refer to their status as God's officers in the community. If it is the general membership, it could mean that being "anointed with the spirit of holiness" is that act of God by which members come under a principle of obedience. Cecilia Wassen, "Good and Bad Angels in the Construction of Identity in the Qumran Movement," 71–97: analyses good and bad angels in 1QS and CD, with limited study of related material from 4QBerakhot and 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Wassen uses social identity theory and ritual studies to uncover the sectarian tactics of rituals at Qumran. Tactics she analyzes include polarization between insiders and outsiders and the community's separation from non-sectarians as part of an ongoing cosmic struggle. For example, Wassen looks at the hyperbolic rhetoric used in 1QS, which states that non-sectarians are incapable of following God's moral commands due to their allegiance with Belial and, in fact, have not even attempted to be obedient (1QS V, 11). The Qumran community is guided and protected by various angelic forces, while the outsiders are under the influence of Belial and his spirits. Wassen points out that despite the Qumran community representing a fringe group in the wilderness, away from the temple (an expected location of holiness and benevolent spiritual power), a reverse interpretation is given to their identity. The temple in Jerusalem is not the center of the world. Instead, it is the Qumran community that is God's temple where his presence and his angelic host reside. Commitment to the community would be strengthened due to the promise of eschatological reward on the one hand, and defection leading to eschatological punishment on the other. 1QS and CD share a common feature that the world is divided into spheres of light and darkness, with "archangels" on either side (e.g., Prince of Lights vs. Angel of Darkness) influencing or defining their respective groups. Movement towards the evil spiritual sphere is seen as "treason" to the in-group. As a result, this dualistic ideology reinforces boundaries between the community and non-sectarians based partially around good and bad angels.

chronological logic behind the apotropaic force of obedience in the Damascus Document is as follows: 1) to be obedient to God's commands requires one to enter the community; 2) entrance into the community causes one to come under the sway of a new spiritual disposition; 3) this new spiritual disposition facilitates one's ability to be obedient to God's law by freeing the human will from demonic powers; 4) One must petition God to sustain the individual to remain obedient through the holy spirit; 5) perpetual obedience wards away demonic influence; 6) lapses in obedience due to the stubbornness of one's heart, or through some amount of demonic influence that is not fully eradicated, will cease the apotropaic efficacy that was initiated through obedience the expectations of the covenant.[340]

These findings also give some clarity to CD XII, 2-6. Given the framework established above, Hempel's suggestion that this is an interpolation seems unviable. A sectarian who has come under this new spiritual disposition still has the capacity to be overcome by Belial and his spirits, even perhaps to the point of demonic possession. The reason why the possessed individual should be guarded by the men of the community is because there is a possibility that he may be "cured of it." How he is cured is never stated, though as suggested above, it may have

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[340] Miryam T. Brand, "Belial, Free Will, and Identity," 77–92: uses demonology to help explain identity-building in relation to free will in 1QS, CD, and 4QBerakhot. Her work focuses on the use of curses against Belial and his lot, drawing attention to the different "lots" (human vs. demonic) used in these three texts. Brand argues that the *Community Rule'*s concept of Belial enforces the ideas of the "otherness" of non-sectarians and the compulsion for sectarians to "take an active role in their self-definition as regards the larger community." The idea of Belial is used in the *Community Rule* to demonize outsiders and provokes the sect's members to engage in "maintaining this division and not falling away on the "wrong side" of the Belial divide." Members of the community curse Belial's human host, which Brand argues enforces the idea of free choice to follow God or not. It is an individual's free will that ultimately determines their "lot" (God's or Belial's). Non-sectarians enter into or participate in Belial's lot of their own accord through their individual evil actions. Comparably, "Community members…have ensured that they will belong to the lot of God by joining the community." 4QBerakhot functions similarly to the *Community Rule,* compounding the spiritual lot of Belial with his human lot, thus causing a logical line of demonizing outsiders. 4QBerakhot differs from the *Community Rule*, insofar as 4QBerakhot mentions Belial and his demonic host as spiritual entities, whereas the *Community Rule'*s curses are directed towards the "lots" of Belial. By contrast, Belial in the *Damascus Document* does not define non-sectarians, but instead "Belial's power serves as an excuse of sorts for the hapless straying of so many." Belial, in other words, does not function in the *Damascus Document* as a means of "demonizing" outsiders in the strict sense that the *Community Rule* does. Rather, Belial's power in the *Damascus Document* is behind the scenes, acting as a stumbling block and provoker of men's hearts toward evil. This choice informs the sectarian of his identity in juxtaposition to those who follow Belial's deceptions.

involved various rituals such as exorcism. Additionally, it could be that the possessed individual could be freed in time due to the influence of the Spirit of Holiness working in their heart. Being guarded by members of the sect and their subsequent reintegration into the community after being healed would have helped facilitate their return to the basic precepts of the covenant. Therefore, there is no reason to suggest that this passage is out of place in the wider context of the Damascus Document.

From the perspective of the author of the Damascus Document, to be part of the covenant is also to repel demons. At the heart of the community's understanding of Torah observance is the central tenant that human beings are under attack by their own evil impulses and through the wiles of evil spirits which compromise one's ability to seek and obey God. Thus, entrance into the community is also entrance into the only safe environment from which demons are excluded. The covenant that seeks to establish holiness within the community is also the covenant that protects from demons, which is the only way in which one can act holy in the first place. Holiness (or obedience) and apotropaism are thus interlocked at a fundamental level.

Following the same basic principles above, the author of the Community Rule understands that the covenant has an apotropaic effect that necessitates God's involvement in sustaining the sect's members in obedience. The purpose of the covenant in 1QS I, 16-19 is for sectarians to 1) be obedient and 2) not stray during the dominion of Belial. The reason why these two elements are mentioned together becomes clear in light of our discussion above. Entrance into the community allows for one to come under the influence of a new spiritual disposition towards holiness. This disposition is not perfect, since sectarians can be influenced by Belial and his spiritual entourage; However, the new disposition is sufficient enough to allow the sectarians to be preliminarily obedient and to free their human will enough so that they have the ability to

choose not to obey the whims of Belial and his lot. Thus, for the sectarian to resist straying on account of "fear, dread, or testing," it is probably understood that through obedience they are able to resist the various temptations that demons may cause. Although it is never explicitly stated how exactly the demons are warded away via obedience to the commandments, there is likely a psychological component involved. Perpetual obedience probably allowed the member to become resilient over time to the thought of breaking the law.

In some instances, however, obedience is necessary for God to respond to apotropaic petitions in general. Thus, in 4QSongs of the Sage obedience is explicitly mentioned as part of the requirement for the hymns being effective. According to 4Q510 1 9, the Maskil says that his psalms are "for the upright" (ולישרים) and "all those of perfect behavior" (כ[ו]ל תמימׄ דרך). Similarly, in 4Q511 1 8, the "sons of wickedness" are unable to resist the apotropaic power of the Maskil's words. The assumption is that the "sons of wickedness" are to be contrasted with the righteous, insinuating that they are obedient. The righteous are labeled as "those who [kee]p the way of God and his [h]oly pat[h]" (4Q511 2 I, 6) and they are expected to "walk [in] the lot of God" and "serve" him (4Q511 2 I, 9-10). In the second song used to terrify evil spirits, the Maskil says that God will hide him "among his holy ones" (4Q511 8 8). The idea is that the speaker has acted obediently and as a result can be counted among the holy ones.[341]

In two instances in 4QSongs of the Sage, God is said to cleanse a human being, but what they are cleansed of is not preserved, though presumably because terms like "guilt" and "mercies" are used, sin is probably the topic of interest. According to 4Q511 20 I, 1-4 "in] His [righte]ousness He shall clean[se me] and His glorious messenger [by guilt] and healing."

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[341] The instruction given by the Maskil for people to "search for his manna" (4Q511 10 9) may also be a call to be obedient. Since manna is often connected with receiving divine insight in Second Temple Judaism more broadly, seeking God's manna is probably a metaphorical way of saying that they will search out his commands and obey them.

Similarly in 4Q511 36 2-3 it reads "His merci[es] and He shall cleanse them and [ ] for the redeemed, for Go[d]." 4Q511 20 i 1-4 may represent some kind of eschatological event since the removal of sin and physical healing are often linked (e.g., 1QS III 2-8). The Maskil is cleansed of his sin, but because of warring spirits within his flesh, he relies on God to sustain him. Part of this requires obedience, since the Maskil says that he has "the laws of God" in his heart and rebukes wickedness (4Q511 48, 49 + 51 4-6). Lastly, 4Q444 assumes that obedience to the law is necessary for apotropaic protection. According to line 1, it is possible that if מיראי אל is translated as "because of my fearing God" this means that being obedient to God was a prerequisite to receive the knowledge necessary to repel evil spirits. The speaker then calls for people to "strengthen" themselves by "the laws of God" (line 4). As discussed above, this is a call to obedience which the speaker claims is necessary "in order to" fight against evil spirits (ולהלחם). The assumption is that, if one is not obedient to the law, they *cannot* repel the evil spirits.

Obedience may also play a part in apotropaism within the War Scroll. According to 1QM XIII, 8-9, the "edicts" (תעודות) of God's glory are remembered as a means "to aid (לעזר) the remnant" of the covenant. The term תעודות appears only three times in the Hebrew Bible. In Rth 4:7, the word denotes confirmation through a ceremonial act, while in Isa 8:16, 20, the prophet instructs the תעודות to be bound up and for the תורה to be sealed and to later be sought out. These two words seem to be in parallelism with each other, meaning that תעודות and תורה are essentially synonymous, containing instructions from God. The word appears four other times in 1QM in reference to the instructions of war (II, 8), a command to write "God's directives (תעודות) for the holy council" on a trumpet (III, 4), as a name for the "anointed ones" called "seers of decrees" (חוזי תעודות; XI, 8), and as the origins of certain temporal instructions (XIV, 13). The word also appears elsewhere in the scrolls, mostly in fragmentary contexts, where it is almost always

associated with temporal indicators (1Q36 1 2; 4Q369 1 I, 7; 4Q402 3 13; 4Q491 8-10 I, 11; 4Q502 14 3; 4Q502 59 3; 11Q11 IV, 12). In the context of 1QM XIII, 8-9, תעודות may refer to the times in the past that God has acted mercifully to Israel. Following this interpretation, the meaning is that, in accordance with the way that God has outlined history, the remnant has, at various times, been able to look at God's mercies as assurance of divine aid. Another interpretation, which involves reading תעודות as "instruction," is possible. In this interpretation, the community remembers God's mercies on the remnant by being obedient to the תעודות. That is, by adhering to the תעודות, one can trust God that he will deliver his people, since by being obedient to the law, they are reminded of the way that God is faithful to faithful Israel. If this latter interpretation is correct, obedience to the תעודות is what, in part, leads to God aiding the remnant, which in this context, appears to for apotropaic protection against Belial and the spirits of his lot.

Lastly, in the apotropaic blessing of 1QS II, 1-4, after asking God to protect the community members from "everything bad," the blessing continues with asking God to grant them "eternal knowledge" (בדעת עולמים). The connection between protection from evil and God granting knowledge should not be surprising at this point. According to 4Q436 1 I-10, the speaker praises God because he has set "eternal knowledge" (שכל עולם; line 3) before him, which he understands as pertaining to God preserving the law within him (line 4) in order to be obedient and to remove the "evil inclination" (יצר רע; line 10) from him. In a slight reversal of this motif, 4Q405 13 5-6 states that the obedient will gain "eternal knowledge" (בדעת עולמים) so that they might be "with all those who exist eternally" (עם כול הויי עולמים), presumably a reference to the angels.[342]

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[342] Such knowledge is also connected with angelic aid in the War Scroll. According to 1QM XVII, 5-8, God sends the "majestic angel for the sway of Michael" (בגבורת מלאך האדיר למשרת מיכאל) to "illuminate" (להאיר) God's lot. Due

In conclusion, the central component in the effectiveness of apotropaism is membership and participation in the community's rules and rituals. Outsiders are, by virtue of their exclusion, dominated by Belial and his spirits. Initiation into the community provides the beginning stages of protection, with further protection becoming necessary through various activities and virtues. The protection allotted to sectarians is not perfect insofar as the nature of the human heart can allow lapses in moral judgement and transfer the member into a sphere of disobedience, a time which evil spirits can take advantage of to bring further moral corruption.

CHAPTER 3: WORKS OF POSSIBLE SECTARIAN ORIGIN

This chapter consists of a textual analysis of seven works that contain information about apotropaism among the following Dead Sea Scrolls of possible sectarian origin: 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11), 6QpapHymn (6Q18), 8QHymn (8Q5), 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a], 1Q70[bis] (1QHe Who Brings in the Sheep), 1QHymns (1Q36), and 4QHymnic Text B? (4Q468k). As with the previous chapter, I analyze each text for information regarding proximity and time in order to

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to the intervention of this angelic being, the "sons of his truth" will reap the benefits of "everlasting knowledge" (בדעת עולמים), which seems to be the way that the righteous remain "strong" (התחזקו) during God's testing. The idea of "eternal knowledge" is also related to the community as a temple in 1QS VIII, 9–10 (בדעת כולם עולם) where having this knowledge is connected with a sacrificial offering that is pleasing to God and results in "perfect behavior" (בתמים דרך). For the author of the Community Rule, the apotropaic protection allotted by this blessing is only for those who "walk unblemished in all his paths" (ההולכים תמים בכול דרכיו; II, 2). See Luke Leuk Cheung, *The Genre, Composition and Hermeneutics of the Epistle of James* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2003), 167.

classify the work as apotropaic or exorcistic or a combination of both. Since many of these texts are quite fragmentary, scholars have typically not considered these particular texts when discussing the topic of apotropaism. My main goal in this chapter is to use the criteria I have established previously to demonstrate that these newly considered works ought to be part of this grouping of texts. In the previous chapter I identified two common themes throughout the sectarian texts regarding community membership and obedience.[343] The most notable features of these works are that nearly all seem to discuss eschatology as a means of dealing with evil spirits. The exceptions are 4QCatalogue of Spirit[a], and 1Q70[bis]. I argue, however, that 1Q70[bis] may have originally been a song. Therefore, 4QCatalogue of Spirit[a] may be the only anomaly in this collection in terms of genre.

3.1 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11)[344]

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[343] This is not to say that the following texts do not include obedience as part of the apotropaic equation. 11QApocryphal Psalms may contain the remains of language related to obedience that is part of the reason why the exorcistic/apotropaic hymn is effective. 11Q11 II, 7-9 makes fragmentary mention of "his people," "cure," "relied [upon] your name," and "Israel. Lean." Since the word "invoke" (וקר[א]) appears after the reference to relying on God's name, it is not clear whether the name is relied upon as part of the invocation (i.e., as a source of power), or that the song is calling the individual singing to rely on God's name in a more abstract sense. To "rely" (נשען) on God's name probably means to be supported or sustained by God (comp. Job 24:23), but also possibly to be obedient (Isa 10:20, 30:12, 50:10; Prov 3:5). II, 9 mentions the imperative "lean" (ההחזק), an instruction to Israel to probably be strong in God so as to resist demonic temptation. In Luke 9:49, Jesus's disciples complain to him because they saw an exorcist expelling demons using his name. The phrase ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου seems to have an instrumental force, thus "relying upon your name" (In Luke, the meaning is not that they are being obedient to Jesus's commandments, but that his name has ritual power). Additionally, 4Q444 1 3-4 and 6Q18 5 3 both use the same word חזק to refer to God's strengthening a person against demonic attack, suggesting that, here too, the need for God to sustain an individual is indicated. Since the term "cure" is used within the wider context of calling Israel to obedience, this may suggest that being obedient is, in part, what makes the exorcistic/apotropaic song effective. Finally, 11Q11 III, 11 mentions "those who serve YHW[H," while V, 3 specifies "volunteers" (נדבי), both of which designate obedient Israelites in the context of God either destroying evil spirits or healing the righteous.

[344] Transcriptions are from García Martínez, E.J.C. Tigchelaar, A.S. van der Woude, incorporating earlier editions by J.P.M. van der Ploeg, O.P., with a contribution by E. Herbert, *Qumran Cave 11. II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* F, DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 181-206. Alexander, "Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places," 328 argued that 11Q11 represented a sectarian composition. This position, however, has not been held by the majority of scholars: Émile Puech, "11QPsAp[a]: Un rituel d'exorcismes: Essai de reconstruction," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 402-403; Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, STDJ 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 166; Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," 69. Mika S. Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon Form- and Tradition-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms" in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries : The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, eds. Mika Pajunen and Hanna

This collection of songs has often been connected with the four songs mentioned in 11Q5 XXVII, 10 which David is said to have produced "to perform over the possessed" (לנגן על הפגועים).[345] The songs have typically been labeled as exorcistic incantations, evidenced by terms like משב]יע (I, 7), השד (I, 10), ויקר]א (II, 2), תהו]ם (II, 5), רפואה (II, 7), הפגוע]ים (V, 2), and ל[חש (V, 4). The use of power-authorities such as Solomon (II, 2) and YHWH (I, 4), the presence of the typical word for "the possessed" (הפגוע]ים) in V, 2, the description of Raphael healing (V, 3), and the intended target of the songs (apparently demons, not God), have also been interpreted as overall exorcistic qualities for these songs.[346]

Despite these exorcistic qualities, however, it is possible that there are apotropaic elements at play. Mika Pajunen, for example, has suggested that "at least one of the compositions preceding the opened scroll is an exorcism or an apotropaic prayer" and that possibly the Solomonic psalm (II, 1-III, 13) may also be apotropaic in scope.[347] The exact function of 11QApocryphal Psalms is not clear, nor is it clear whether this scroll ought to be separated into four distinct compositions, as some scholars have proposed. As Jennifer Shepherd has pointed out in her analysis of the structure, genre, and function of the text, scholars have tended to rely on the four songs mentioned in 11Q5 and from that position have attempted to thus divide the

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Tervanotko (Helsinki: Suomen eksegeettinen seura, 2015), 156 n. 73 notes the following: "The individual psalms in 11Q11 are not from the Qumran movement…However, it is possible that the ritual was compiled by the movement and at the same time modified into a communal one as Psalm 91 in 11Q11 has gone through a redaction related particularly to the use of personal forms and similar treatment of the other psalms could have been easily implemented when making the compilation. If Bohak…is correct that there are unpublished long parallels to the penultimate psalm, such parallels might be able to shed further light on this question." Thus, while 11Q11 was likely not produced at Qumran, the specific collection of psalms may reflect the Qumran community's interests and general views on dealing with evil spirits.

[345] Various divisions of the four songs have been offered, but these not detain us here. See Ida Frölich, "Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar," in *Studies on Magic and Divination in the Biblical World*, eds. H. R. Jacobus, A. K. de Hemmer Gudme and P. Guillaume (Piscataway: Gorgias, 2013), 40; Puech, "Un ritual d'exorcismes," 399; van der Ploeg, "Le Psaume XCI," 216; idem "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes," 129.

[346] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 129–141.

[347] Mika Pajunen, "The Function of 11QPsApa as a Ritual," in T*ext and Ritual: Papers presented at the symposium Text and Ritual*, ed. A. K. Gudme, Publikationer fra Det Teologiske Fakultet 12 (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, 2009), 4.

columns to match this designation. Shepherd notes that scholars have generally analyzed 11QApocryphal Psalms as separate compositions.[348] The nature of research on 11QApocryphal Psalms is best described by Eric Eve: "…a notion of what the text [11QApocryphal Psalm] is about is used to reconstruct the text, and the reconstructed text is then employed to support an argument for what the text is about."[349]

This circular reasoning has had profound consequences for reading the text as a whole and "any hypothesis about the exorcistic nature of this text thus rests on relatively insecure foundations."[350] Due to the broken context of the songs, as well as tentative reconstructions, an analysis of these songs for any apotropaic qualities must be considered.

3.1.1 Column I

$$
\begin{array}{r}
\text{[…] [ובוכהו]…] 2} \\
\text{[…] [שבועה]…] 3} \\
\text{[…] [ביהוה] ...] 4} \\
\text{[…] [תנין]…] 5} \\
\text{[… ה אר]ץ [א...] 6} \\
\text{[...משב]יע [...] 7} \\
\text{[…ב את]…] 8} \\
\text{[…]הזואת[...] 9} \\
\text{[…השד את]…] 10} \\
\text{[…]ישב[…] 11}
\end{array}
$$

2 […] and who weeps for him […]
3 […] oath […]
4 […] by YHWH […]
5 […] dragon
6 […] the ear[th …]
7 […] exor[cising …]
8 […] … […]
9 […] this […]
10 […] the demon […]
11 […] he will dwell […]

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[348] Jennifer Shepherd, "11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11): Structure, Genre and Function," (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2005).
[349] Eve, *The Jewish Context,* 206.
[350] Eve, *The Jewish Context,* 208.

This column, which is in a state of extreme fragmentation, has often been interpreted as exorcistic on the basis of the words שבועה and משביע in lines 3 and 7 (compare 11Q11 III, 4; IV, 1), terms that are interpreted as exorcistic by Eshel[351] and the DJD editors.[352] The phrase "in/by YHWH" (ביהוה) may refer to the source of power used in the incantation, though this does not actually tell us whether the source of power is used in order to exorcise or ward off the demon. The construction ביהוה has been translated "by YHWH" instead of "in YHWH" because of its proximity to "oath" in line 3. Similar constructions appear, for example, in Gen 24:3: "That I may make you swear by YHWH" (וְאַשְׁבִּיעֲךָ בַּיהוָה). Its position among the words תנין ("serpent" or "dragon") and משב[י]ע ("exorcising" or "adjuring") suggest further anti-demonic connotations (comp. Isa 27:1, Ps 74:13-14, 91:13, 104:26, Job 3:8).[353] The problem with classifying this column as exorcistic rests upon whether the demon is inside or outside the human being, something not told to us in this fragmentary column. There are some clues, however, that may aid us in this difficulty. Firstly, I will look for evidence of proximity and the problems that we

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[351] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 87.

[352] García Martínez, DJD 23, 189. The subject of the one making an oath and "exorcising" is not clear. Without the broader context, it is uncertain whether the speaker is claiming the source of his power ("by YHWH") to exorcise the demon, or whether the speaker is describing God's activities, which could be exorcistic *or* apotropaic, depending on the *Sitz im Leben* of the text. The text may have alternated in its function depending on the need. Declaring God's exorcistic qualities could be used within an actual exorcism ritual, but it could also possibly be used to ward off evil spirits, threatening them with reminders of God's power over them. That this song should be understood as apotropaic could in part depend on the identity of the subject and object of line 2, which states "and who weeps for him" (ובוכהו). There are only so many options that exist for what the subject and object could refer to. These options include: 1) a human weeping for a human (possible), 2) a human weeping for God (unlikely), 3) a human weeping for a demon (unlikely), 4) God weeping for a human (possible), 5) God weeping for a demon (unlikely), 6) a demon weeping for a human (unlikely), 7) a demon weeping for God (unlikely), and 8) a demon weeping for a demon (unlikely). Of these eight options, only 1) and 4) seem plausible. Since God is mentioned in line 4 and no other humans are mentioned in what remains, I suggest that option 4) is the most convincing interpretation. This concept has precedent in the Hebrew Bible: "Let my eyes run down with tears night and day, and let them not cease, for the virgin daughter—my people—is struck down with a crushing blow (שֶׁבֶר גָּדוֹל), with a very grievous wound (מַכָּה נַחְלָה מְאֹד)" (Jer 14:17). The idea of God weeping over those who are crushed and wounded may fit the context of an exorcistic or apotropaic prayer where he weeps over those who are "afflicted" (הפגועים).

[353] Frölich, "Magical Healing at Qumran," 41; James A. Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken (11QPsAp a=11Q11)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, eds. James Charlesworth and Henry W. L. Rietz (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 219.

encounter in this passage. I then look for temporal indicators to determine whether this text is more likely exorcistic or apotropaic.

Both the proximity and timing of this ritual's effectiveness rely on the interpretation of the word ישב. Lines 10-11 mention "the demon" (השד) in proximity to "he will dwell" (ישב), which may mean that the speaker is signalling the relocation of the demon to another area to be bound or endure some manner of punishment. If this is the case, this could support an exorcistic reading, similar to what one finds in Tobit, where Asmodeus is exorcised and bound in Egypt by the angel Raphael. This relocation is dependant on reading ישב as a Qal imperfect. If, however, ישב is a Qal perfect verb, this statement may simply be indicating that the demon already dwells in a location. There are no instances of demonic beings said to "dwell" in human beings. Rather, we do have evidence that demons dwell in *locations*. In an Aramaic amulet from the Cairo Geniza, for example, it is written: "expel and banish this evil ʿAlī from my neighbourhood, so that he should not stay (ולא ישב)". [354] Likewise, Rev 18:2 states that "It has become a dwelling place of demons (κατοικητήριον δαιμονίων), a haunt (φυλακὴ) of every foul spirit."[355] We cannot, therefore, definitively view this as an exorcism.

It is possible that this column represents an apotropaic ritual. ישב in line 11 may mean that the demon no longer dwells in a particular area, reconstructing instead לוא ישב.[356] There is also good reason to interpret lines 10-11 in the light of passages from the Hebrew Bible and New Testament. The mention of both the dragon and "the earth" in line 6 has its most immediate parallel in Rev 12:9 where Satan is referred to as the "ancient serpent" who is "thrown down to

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[354] Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1993), 164-165.

[355] See Otto Michel, "Οἶκος, Οἰκία, Οἰκεῖος, Οἰκέω, Οἰκοδόμος, Οἰκοδομέω, Οἰκοδομή, Ἐποικοδομέω, Συνοικοδομέω, Οἰκονόμος, Οἰκονομία, Κατοικέω," in *TDNT*, 5:155–156.

[356] Alternatively, the subject of ישב could be God, insinuating that his presence will rest in an unknown location, aiding in the power of the ritualist. Due to the fragmentary nature of this column, it seems it is unlikely that we can discern the proximity of the demon to the human being.

the earth." Another parallel, however, can be found in Ps 148:7, which states "Praise the LORD (אֶת־יְהוָה) from the earth (מִן־הָאָרֶץ), you sea monsters (תַּנִּינִים) and all deeps." The presence of these three key words, all preserved in lines 4-6, may indicate that this song was influenced by Ps 148:7 and that the various elements found within these fragmentary lines are an explanation of God's activities and the demon's place within the cosmos (i.e., submitting to the God of Israel). Similar language can be found in 4Q511 1 2-3 where the Maskil exhorts the earth and "the spirits" and "the sea" and its contents to praise God. 4Q511 1 6-7 mentions that the spirits no longer walk "in them," that is, in the earth and sea, which may help us decipher the meaning of 11Q11 I, 10-11. This song may be acting in similar ways to 4Q511, which could place it within an apotropaic framework, rather than an exorcistic one.

3.1.2 Column II

1 [...][שם[...]
2 [...]ה שלומה ויקר[א ...]
3 [... הרו]חות והשדים [...]
4 [...] אלה [הש]דים וש[ר המשט]מה
5 [... א]שר[...]ל תהו[ם ...]ך
6 [...]...[...] הגד[ול ...]והי
7 [...]...[...]עמו ... רפואה
8 [... על]שמך נשען וקר[א]
9 [... יש]ראל החזק
10 [ביהוה אלוהי אלים אשר עשה] את השמים
11 [ואת הארץ ואת כול אשר בם א]שר הבדיל [בין]
12 [האור ובין החושך ...].[... עד]...[]

1 [...] ... [...]
2 [...] Solomon, and he will invo[ke ...]
3 [... the spir]its and the demons, [...]
4 [...] These are [the de]mons, and the Pri[nce of Animosi]ty
5 [... w]ho [...] the aby[ss ...]
6 [...] ... [...] the gre[at ...] ...
7 [...] ... [...] his people ... cure,
8 [...] have relied [upon] your name. And invo[ke]
9 [...] Israel. Lean
10 [on YHWH, the God of gods, he who made] the heavens
11 [and the earth and all that is in them, w]ho separated
12 [light from darkness ...] ... [...]

This column begins with a mention of Solomon alongside the verb ויקר[א, which suggests that this column is part of an incantation. Solomon is either being called upon as a power-authority by the speaker to amplify their ritual power, or perhaps this line is attributing an incantation *to* Solomon.[357] Alternatively, it is possible to take Sanders's suggestion that ויקר[א be translated with the past tense, thus: "[…the ac]t of Solomon when he invok[ed the name of Yahweh…]."[358] Taking Sanders's translation, it is possible to interpret this either as a title for the composition, or perhaps as a description of past events intended to frighten the spirits. This latter interpretation finds support in other apotropaic texts from Qumran which connect reciting actions about the past with apotropaic activities (4Q510 1 1, 4Q511 52+54–55+57–59 3-4, 4Q511 63-64 2, and possibly 1QM XIV, 8-10, 16-18).

That the "spirits" in line 3 should be understood as part of an anti-demonic incantation should be preferred due to the mention of "the demons" following afterwards. Two possible reconstructions of line 3 have been offered by Puech and the editors of DJD 23. Puech reconstructs: לפלט מכול נגע הר[וחות ("pour qu'il délivre de tout fléau des esprits")[359] while the DJD editors offer the following: [לפחד ולבהל כול הרו]חות ("to frighten and terrify all spirits").[360] This latter reconstruction is based upon the methodological statement of the Maskil in 4Q510 1 4-5, which if accepted points toward an apotropaic, rather than exorcistic, quality to this incantation. Such reconstructions, however, are too tentative to know with any certainty.

The presence of אלה in line 4 is interpreted by the editors of DJD 23 as possibly indicating that the previous lines consisted in part of a list of evil spirits similar to 4QSongs of

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[357] Thus, the possible translation of García Martínez, DJD 23, 191: "he shall utter a spell which Solomon made, and he shall invoke the name of YHWH."
[358] Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken," 221.
[359] Puech, "Un ritual d'exorcismes," 386–387.
[360] García Martínez, DJD 23, 191.

the Sage.[361] The possibility of a list of evil spirits and the mention of the "abyss" (תהו[ם]) also has

a parallel with the otherwise understudied text 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a] (4Q230). This work

contains an enumeration of spirits (line 4: אלה שמות רוחות), the mention of a curse (line 5), and the

remains of the word "fire" (line 7), which may refer to a place of eschatological punishment

(e.g., *Jub.* 5:14, 22:22, 24:31; *1 En.* 21, 63:10, 103:6-8; 1QH[a] IV, 25; 1QM XIV, 17-18 [comp.

4Q491 8-10 I, 15]). Once again, the lack of context limits our understanding as to the nature of

these words, though the parallels to 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a] and 4QSongs of the Sage point

toward a possible apotropaic function of this column.

Line 7 preserves "his people" (עמו) and "cure" (רפואה), which based upon line 8 seems to

be about God healing faithful Israelites.[362] Line 8 also preserves [א]וקר, likely an imperative.

Line 9 contains the words "Israel," which may suggest that the invocation is directed towards

"YHWH the God of Israel." Possible interpretations of these lines are as follows: either 1) the

lines are describing God's covenant faithfulness to Israel, which are the basis for the exorcist's

assurance that God will heal the victim; or 2) the lines are describing God's general protection

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[361] García Martínez, DJD 23, 191.

[362] Election and predestination do play a role in the texts examined in this chapter. The identification of faithful Israelites as "his people" may assume that divine election is in view (comp. 4Q414 12 1-2, 7; 4Q380 1 I, 11; 4Q419 1, 5-7; 4Q511 2 I, 5-10; Dt 7:6; Ps 105:43). Additionally, "those who serve YHW[H]" (III, 11) may be a designation for God's chosen people (comp. Ps 135:1-4; Isa 54:17). Lastly, 11Q11 IV, 12 may be reconstructed to read: "[periods of] humiliation" (תעניות [תעודות]). That God has decreed such an era to exist (*1 En.* 16:1; *Jub.*10:8-11; 1QS III, 22-23, IV, 18; 1QM XIII, 9-16), suggests that his sovereign, predetermined, will is running its course. As with other apotropaic texts analyzed above, it is possible that reminding God to be faithful to his chosen people was part of these songs. Another designation of the chosen people may appear in 6Q18 2 7. Fragmentary mention is made of the "son of Isaac," which may refer to a self-designating title for the one speaking or to the target of the protection. The phrase בן ישחק does not appear anywhere in the Hebrew Bible, though the plural phrase בְּנֵי יִצְחָק appears in 1 Chr 1:34 in a genealogical list. The same phrase also appears once in a targumic fragment in the Cairo Genizah of Genesis 21:10: כי לא יירש בן האמה הזאת עם בני יצחק (Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, *Cairo Geniza Targumic Fragment: MS EE* [Hebrew Union College, 2005]). It appears also in *Jub.*16:17-18: "But from the sons of Isaac one would become a holy seed and…he would become the portion of the Most High and all his seed would fall (by lot) into that which God will rule..." The expression "son of Isaac" is possibly another way of talking about Israel (i.e., Isaac's son), since "Jacob" (e.g., Isa 9:8) and "house of Jacob" (e.g., Isa 2:5l; Ps 155:21) are common ways of referring to the nation in the Hebrew Bible. Additionally, 6Q18 4 2 contains the remains of the letters רלי, which may be reconstructed as "my lot" (גורלי), a reference to the lots that God has preordained people to fall into. This reconstruction is especially likely, since יפלו appears in the following line.

over his people, which may be interpreted as apotropaic. The invocations, therefore, are not adjuring the spirits to leave, but rather invoking God's name as part of an apotropaic ritual.

Lines 10 and 11 mention "the heavens" and "separated" (הבדיל), which seem to be best understood as references to God's creative work.[363] God's sovereignty over creation is mentioned several times in 4QSongs of the Sage (4Q511 1 1-8; 4Q511 10 12; 4Q511 30 1-6) and Eshel notes that this is a typical feature of incantations (comp. I, 6 above).[364] Similarly, Alexander suggests that the reason for creation imagery in "magical" texts from Qumran is due to a reliance on the Watcher mythology. According to Alexander, the perversion enacted by the Watchers is meant to be reversed through declaring God's "creative power," a component that is intended to threaten or terrify the demons by reminding them of their proper place in the order of the cosmos.[365] Such language could be exorcistic, though an apotropaic interpretation is also just as likely.

This column has generally been interpreted as exorcistic; However, this interpretation is reliant on reading קרא as an exorcistic verb used for expelling demons. Without the further context, this suggestion is only one possibility among several. Whether the speaker is meant to invoke the demon (to adjure him to leave) or invoking God as a power-authority (to ward away demons) is not clear. The presence of the word רפואה in line 7 may suggest that remedying demonic possession is in view, but this is not necessarily the case, especially since "his people" is the only immediate object, signaling that communal "healing" may be in view (i.e., protection from demonic affliction generally). Portraying God as the one who heals his people may serve as

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[363] Puech, "Un ritual d'exorcismes," 386, 388, 392; van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes," 132; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 133–134.
[364] Eshel, "Genres," 404.
[365] Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 341.

simply a description of God's character, which could point to an exorcistic *or* apotropaic function.

3.1.3 Column III

1 [.]תה[.] ... [התהומ]ות [...
2 הארץ ו.[... ה]ארץ מי ע[שה את האותות]
3 ואת המופ[תים האלה ב]ארץ יהוה הוא[ה אשר]
4 עשה את ה[אלה בגבור]תו משביע לכול מ[לאכיו]
5 [וא]ת כול זר[ע הקודש]אשר הת[י]צבו לפני[ו וייעיד א[ת
6 [כול הש[מים ו[את כול] הארץ] בהם]אשר יעש[ו [על
7 [כול אי]ש חטא ועל כול א[דם רשע ו[הם יודעים
8 [רזי פל]או אשר אינם [...]ה אם לוא
9 [יראו [מלפני יהוה ל[... ו]ללהרוג נפש
10 [...]יהוה ויירא[ו את המכה ה[גדולה הזוא[ת]
11 [וירדף א]חד מכם א[לף ...].[עבדי יהו[ה]
12 [...ג]דולה ו[...]...[...]

1 … […] the depth[s …]
2 the earth and [… the] earth. Who ma[de these portents]
3 and won[ders upon the] earth? It is he, YHWH, [who]
4 made t[hese through] his [streng]th, who summons all [his] a[ngels]
5 and all [the holy] se[ed] to st[a]nd before [him, and calls as witness]
6 [all the he]avens and [all] the earth [against them] who committed against
7 [all me]n sin, and against every m[an evil. But] they know
8 his [wonder]ful [secrets,] which they do not […]. If they do not
9 [refrain] out of fear of YHWH from [… and] from killing the soul,
10 […] YHWH, and they will fear that great [blow (?)].
11 [O]ne among you [will chase after a] th[ousand …] those who serve YHW[H]
12 [… g]reat. And […] … […]

Frölich proposes that columns II and III ought to be read together as containing one song, which is certainly possible given the language of creation that is found near the end of column II.[366] The overall exorcistic or apotropaic quality of this column depends on a number of tentative reconstructions, as has been typical throughout this analysis. One element that could be interpreted as exorcistic is the question found in lines 2-3. Sanders interprets the question "who ma]de these portents] and wonders" as a kind of interrogative or antagonistic question directed toward the evil spirits.[367] This theory is difficult to accept because, as Morris points out, this column lacks any mention of demons or evil spirits (unless this song is connected to column II).[368]

It is possible that evil spirits are mentioned in this column depending on how one reconstructs lines 4-5. The term משביע appears in line 4, but the object has typically been reconstructed as מ[לאכיו]. God calling his heavenly host to aid the righteous would not be out of place and one could read the following lines as God calling his angels along with creation to be his witnesses to judge the wicked. Another interpretation involving evil spirits is also tenable. The editors of DJD 23 give an alternative reconstruction of lines 4 and 5 that is worth considering: לכול מ[מזרים / וא]ת כול זר[ע הרשע] (God adjures "all bastards and the seed of evil"). According to this reconstruction, God calls the bastards and the "seed of evil," possibly a designation for the Nephilim (comp. 11Q11 V, 6; Gen Apoc II, 1), to stand before him in judgement. God then calls the heavens and the earth to bear witness of their evil acts. One reason for accepting this view is because lines 6-7 mention that some unknown figures (perhaps the evil spirits) have done something (יעש]ו [) "against" (על) all men. Additionally, if רזי פל]או [is correctly reconstructed, this could be an allusion to *1 En.* 8-9 where Azazel is charged with

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[366] Frölich, "Magical Healing at Qumran," 42.
[367] Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken," 223, n. 20.
[368] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 134.

teaching humans the mysteries of heaven (comp. 4Q511 2 II, 6). These secrets are later mentioned in *1 En.* 16:3: "You were (once) in heaven, but not all the mysteries (of heaven) are open to you, and you (only) know the rejected mysteries." Line 8 could then be reconstructed as "the like of which they do not know" (אינם [ידעים כמו[ה), referring to the evil spirits' ignorance of the true or good mysteries of God.[369] Line 9 can then be interpreted as a threat to the evil spirits that if they do not stop two activities (one unknown and the other "killing the soul" [comp. *1 En.* 7:4]), they will incur some type of punishment. Lines 9 and 10 also mention fear, which seems to refer to the tactics involved in attempting to stop the evil spirits from continuing their destructive behavior.

If the reconstruction and interpretation offered above is correct, this column represents an apotropaic, rather than exorcistic, function. The song states that "if they do not [refrain] out of fear" ([אם לוא [יראו) and "they will fear" (וייראו[ו), both imperfects that signal warnings against the spirits about future judgement should they choose to interfere. The description of God's judgement against the evil spirits is issued to terrify the spirits so that they will cease their affliction of human being, a trait that is consistent with the apotropaic hymns of 4QSongs of the Sage.

3.1.4 Column IV

1 [ו]גדול[... ...] [משביע]...[
2 והגדול ב[... ...] [תקיף ור]...[
3 כול הארץ[...] השמים ו]...[
4 יככה יהוה מ[כה גדול]ה אשר לאבדך[...
5 ובחרון אפו[ישלח]עליך מלאך תקיף[ן לעשות]
6 [כול דב]רו אשר[בלוא] רחמ[ים] עליך אש[ר ...
7 [...]על כול אלה אשר[יורידו]ך לתהום רבה
8 [ולשאול] התחתיה ומי[...].כב וחשך
9 [בתהום ר]בה מואדה [לוא ... ע]וד בארץ
10 [...]עד עולם וא[...] [בקללת האב]דון]
11 [...]חרון אף י[הוה ... ב]חושך בכ]ול]

369 García Martínez, DJD 23, 195.

12 [תעודות]תעניות [...] מתנתך
[...]...[...]...[...] 13

1 [and] great […] adjuring […]
2 and the great […] powerful and […]
3 the whole earth […] heavens and […]
4 YHWH will strike you with a [mighty] bl[ow] to destroy you […]
5 and in the fury of his anger [he will send] a powerful angel against you, [to carry out]
6 [all] his [comm]and, (one) who [will not show] you mercy, wh[o …]
7 […] above all these, who will [bring] you [down] to the great abyss,
8 [and to] the deepest [Sheol.] And … […] … And it will be very dark
9 [in the gr]eat [abyss. No … lo]nger over the earth
10 […] for ever. And […] with the curse of Aba[ddon,]
11 […] the fury of Y[HWH]'s anger. [… in] darkness for a[ll]
12 [periods of] humiliation […] your gift
13 […] … […] … […]

This column, once again, contains the word משביע (IV, 1), but without any further context. The "adjuring" could be describing God summoning the earth and heaven (IV, 2) like in column III as part of his judgement on evil spirits. Line 4 contains a threat against an unknown figure, though if this is a continuation of the previous song then demons are probably in view. The threat continues in line 5 with a warning that God will send a "powerful angel" against the figure. If the DJD editors are correct in their reconstruction of line 6 as אשר] בלוא[רחמ]ים[עליך, the author may be drawing on *1 En.* 12:5, which states that God will not have mercy nor peace upon the Watchers.[370] Lines 7-9 continue describing the fate of the figures in the great and dark abyss (תהום). Line 9 mentions that something will not remain on the earth (לוא] ... ע]וד בארץ), which may mean that the evil spirits will be in a place of judgement and not continue causing destruction on the earth (comp. *1 En.* 10:16). Line 10 mentions the "curse of Aba[ddon]" (בקללת [האב]דון), which could refer to either an angel, demon, or location.[371] Morris is probably correct in interpreting it as a reference to the abyss, since that is the immediate context under

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[370] García Martínez, DJD 23, 197.
[371] Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 341.

discussion.[372] Finally, line 12 may contain the phrase "[periods of] humiliation" ([תעניות [תעודות),
which is found also in 4Q510 1 7.

Nothing in this column, besides a possible interpretation of משביע, necessitates that this is
an exorcistic incantation. The preserved content is a threat aimed towards evil spirits more
generally. Such threats could be recited over a person who is possessed in order to coax the evil
spirit to leave, but an apotropaic function is just as possible. Temporal indicators may also reflect
an apotropaic function. Line 4 says that YHWH "*will* strike" (יככה) and in line 5 it is possible to
reconstruct "he *will* send" (ישלח) the powerful angel to bind the evil spirit. The use of the
imperfect could suggest that this is recited over someone to deter the demons from coming after
them.

3.1.5 Column V

<div dir="rtl">

1 [...]...[...]
2 אשר] ... [הפגוע]ים [...
3 נדבי א]... ר]פאל שלמ]ם אמן אמן סלה] vacat
4 לדויד ע]ל ... ל]חש בשם יהו]ה קרא בכו]ל עת
5 אל השמ]ים כי]יבוא אליך בלי]לה וא]מרתה אליו
6 מי אתה [הילוד מ]אדם ומזרע הקד]ושי]ם פניך פני
7 [שו]ו וקרניך קרני חל]ו]ם חושך אתה ולוא אור
8 [עו]ל ולוא צדקה] ...]שר הצבה והוה [יוריד]ך
9 [לשאו]ל תחתית [ויסגור דל]תי נחושת ב]אלה לו]א
10 [יעבור] אור ולוא] יאיר לך ה]שמש אש]ר יזרח]
11 [על ה]צדיק לה] ... ו]אמרתה ה]...
12 [... הצ]דיק לבוא] ...]הרע לו ש]ד [...
13 [... א]מת מח.]... אשר הצ]דקה לו] [...
14 [...]...[...].

</div>

1 [...] … [...]
2 which […] the possessed one[s …]
3 the volunteers of [… Ra]phael has healed [them. Amen, Amen. *Selah.*] *Blank*
4 Of David. Ag[ainst … An incanta]tion in the name of YHW[H. Invoke at an]y time.
5 the heave[ns. When] he comes upon you in the nig[ht,] you shall [s]ay to him:

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6 Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly] ones? Your face is a face of
7 [delus]ion, and your horns are horns of illu[si]on. You are darkness and not light,
8 [injus]tice and not justice. […] the chief of the army. YHWH [will bring] you [down]
9 [to the] deepest [Sheo]l, [he will shut] the two bronze [ga]tes through [which n]o
10 light [penetrates.] [On you shall] not [shine the] sun, whi[ch rises]
11 [upon the] just man to […] You shall say […]
12 [… the ju]st man, to go […] a de[mon] mistreats him. […]
13 [… tr]uth from … [… because jus]tice is with him […]
14 […] … […]

This column preserves the end of the previous song (V, 2-3) and the beginning of a new composition (V, 4). Lines 2-3 make fragmentary mention of הפגוע]ים, which is often translated as "possessed ones," though "stricken ones" is probably more appropriate since we do not know the nature of the demonic affliction. The connection between Raphael and healing in line 3 is also unclear, though since Raphael is mentioned in the book of Tobit as binding the demon Asmodeus, an apotropaic or exorcistic interpretation is possible.

This song, attributed to David, is described as an "incantation" or "charm" (V, 4; ל[חש) that uses the tetragrammaton as a power-authority. Additionally, instructions on when and how to use the incantation are supplied. Firstly, two temporal instructions are given: "[Invoke at an]y time to the heave[ns." (V, 4) and "When] he comes upon you in the nig[ht]."[373] The first temporal instruction states that the incantation can be used at any point, but the second says it is to be used when the demon manifests itself at night. One way to rectify this is that perhaps the instructions are meant to be taken to mean "invoke at any time during the night" when one encounters an evil spirit. Alternatively, it could mean that the incantation has a preventative function to dissuade the demon from making contact in the first place, but if the demon does show up, one can recite the incantation to remedy the situation.[374] Frölich notes that "If we were to read *'l hšm*[*ym*]"to the heav[ens]" as *'l hšm*[*rym*] "at the *šimmurim*", we would then be able to

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[373] Puech, "Un ritual d'exorcismes,"381, 383 and Sanders, "A Liturgy for Healing the Stricken," 226–227, reconstruct בליעל.
[374] Could this be true of all the incantations in this text?

place the text into a calendrical context." Her argument is based upon the presence of the term *šmrym* in Exod 12:42 which is the vigil before the day of the exodus, and thus offers the interpretation of line 4 as: "Invoke at any time at the vig[il of Passover when] it comes." [375] Frölich substantiates this reading based on the fact that no apotropaic prayers are addressed to "the heavens," that a power-authority is always clearly defined in apotropaic/exorcistic prayers, and that the reading "to the name" is too short to fit a reconstruction.[376] Frölich's hypothesis is possible, though it should be stated that there is nothing improbable about an apotropaic/exorcistic prayer being addressed to "the heavens," since this is just a euphemistic way of referring to God (e.g., 1 Macc. 4:55).

Secondly, instructions are given about what to say to the demon. The speaker is told to ask the spirit to identify themselves: "Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly] ones?" The speaker knows that he is addressing a demon, and so the question מי אתה must mean that the speaker wants the demon to tell him their name, a typical feature of exorcism (e.g., Mark 5:9; Luke 8:30; PGM IV, 3040).[377] Next, the speaker describes the demons characteristics, namely that they have a face of "[delus]ion" (שׁ[ו]) and horns of "illu[si]on" (חל[ו]ם) and that they are darkness and injustice (V, 6-8). Frölich interprets this encounter as either a demonic vision (*horasis*) or a nightmare.[378] This wording is used in later apotropaic formulas from the Cairo Genizah and Sasanian magic bowls.[379] Based on these similarities, as well as the tradition

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[375] Compare, however, Frölich, "Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity. Demons and Illness in Second Temple Judaism," 92.

[376] Frölich, "Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity. Demons and Illness in Second Temple Judaism, 92, n. 44.

[377] Compare the use of מי אתה in Gen 27:18, 32; 1 Sam 17:58, 24:15, 26:14, 2 Sam 1:8, and Zech 4:7.

[378] Frölich, "Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity. Demons and Illness in Second Temple Judaism," 92

[379] The Genizah fragment reads as follows: "and it c[omes] up[o]n you whether by day or by night, and says to you: Who are you, whether from the seed of man or from the seed of cattle. Your face is the face of old age (?) and your horns are (like) a water-current. You shall come out (?)…"; One bowl reads: "I adjure you who are barred, who are subdued. Your face is the face of a lowly creature, your horn is the horn of animate beings. May God smite you and put an end to you, for you shall die if you come near and if you touch Makhdukh daughter of Newandukh." See Gideon Bohak, "From Qumran to Cairo: The Lives and Times of a Jewish Exorcistic Formula (with an Appendix

of a night vigil during Passover, Frölich argues that this song was an apotropaic hymn that "was uttered at the spring equinox against a demon that was similar to the *mšḥyt* of Exodus, i.e., that may cause the death of members of the household, most probably of children."[380]

Lines 8-11 seem to refer to God's banishment of the evil spirits to a place of judgement, possibly Sheol, where they are unable to escape. Lines 11 onward then give more instructions on what to say, though it is unclear whether this is spoken to the demon or over a person who is suffering from demonic affliction. One possible interpretation is that the demon mistreating him in line 12 (הרע לו שׁ[ד]) is warded away from the just man because according to line 13 "jus]tice is with him" (הצ[דקה לו).

This incantation may have had multiple uses. The incantation can be utilized both to prevent demonic affliction, but also for when the demon reveals itself. It is problematic, however, to view this as an exorcism. The demon is manifesting itself outside of the human being, perhaps haunting them. Thus, this appears to be an apotropaic incantation for both aversion and warding away, depending on the context of *how* the demon presents itself. It is possible that when the text says that the demon "comes upon you" (יבוא אליך) this refers to the evil spirit taking control of the person, evidenced by an ecstatic fit of demon possession, but this is never stated.[381] If this *is* an exorcism, however, it seems to be an example of a self-exorcism, since the one using the invocation is speaking it when the demon comes upon them. In my section on self-exorcism in chapter four, I will address this in more detail, but for now I suggest

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from Shaul Shaked)," in *Ritual Healing: Magic, Ritual and Medical Therapy From Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, eds. Ildiko Csepregi and Charles Burnet (Florence: Sismel, 2012), 31–52.

[380] Frölich, "Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity. Demons and Illness in Second Temple Judaism," 96.

[381] We do have another example of this kind of manifestation in the New Testament. According to Mark 9:17–18, a young boy "has a spirit that makes him unable to speak; and whenever it seizes (καταλάβῃ) him, it dashes him down; and he foams and grinds his teeth and becomes rigid; and I asked your disciples to cast it out, but they could not do so." The word καταλάβῃ (from καταλαμβάνω) seems to be synonymous with Hebrew בוא.

that this invocation represents an anti-demonic apotropaic-exorcistic (self-exorcism) ritual that was used in various contexts for protection and deliverance against evil spirits.

3.1.6 Concluding Remarks Concerning 11QApocryphal Psalms

11QApocryphal Psalms contains a number of terms classically thought of as exorcistic and could therefore be read as a series of exorcistic songs. Yet, due to the fragmentary nature of the scroll, certain elements have been imputed exorcistic qualities based on tentative reconstructions. The overall function of 11QApocryphal Psalms is best described as apotropaic-exorcistic, since no explicit or exclusively exorcistic content can be confidently reconstructed. This work may have been used for apotropaism (perhaps for calendrical recitation, as Frölich suggests), or for exorcism rituals, but there is no way to be sure. Based on the above analysis, the ones who are "stricken" likely refer either to possessed individuals *or* people who are simply undergoing some manner of unknown demonic affliction, for which an apotropaic or exorcistic reading of this text is dependant.

Eric Eve best summarizes the text as follows:

"…the poorly preserved state of the text makes it hard to be either certain or precise about their function. In particular, it is not entirely clear whether the evils spirits to be opposed are conceived primarily as attempting to lead their victims away from the path of righteousness or as afflicting them with disease. It is also not clear whether the apotropaic use of these psalms should be regarded as prayerful, magical, or perhaps something in between. Comparison with other texts perhaps tips the balance of probability in favour of disease-causing demons being countered by quasi-magical incantations, but this remains an uncertain hypothesis."[382]

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[382] Eric Eve, *The Jewish Context,* 211.

3.2 6QpapHymn (6Q18)[383]

This scroll consists of 27 fragments and dates to between 30 BCE and 68 CE.[384] Literary

features such as the use of terms like Belial, Mastema, and "angels of justice" (6Q18 5 2; cf.

4Q286 2 3) as well as the use of paleo-Hebrew have been used as evidence to suggest that this

work is possibly sectarian.[385] This work has been labeled apotropaic by Eshel based on it dealing

with "the dualistic struggle between the 'Angels of Justice' and Belial."[386]

Fragment 2

1 [...].[...]
2 [... וכב]וד נצח חיי [...]
3 [... ל]ה ואפ[...]ול חושך [...]
4 [...]תשוקת ושך[ח ...]
5 [...]ויהי עולמים לחי[...]
6 [...]ה שמח[עד ...]
7 [...] ישחק בן מר[...]
8 [... ע]ולמים בתשב'חות[...]
9 [...]ל[...]

Fragment 5

1 [...]...[...]
2 [...]במע צדק אכי[מל ...]
3 [...]דעת ברוח חזקו[י ...]
4 [... יכלו] לוא לע[ו]למים [...]

Fragment 2

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[383] Transcription from M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux with contributions from H.W. Baker, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre*, DJD 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 133-136. Translations from García Martínez, *DSSSE*, 2:1157.

[384] B. Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts of the Judaean Desert," in *The Texts from the Judaen Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries of the Judaean Desert Series,* ed. Emmanuel Tov, et al., DJD 39 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 425.

[385] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers, 81.

[386] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers, 81.

1 […] … […]
2 […] eternal life and gl[ory …]
3 […] … darkness and gl[oom …]
4 [… da]rkness is the inclination of […]
5 […] to whom lives for ever. And may […] be […]
6 […] until joy […]
7 […] … son of Isaac […]
8 […] with ev[erlasting] praises […]
9 […] … […]

Fragment 5

1 […] … […]
2 [… the ang]els of righteousness in … […]
3 [… they will] be steadfast through the spirit of knowledge […]
4 [… in eter]nity they will not be destroyed […]

This work is best understood as anti-demonic. Specific words in these fragments lend themselves to being read as part of an anti-demonic song, including: 1) "to subdue" (6Q18 1 6; להכני[ע), 2) "in/with/against Belial" (6Q18 3 3; בבליעל), 3) "ang]els of righteousness" (6Q18 5 2; מל[אכי צדק), and 4) "Mastema" (6Q18 9 1; משטמה). Additionally, the term תשבֹחות in line 8 is found in incantations from Egypt that date to the Roman period.[387] Eshel interprets line 4 as the words of evil spirits "[our] desire (תשוקת) is [for] the darkness (ח[ושך)."[388] Similar language can be found in 1QM XIII, 11-12 with reference to evil spirits: "All the spirits of his lot are angels of destruction, they walk in the laws of darkness (חושך); towards it goes their only [de]sire (תש[וקתמה)."[389] "darkness" and "desire" also appear together, however, in the context of wicked humans: "For they are a wicked congregation and all their deeds are in darkness (ובחושך) and to it go [their] desires (תשוקת[ם)" (1QM XV, 9-10). The term להכניע appears in contexts involving both evil spirits and human beings as well (1QM I, 6, VI, 5, XVII, 5; 4Q511 48, 49+51 3). Based on the generic quality of these words as well as the lack of context, Morris argues that it is impossible to know whether the terms are related to demons or not, and thus it is also impossible

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[387] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers, 81.
[388] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers, 81.
[389] Baillet, DJD 3, 134.

to know whether this text was originally anti-demonic.[390] Morris, however, does not consider in his analysis the phrase "they will] be steadfast through the spirit of knowledge" (י[חזקו ברוח דעת), terminology found in two apotropaic texts considered above (4Q444 and 4Q510).[391] Only 4Q444 1 3 and 4Q510 1 6 contain the phrase in the same context as evil spirits, suggesting that 6Q18 ought to be understood as anti-demonic.

The song is envisioning an eschatological event where God judges the wicked, possibly including Mastema and Belial. If Eshel is correct that evil spirits are the speakers in line 4, the "darkness and gl[oom" mentioned in line 3 may refer to a location where they are bound, awaiting judgement. The word עד appears twice (6Q18 2 6; 10 2) and the phrase ביום (6Q18 8 2), which are temporal markers indicating some future event, though they are in fragmentary contexts. They could be a reference to the time up until God's eschatological visitation.

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[390] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 122.

[391] The other occurrences of this term are 1QS IV, 4, 1QSb V, 25, 4Q405 4, 5, 69, 6, 58, 57 10 (= 4Q403 1 I, 42; 4Q404 4–5), 4Q405 17 3, 4Q405 19 4 (= 11Q17 VI, 5), and 1QHᵃ VI, 36. These passages use the phrase in two main contexts, either mentioning them in the same vicinity as angels or referring to God's impartation of knowledge to human beings. In the fragmentary prayer offered in 6Q18 5 3 the speaker claims that "they will] be steadfast (י[חזקו) through the spirit of knowledge." That both 4Q444 and 6Q18 use the term חזק in connection with the spirit of knowledge may suggest that it is either a metaphorical way to express being diligent in keeping the commandments or of remaining strong in the assurance that "they will not be destroyed" (6Q18 5 4), perhaps by evil spirits. These, of course, are not logically exclusive of one another. Being strong in the commandments has the result that the obedient are not destroyed. The "spirit of knowledge" is a reference to the messianic passage in Isa 11:2. Here, the shoot from the stump of Jesse is described as being adorned with various spirits, including "the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD." The spirit of knowledge is connected with fearing God, which is another way of communicating obedience and right relationship between the creation and the creator (e.g., Hos 2:20).

4Q147, 4QCatalogue of Spirits, 4QExorcism, (and possibly 11Q11 II, 7) seem to use lists of names of demons as part of the way they are to be warded away. Knowledge of the kinds of evil spirits, therefore, plays a role in apotropaism. In 11Q11 III, 7-8, evil spirits may be being chastised on account of not knowing the "[wonder]ful [secrets" which another group are identified as knowing. This other group may be angels, creation, or righteous human beings. What these secrets are is never stated, but since they are mentioned within the song itself (which is the actual means of warding off the demon), the mention of such mysteries is important to consider. Additionally, in Ps 91, quoted in 11Q11, God places on the speaker a breastplate of "his truth" (VI, 6). The logic seems to be that knowledge about God, referred to as "his truth," constitutes a metaphorical piece of armor to protect the wearer, presumably, from demons (comp. 6Q18 6 4). 1QHymns 15 3 mentions "those that benefit you[r] truth" (גמולי אמתכ[ה). Those who benefit are certainly the righteous, but the nature of the benefit is not stated, though protection is one possibility. 4QPrayer of Enosh? 1 II, 10 states that God has given "him righteous laws, as a father does a s[on" (לו חוקים צדיקים כאב לב[ן). This seems to be an allusion to the Dt. 6:1-9 where parents are directed to teach their children God's commandments.

3.2.1 Conclusion

There are no indicators of proximity in what has been preserved. Words such as עליוֹ (6Q18 6 1), לֹ[פני (6Q18 6 2), עלינו (6Q18 8 3), and עליכה (6Q18 14 3) appear in fragmentary contexts, but whether they reflect a battle against the spirits is unclear. The word להכני[ע could be exorcistic, though an apotropaic function is also plausible. One reason against an exorcistic interpretation of להכני[ע is the presence of the word "shout/sound/alarm" (תרוע[ה) in the preceding line. If a sound is used as a method of dealing with spiritual evil, it may fall in line with 4QSongs of the Sage, where startling the evil spirits is the *modus operandi*. 6Q18 1 7 preserves the word הוי after discussing subduing, which may point to an exclamation of what the speaker is to say in order to shame or terrify the evil spirits. 6Q18 5 3 also preserves that "[they will] be steadfast through the spirit of knowledge" (י[חֹזקו ברוח דעת), an idea that is typically part of apotropaic rituals.

3.3 8QHymn (8Q5)[392]

8Q5 consists of two fragments dated between 30 BCE and 68 CE,[393] and which have often been identified as the remains of a song that is either exorcistic or apotropaic. Eshel and Baumgarten translate מירא as an exorcistic term, understanding it to be a Piel participle meaning "I exorcise" or "I terrify/spread fear."[394] García Martínez and Tigchelaar follow Baillet in rendering the term "I spread fear" (Baillet: "je sème la crainte").[395]

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[392] Transcription from DJD 3. Baillet does not comment on whether this work ought to be viewed as sectarian or not nor has Guerra in her more recent treatment. Similarities in language between 8QHymn, 4Q444, and 4Q511may suggest a sectarian origin or at least familiarity with a standard apotropaic formula.
[393] Webster, "Chronological Index," 426.
[394] Eshel, "Genres," 401–402; Baumgarten, "The Seductress," 136.
[395] Baillet, DJD 3, 161.

Fragment 1

1 […] בשמכה] ג[בור אני מירא ומעֹ] … [
2 […]ׄ͏ני האיש הזה אשר הוא מבני הׄ] … [
3 […]הֹזֶה ומה תשביׄתוֹ אורוׄ לֹהׄ] [ׄ͏͏○○ל] … [
4 […]לֹמֹ[ז]לֹוֹת השמֹ]ים … [

Fragment 1

1 In your name, [O H]ero, I spread fear and … […]
2 […] … this man who is from the sons of … […]
3 […] this […]. And how will you remove him? His light is for … […] … […]
4 […] for co[nstellat]ions of the heav[ens

Fragment 2

2 […]ׄ͏ר וֹתשביׄ]תו … [
3 […]ׄ͏לֹת יהוה ○] … [
4 […]כֹה רבה למעלה מכוֹלֹ] … [
5 […]ׄ͏מרדפֹוֹת והמשפטים] … [
6 […]וֹכול הרוחות לפניכה עֹ]ומדות … [

2 […] *r* and [you] will cease
3 […] … of YHWH […]
4 […] your […] is great above all […]
5 […] the persecutions and the judgments […]
6 […] and all the spirits before you s[tand…]

8Q5 1 1 contains an invocation of a name, which may possibly be reconstructed as

הג[בור], thus "O hero," or simply as "your mighty name," both of which refer to God. This line

has parallels to 4Q444 and 4Q511, where the Maskil describes his activity as spreading fear to

evil spirits.[396] Due to the fragmentary nature of this song, it is not possible to know whether this

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[396] According to James 2:19, the one who has faith without works is no better than a demonic spirit that believes God is one: "Even the demons believe—and shudder." The author of James appears to be referring to the recitation of the *Shema* (Deut 6:4), a prayer expected to be prayed twice daily by pious Jews (e.g., m. Ber. 1). James does not state that it is the declaration of monotheism that causes demons to shudder, but one can assume that the reminder of such monotheism would naturally serve as a reminder to such supernatural figures of their impending judgment. In Josephus's *Wars* 5:378, he writes "I even tremble myself in declaring the works of God before your ears, that are unworthy to hear them." The assumption made by Josephus is that his audience, by the declaration of God's wonders, ought to tremble as well. A similar instance occurs in Test. Abr. Recension A 9: "Since therefore to your command all things yield, and fear and tremble at the face of your power, I also fear, but I ask one request of you, and now, Lord and Master, hear my prayer." Twelftree argues that James 2:19 may reflect an early Jewish or Christian practice known to the author, in which the *Shema* or some similar affirmation of monotheism was understood to enact an apotropaic effect against evil spirits. Although the *Songs* do not mimic the content of the *Shema*, the idea presented in James and that in the *Songs* is similar. The human being affirms qualities of God that demonic spirits are already aware of, and by so doing cause them to tremble and wish to depart from the presence of

text was meant to be exorcistic or apotropaic or some combination of both. No mention of demons or evil spirits is extant in what has been preserved, though some hints in the text may point in this direction. Eshel has reconstructed the last word of line 1 as משביע ("I adjure"), which is used in anti-demonic contexts (e.g., 11Q11 III, 4; IV, 1), although this is only a guess.[397] A more probable case for an anti-demonic reading is 8Q5 1 4. Here, mention is made of the "constellations of heaven" (למֹ[ז]לֹֿות השמֹ[ים]). The word מזל appears only in 2 Kgs 23:5: "He deposed the idolatrous priests whom the kings of Judah had ordained to make offerings in the high places at the cities of Judah and around Jerusalem; those also who made offerings to Baal, to the sun, the moon, the constellations (וְלַמַּזָּלֹות), and all the host of the heavens." The constellations appear to be a reference to celestial bodies that can be worshipped, beings which are later interpreted as disobedient spirits (e.g., *1 En.* 18:14).

8Q5 1 2 mentions "this man who is from the sons of…," which may be interpreted as either the target of the fear or the subject being protected. If it is a human target, a parallel may be found in 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 3, which mentions the subjugation of the "bastard spirits" as well as "impure sin[ners]," which may refer to human beings (an anomalous inclusion in an apotropaic work). If the target is a demon, then perhaps something similar to 11Q11 V, 6 is in mind: "Who are you, [oh offspring of] man and of the seed of the ho[ly] ones" (מי אתה [הילוד ומזרע הקד[ושי]ם מ[אדם). If the target is a demon, then perhaps the phrase הזה אשר in 8Q5 1 2 is meant to refer to the Nephilim, who are "the sons of" (הוא מבני) the Watchers.[398]

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the human in fear of incurring divine judgement. Graham H. Twelftree, *In the Name of Jesus: Exorcism among Early Christians* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2007), 177–182.

[397] Eshel, "Genres," 401–402; compare Baillet, DJD 3, 161 and Baumgarten "The Seductress," 161.

[398] In the Genesis Apocryphon Lamech laments over the unusual birth of his son and remarks that "the conception was from Watchers, and the seed from Holy Ones, and to Nephil[in" (II, 1). Lamech confronts his wife Batenosh, who responds harshly and with weeping (II, 8). Batenosh tells Lamech to remember their sexual experience, specifically the "heat of the moment" and her "panting of breath" (II, 10). She urges Lamech to acknowledge that the child is not "from any of the Watchers, nor from any of the sons of Hea[ven" (II, 16). Lamech does not believe Batenosh and runs to his father Methuselah, who in turn approaches Enoch on behalf of Lamech. Enoch eventually

8Q5 1 3 may also be interpreted in at least two ways. The question "and how will you remove him?" (ומה תשביתו) may refer to the removal of an evil spirit. Similar language of "removing" evil spirits can be found in 4Q511 2 I, 3 (ה[שבית), Genesis Apocryphon XX, 29 (ואתפלי), and 1QM XV, 17 (להסיר בל]יעל). The phrase "his light" may refer to the light of God which is used to ward away the evil spirit. Alternatively, the pronominal suffix may refer to the removal of the human being by the evil spirit from following God's commands (e.g., *Jub*. 19:26-29). The mention of "his light" in this context could also refer to the light of the righteous human being, a metaphorical statement indicating his righteous conduct.

3.4.1 Conclusion

The reference to the "constellations" suggests that this text ought to be understood as anti-demonic. The mention of the speaker spreading fear as well as the temporal reference of ceasing suggests that this text ought to be understood as apotropaic.

3.5 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a] (4Q230)[399]

This text was initially given to J.T. Milik,[400] but its preliminary edition was published by Eibert Tigchelaar. The scroll has been dated to the second half of the first century BCE,[401] and contains a list of various spirits, a curse, and the mention of fire (possibly a reference to a place

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instructs Methuselah to return to Lamech and tell him, "[The chi]l[d is t]r[ul]y from you [and]n[ot] from the sons[of Heaven…" (V, 10). Thus, for a human being to be identified as the offspring of the Watchers is not unheard of in the scrolls, and may very well be the target of the fear in 8Q5 1 2.

[399] Transcription and translation from Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of…': a Preliminary Edition of "4QCatalogue of Spirits (4Q230)" and New Manuscript Evidence for the "Two Spirits Treatise" ("4Q257" and "1Q29a")," *RevQ* 21/4 (2004): 529–547. Tigchelaar views this work a probably a pre-sectarian text similar to the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* that was nevertheless adopted by the Qumran community due to it sharing theological similarities.

[400] Emmanuel Tov, "List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," DJD 39, 53.

[401] Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of…'," 531.

of eschatological punishment). Based on similarities between 1QS, Testament of the 12 Patriarchs, and Iranian demonology,[402] Tigchelaar has suggested that the list of the names of the spirits given in this fragmentary text may refer both to human dispositions *and* evil spirits.[403]

<div dir="rtl">

1. ותׂ[א]מׂט] תׂו[חורו].1
2. [הׁלפותׂ חורו לׁזׂג].2
3. [עׁשׂר ףׂורׂגׂאׂו זׂובׂ חׂורׂו].3
4. [הׂ תׂוחׂורׂ תׂומׂשׂ הׂלׂא].4
5. לׂוׂכׂבׂ הׂ[הׂו]לׂקׂנׂו *vacat* ךׂשׂו[חׂ .5
6. [דׂעׂ ןׂוא]יׂ[לׂעׂופׂ לׂוכׂ םׂעׂ].6
7. [*vacat* שׂא].7

</div>

1.] and unclean] spirit[s
2.] robbery and a spirit of insolence [
3.] and a spirit of contempt and a wicked fist [
4.] These are the names of the spirits of the [
5. da]rkness *vacat* and cursed are [you] in all [
6.] with all the evildoer[s] until [
7.] fire, *vacat* [

Two interpretations of the curse given in line 5 are offered by Tigchelaar: 1) the spirits in the preceding lines are cursed, noting that "The explicit enumeration of the names of the spirits may have served a ritual or magical purpose. Knowledge of the names or origins of spirits is necessary in order to exorcize or dispel them";[404] 2) human beings who do the works of the evil

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[402] Florentino García Martínez, "Iranian influences in Qumran?,"in *Apocalyptic and Eschatological Heritage. The Middle East and Celtic Realms*, ed. Martin Mc Namara (Dublin & Portland: Four Courts Press, 2003), 37–49.
[403] Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of…'," 533–536.
[404] Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of…'," 537.

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spirits are cursed. Some combination of both may in fact be the case.[405] Knowing the names of evil spirits and enumerating a list of those spirits may have had an apotropaic or exorcistic function. Knowing the name of a demon gave the exorcist power over that spirit. Likewise, however, we see that the Songs of the Sage also enumerate the kinds of spirits that they wish to deter from drawing near to them.[406] Line 6 presents a curse against two groups, although only one is preserved: "with all the evildoer[s]" (עם כול פועל[י] און). Another group is thought of as being cursed, evidenced by the presence of the preposition עם. The evildoers are best interpreted as wicked human beings (cf. 1QH^a VI, 25; Isa 31:2; Ps 14:4, 125:5, 141:9), which insinuates that the other group that is cursed are the spirits themselves. If human dispositions are being cursed, it would be strange to see both humans *and* their inclinations being cursed. 4QBer^a 7 II, 7-8 curses the angel of the pit *on account of* the "designs of [your] g[uilty] inclination" (בכו[ל] מחשבות יצר), but they are not cursed separately. Thus, the curse is more likely directed towards a series of evil spirits *and* the humans who succumb to their influence.

Fragment 2 line 2 contains the remains of the letters ביכה, which Tigchelaar states may be the remains of the word אויביכה ("your enemies"). Fragment 8 line 3 contains the word חֹנפה ("pollution/to pollute"), a characteristic of demons found in Jub. 10:3-6 and 4Q560 1 I, 3. In fragment 8 line 4 is reconstructed as ל[הדריך פעמ֯]י ("to let feed tread"), which could be used in an anti-demonic context of treading over evil spirits.[407] Fragment 11 line 1 contains the letters ול מער. It is possible to reconstruct כ[ול מער]ומו ("all his nakedness"). Demoniacs are sometimes described as having removed their clothing: "As he stepped out on land, a man of the city who had demons met him. For a long time he had worn no clothes, and he did not live in a house but

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[405] Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of…'," 537.
[406] The Aramaic amulets also list spirits as part of their apotropaic formulae. One, for example, reads: "In your name, sacred God, may there be extinguished the evil spirit and the demon and the shadow-spirit and the tormentor and the destroyer." Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae,* 68-69.
[407] Tigchelaar, "'These are the Names of the Spirits of…'," 535.

in the tombs" (Lk. 8:27). Nakedness could, however, refer generally to shame or some state of moral exposure before God.

3.5.1 Conclusion

Several factors should draw us to the conclusion that this text is apotropaic and anti-demonic/anti-peccable. The mention of "fire" (אש) suggests that an eschatological punishment is given as a threat against the spirits as part of the curse. The presence of the term עד in the previous line further supports the idea that this curse is meant to be spoken to deter spiritual opposition until the time of judgement.

3.6 1Q70[bis] (1QpapUnclassified frags. or 1QHe Who Brings in the Sheep)[408]

1Q70[bis] is an opisthograph, a manuscript which has been written on both sides at different times.[409] This small fragmentary text has received little attention from scholars, and has never been suggested as part of an apotropaic tradition. I argue, however, that this tiny scrap may contain the remains of an apotropaic song.

1 [אֹנ]שׁי
2[מֹביא הצאוֹ]ן
3 מ[נֹוסת להבֹ]י אש
4 [רֹ קמֹין וֹ]
5 [ים בצאוֹ]נו
6 [מֹ או בלי]על
7 [בֹהֹ] ◌ֹ

1 […]me[n of…]
2 […] he brings in the shee[p…]
3 […f]leeing from the fier[y flames…]

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[408] Translations and Transcriptions are from James H. Charlesworth, "He Who Brings in the Sheep: 1Q70[bis]" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Genesis Apocryphon and Related Documents*, eds. James H. Charlesworth et al. (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox, 2018), 8:264–265. It is impossible to tell whether this work should be considered sectarian or not because of its fragmentary nature, though the presence of Belial as the archenemy may suggest a sectarian origin.
[409] Florentino García Martínez, "Reconsidering the Cave 1 Texts Sixty Years After Their Discovery: A Survey" in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited,* 8 n. 30.

4 […]*r* standing and […]
5 […]*ym* against [his] sheep […]
6 […]*m* or Beli[al…]
7 […]˚˚˚ *bh*[…]

Who the "me[n" (אֹ֯נ[שׁי) are meant to refer to in line 1 is ultimately unknowable.[410] The presence of "the shee[p" (הצאֹ֯ו[ן) in line 2 may be a symbolic referene to the righteous, since "sheep" is a common metaphor for Israel (e.g., 2 Chr 18:16, Jer 50:17, Ezek 34:2, Mic 2:12, Matt 10:6, 15:24). An important question is whether "he who brings in the shee[p" (מֹ֯ביא הצאֹ֯ו[ן) is a positive or a negative character in the fragment. Line 3 appears to describe someone (the sheep?) fleeing from something "fier[y" (להֹ֯בֹ֯י). We know from line 5 that someone is "against his sheep" (בצאֹ֯ו[נו), which is probably Belial from line 6. The one who brings in the sheep may therefore be Belial, leading the sheep into the fires. Alternatively, he who brings in the sheep may refer to God, who protects the righteous from Belial, thus the sheep are fleeing from the fire towards God.

Line 4 contains the word קמֹ֯ין. Charlesworth translates this word as "standing," taking קמֹ֯ין as originating from the verb קום. The word is more likely borrowed from the Greek word, κάμινος, which means "furnace."[411] The word is found in a number of rabbinic texts including the Tosephta (e.g., *t. Sot.* 15:7; *t. Mikv.* 5:7), the Talmud (e.g., *y. Sabb.* 3:6), and a targum on Lamentations where the ungodly mouth is compared to a fiery furnace.[412] The presence of קמֹ֯ין after a line mentioning "fier[y" seems better understood as an infernal term.

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[410] Charlesworth, "He Who Brings in the Sheep: 1Q70^bis," 264 suggests reconstructing אנשי בליעל based on its appearance elsewhere in 4Q177 10-11, 4 and a similar expression in 4Q257 II, 1.
[411] M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press 1989), 1385.
[412] Lam 3:62 in Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon, *Western Text of Targum Lamentations* (Hebrew Union College, 2005). The word also appears in an Aramaic papyrus from the 5th century BCE as a proper name (קמינא). A. Cowley, ed., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), 200–201. See also Ginzberg, Louis, Henrietta Szold, and Paul Radin, *Legends of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 872 who gives an example of a haggadic interpretation of the name בקמון from Pseudo-Philo.

Lines 5 and 6 each contain a word likely ending with the plural ending ים. The first is mentioned as a group that is against the sheep and the second is mentioned in connection with Belial using the conjunction "or" (או), which suggests that Belial and the unknown group are somehow related in either their purpose or character. I argue that this partially preserved word may be "bastards" (ממזרים). According to Charlesworth, Line 7 contains the remains of the letters בֹֿהֿ. Charlesworth is uncertain of this reconstruction and suggests two possible reconstructions where ב is read as ל, either "by nig[ht" (בלילה) or "by the hand of Belial" (ביד בליעל).[413] Another option is that, due to the broken ink found on the papyrus, the letter כ ought to be reconstructed instead of ב, forming the word ארוכה ("healing" or "restoration").

3.6.1 Conclusion

The mention of Belial sets this potential song in the genre of anti-demonic. The function of the song is to call upon God's protection against Belial and the fiery flames that he may lead people into. That Belial or some other figure or group is "against [his] sheep" suggests that the function is apotropaic, since protection is needed to forgo the activities that draw the sheep into the flames.

3.7 1QHymns (1Q36)[414]

Fragment 2

1 [...] [תריבֹו] ... [
2 [...] [קצכה] ... [
3 [...] [עולמים] ... [

[…] ⟦ ⟧ […] 4
[…] ○ רוחות פשע הׄ[…] 5
[…]לחם ○[ ]○[ ]ׄם כֿבֿ[…] 6

1 […]you will contend[…]
2[…]your time[…]
3 […]eternal […]
4 […] *vacat* […]
5[…]○ spirits of transgression […]
6 […](you) battled ○[ ]○ [ ]*m kv*[…]

Despite the broken context, several important features can be noted. Firstly, the proximity of the word ריב in line 1 with the רוחות פשע in line 5. 4Q511 48, 49 + 51 7-8 contains both ריב and רוחות in close proximity to one another. The context appears to be God dealing with the struggle or dispute between evil spirits and an unknown group. The spirits are likely demons, since this hymn later mentions the Nephilim. The mention of fighting or battle in line 6 (לחם) also suggests that these are evil spirits that are being fought against, similar to what is found in 1QHᵃ IV, 35 where God allows a person to stand against spirits. The mention of "your time" (קצכה) and "eternal" (עולמים) may be situated into the general apotropaic theme of the spirits' limited ability to influence the world before final judgement.

Fragment 14

[…]○○דׄה מלׄכׄ[…] 1
[…]○אׄים בתכמי בׄשׄ]ר … [2
[…]כה בי וכן בֿ[…] 3
[…]○עו והופי]ע … [4

2.] in the inward parts of the fle[sh
3.] in me and such [
4.] and shone for[th

Line 1 contains the letters מלׄכׄ, which possibly refer to a class of angelic or demonic beings (comp. 4Q387a 3 III, 3-5; 4Q390 1 11; 1QM II, 6; XIII, 12; 4Q510 1 5; 1QS IV, 12) or possibly even be the remains of מלכי רשע. Line 2 contains the term בתכמי examined previously. Line 4 contains the remains of the term "shone for[th" (והופי]ע) which could be read in a similar

context to that of 4Q511 1 7-8 which mentions God's glory shining as a way of removing evil spirits.

Fragment 15

<div dir="rtl">

2 [...]○גתה אמת וצדק̇[...]
3 [...]ל[א]יש גמולי אמתכ̇[ה ...]
4 [...]ל̇ עבודת ○[...]
5 [...]לכול רוח̇[...]

</div>

2.] truth and righteousness[
3.]to a[m]an, those that benefit you[r] truth[
4.] work of [
5.]for every spirit[

This mention of spirits is similar to what is found in 1QS IV, 20. It's connection with truth, righteousness, and possibly human responsibility suggest an anthropological interpretation of this particular passage. A similar expression can be found in fragment 17 line 2: "your spirits for a man" (דע רוחיכה לגבר אושי).

Fragment 16

<div dir="rtl">

2 [...] א[נשי משמרת לר̇ז̇יכה [...]
3 [... מש]פ̇ט אף ונפילי בש○○○ל○יכה [...]
4 [... מ]שפטיכה[...]

</div>

2. m]en of guarding, for your secrets [
3. jud]gement of wrath, and the Nephilim of [ ] [
4.]your [j]udgements[

The "m]en of guarding" (א[נשי משמרת) are difficult to identify, though this may be read in light of CD XII, 2-6, where a group of community members (האדם) are tasked with guarding (משמרו)until the spirit-possessed person is healed of their affliction. The "secrets" spoken of in line 2 are impossible to know, though their connection with the Nephilim in line 3 may suggest a continuity with the heavenly secrets entrusted to the Watchers in 1 En. 9:6 and 16:3. God's judgements are mentioned in line 4, the assumption being that the Nephilim and perhaps another group are incurring God's wrath, either in the future or now through recitation of the song.

3.7.1 Conclusion

1QHymn shares a number of terms and concepts with other anti-demonic apotropaic texts found at Qumran and most likely should be considered as part of this grouping.

3.8 4QHymnic Text B? (4Q468k)[415]

The DJD editors have dated the text to the second half of the first century CE based on its "Herodian formal script."[416] Due to the presence of the word פֿגועים, the editors suggest that it is loosely related to the "four exorcistic songs mentioned in 11QPsᵃ XXVII, 10" and recalls "an exorcistic technique described in 4QShirᵃ, ᵇ" based on the phrase "your shining" (זֹרחֹ]ך), which is interpreted as a form of praise.[417]

<div dir="rtl">

1 […]ה שמֹעֹ[○]ה[…]

2 […]ל תתֹעֹוֹ[…]

3 […]ה אלה […]

4 […]פֿגועים […]

5 […]מֹותם בֹגֹ[…]

6 […]זֹרחֹוֹ]ך […]

</div>

1.]*h* listen [
2.]*l* you err/lead astray [
3.]*h* these [
4.]stricken ones [
5.]their death *bg*[
6.] [your] shining[

The word שמֹעֹ appears in line 1, but whether it is a Qal imperative or a perfect is unknowable. If it is an imperative, it might be a command for an evil spirit to hear the words of the speaker. The word תתֹעֹוֹ in line 2 suggests that this fragmentary hymn is apotropaic in scope,

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[415] Transcriptions from D. Ernst and A. Lange, "4QHymnic Text B?," in *Qumran Cave 4, XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea—Part 1*, eds. Stephen J. Pfann, et al., DJD, 36 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 420-422. Due to its similarities to 4Q510-511, this may point towards a sectarian origin.

[416] Ernst and Lange, "4QHymnic Text B?," 420.

[417] Ernst and Lange, "4QHymnic Text B?," 420.

attempting to ward off evil spirits from leading people astray. 4Q510 1 6 connects evil spirits that strike suddenly (והפוגעים פתע פתאום) with the ability to "lead astray the spirit of knowledge" (לתעות רוח בינה). As mentioned above, 4Q449 1 6 may be reconstructed as "and lead ast]ray our soul" (וית[עו נפשנו), possibly referring to the activity of evil spirits. What "these" (אלה) refers to in line 3 is also unclear, though it could be the object of who is being lead astray or the subject of who is leading someone astray (i.e., the evil spirits). The presence of the term פֿגועים is best interpreted as a demonic affliction, based on its presence elsewhere in anti-demonic contexts (4Q511 11 8; 11Q5 XXVII, 10; V, 2). Line 5 mentions "their death" (מֹותם) which could refer either to the death of those who are stricken by evil spirits *or* perhaps allude to the origins of evil spirits (i.e., the death of the Nephilim). Line 5 also contains the letters בֿג may, which may be reconstructed as בָּגַד ("act treacherously"), another activity attributable to the Nephilim (1 En. 7:2-6). Finally, line 6 mentions "[your] shining" (זרחוֹ[ך). God's shining light as a method for deterring demonic attacks has been examined above in our analysis of 4Q511 1 7-8.

3.8.1 Conclusion

4QHymnic Text B? shares a number of similarities with other known anti-demonic apotropaic works from Qumran, notably 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]. These similarities point towards understanding this text as an anti-demonic, apotropaic, song.

3.9 Summary

The most notable feature of all of these songs is the nearly ubiquitous presence of eschatological language. The songs all mention to some degree or other that the judgement of

evil spirits will come sometime in the future, and this seems to be an attempt to deter them from attacking human beings. According to 11Q11 II, 4-5, demons and the "Pr[ince of Animosi]ty" are mentioned in line 5 with the relative pronoun אשר with a space and then "the aby]ss" (תהו[ם). Lines 10-12 are heavily reconstructed and contain the phrases "the heavens" (את השמים), "w]ho separated" (א[שר הבדיל), and "until" (עד). If the tentative reconstruction of God separating "light from darkness" is correct, the context in which עד occurs may be a parallelism between God separating good and evil (i.e., evil spirits) as he does light and darkness until the eschaton (comp. V, 7; 4Q511 30 1-2). In 11Q11 III, 10, the evil spirits "will fear that great [blow (?)]" (וייראו את המכה ה[גדולה).[418] An almost identical phrase appears in 11Q11 IV, 4 where it is explicitly connected with the eschatological punishment of the evil spirits in the "great abyss" (לתהום רבה; line 7). IV, 10 mentions that the spirits' punishment will last "forever" (עד עולם). Finally, in 11Q11 V, 8-10, God is said to bring the evil spirits down into the "deepest [Sheo]l" (ל[שאו]ל תחתית) where two bronze gates are closed, never to open. Assuming that the reconstruction [יורי]ד in line 8 is correct, the incantation's use of the imperfect may have bolstered the assurance of the speaker that God would indeed lock away the evil spirits for eternity, protecting the individual from future attack.

Other texts within this chapter share these elements as well. 6Q18 preserves a number of eschatological terms including: 6Q18 2 2: "eternal life and gl[ory" (נצח וכב[וד; חֹיֹ); 6Q18 2 5: "to whom lives forever" (לחי עולמים); 6Q18 2 6; 6Q18 2 6: "until joy" (עד שמח[ה); 6Q18 2 8: "with ev[erlasting] praises" (בתשבוחות ע[ו]למים); 6Q18 5 4: "[in eter]nity" (לעו]למים). The plural verb "destroys" (הֹבלוֹ) in 6Q18 19 1 may also point to an eschatological punishment of evil spirits.1Q70^bis preserves the phrase "f]leeing from the fier[y flames" (line 3), which may indicate

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[418] Compare Pseudo-Philo L.A.B. 60 which uses the imagery of creation as David's method for relieving Saul from his evil spirit.

escaping from some manner of eschatological judgement. 1QHymns fragment 2 lines 1-3 mention a number of words that could be situated within an eschatological framework, though this is uncertain. Fragment 16 lines 3-4, however, seem more conclusively eschatological. Here the Nephilim are described as receiving judgement. It is unclear whether this is referring to the death of the Nephilim at the flood as described in *1 Enoch*, or further judgement at the eschaton. A similar sentiment to 4QBer[a] analyzed above occurs in 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a], where probably the spirits mentioned in lines 1-5 are cursed "until…fire" (עד…אש; lines 6-7), which is most naturally read as a statement regarding the eschatological punishment of the spirits.

The use of eschatological language in these songs is similar to the curses found in the sectarian apotropaic texts. This raises the question of whether the sectarian curses were originally meant to be sung in a liturgical setting and if these songs in particular were used in some of the rituals.

CHAPTER 4: NON-SECTARIAN TEXTS

This chapter consists of a textual analysis of seven works containing information about apotropaism among Dead Sea Scrolls that are widely considered to be non-sectarian: 4QExorcism ar (4Q560), 4QAramaic Levi[b], 4QPrayer of Enosh? (4Q369), *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 XIX, 1-18), Ps 155 (11Q5 XXIV, 11-13), Tobit, and *Jubilees*.

4.1 4QExorcism (4Q560)[419]

4Q560 preserves the remains of an Aramaic incantation that some scholars have suggested be understood as part of a "magical recipe book," or a copy from such a compendium of incantations.[420] This copy dates to c. 75 BCE based on paleographical dating[421] and the work has been deemed non-sectarian by most scholars.[422]

Fragment 1, Column I

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[419] Transcription from Émile Puech, "Livret Magique ar," in Émile Puech, ed., *Qumran Grotte 4. XXVII,* DJD 37, (Oxford: Clarendon), 296. Translations from Tov and Parry, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, 227.
[420] Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 650; Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 345.
[421] Puech, DJD 37, 295.
[422] Alexander, "Wrestling," 392; Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 628, 634, 637–638, 641, 643.

1]‭ ...‬ [‭ולֹבב וכֹ]לין ...‬ [

2 ‭ ...‬] ‭[לֹילדת}{א}<ה> מרדות ילדן פקרֹ באיש שֹ]‬ ...‬ [

3 ‭ ...‬] ‭עלל בבשרא לחלחיא דכרא וחלחלית נקבתא‬

4] ‭ ...‬ די י/ת(ה)]בֹרֹא עואן ופשע אשא ועריא ואשת לבב‬

5] ‭ ...‬ (את)]ה בשנא פרכ דכר ופכית נקבתא מחתא דֹי‬

6] ‭ ...‬ ר]שֹיעין עֹינֹאֹ[בֹ]אֹישֹתֹ]א ...‬ [לֹ] [‬⊙אֹ‬

7] ‭ ...‬ [עֹאֹ וֹ]‬

1]heart   [

2] the midwife, the punishment of childbearers, an evil madness, a de[mon

3 [I adjure you all who en]ter into the body, the male Wasting-demon and the female Wasting-demon

4 [I adjure you by the name of YHWH *"he Who re]moves iniquity and transgression"* (Exod 34:7), O Fever-demon and Chills-demon and Chest Pain-demon

5 [You are forbidden to disturb by night in dreams or by da]y during sleep, O male Shrine-spirit and female Shrine-spirit, O you demons who breach

6 [walls   w]icked   [

Fragment 1, Column II

2 ‭קודמו[הי ...‬ [

3 ‭ואֹנֹוֹן מֹבֹ]רכין ...‬ [

4 ‭קודמוהי וממֹ]לל(ין) ...‬ [

5 ‭ואנה רוח מומהֹ] ...‬ [

6 ‭אומיתכ רוחא בֹ]אישא ...‬ [

7 ‭עֹל אֹרעא בעננין]‬ ...‬ [

2 before h[im

3 and   [

4 before him and   [

5 And I, O spirit, adjure [you that you

6 I adjure you, O spirit, [that you

7 On the earth, in clouds [

This incantation has typically been interpreted as either a means of healing (exorcistic) or protecting (apotropaic) pregnant women[423] suffering from demonic affliction.[424] That some beings are said to "en]ter into the body" (‭עלל בבשרא‬) suggests demonic infiltration which could cause bodily illness by the various maladies that are listed in line 3: ‭לחלחיא דכרא וחלחלית נקבתא‬.[425] A quick glance at the many translations of this text demonstrates that these terms have been

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[423] Frölich suggests that the "midwife" mentioned in the text may be the name of a demon. See Ida Frölich, "Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity," 88.

[424] Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 634–637.

[425] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 125; Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles,* 203, n. 90

variously understood by scholars. For example, these could refer to "poisoning-demons"[426] or perhaps comes from the root for "shudder" or "tremble," taking לחלחיא (from חלחול) as describing the effects *of* evil spirits.[427] Additionally, whether the terms "male" and "female" refer to the gender of the demon or to their victim is unclear.[428] Some spirits cause maladies such as fever, chills, and heartburn (or inflammation),[429] as well as attacking the victim during their sleep in some unknown way.[430] The spirits mentioned in line 5 (פרכ דכר ופכית נקבתא) have also been variously understood. The most notable options are as follows: 1) male and female "shrine" spirits;[431] 2) "male and female crushing demons" (i.e., demons with distinct genders that crush their victims);[432] 3) demons with unspecific genders which crush male and female victims.[433]

The second column of fragment one contains two adjurations, though the speaker is not preserved. Line 5 (ואנה רוח מומה) and Line 6 (אומיתכ רוחא בֹ[אישא) utilize the commanding word from the root ימא in order to force the demon to obey the speaker.[434]The exact identification of the speaker is unknown. If this is an exorcism, the default assumption is that an exorcist is conducting the ritual on the patient. There is some evidence, however, that individuals suffering from demonic affliction could perform a kind of "self-exorcism."

The first piece of evidence for a "self-exorcism" comes from Josephus. According to *Jewish Antiquities* 8.45, Solomon wrote a series of incantations (ἐπῳδάς) in order to heal the sick

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[426] Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered* (Dorset: Element, 1992), 266.

[427] Eshel, "Genres," 397.

[428] Loren Stuckenbruck, *The Myth of Rebellious Angels: Studies in Second Temple Judaism and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2017)*,* 178; Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 336; idem, "Contextualizing the Demonology of the Testament of Solomon," in *Die Damonen,* 630 n. 43.

[429] Protection or healing from spirit-induced fever and chills is typical of the Aramaic amulets. See, for example, Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae,* 81; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 126.

[430] Ida Frölich, "Second Temple Judaism and Late Antiquity," 86–89.

[431] Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 632; Puech, DJD 37, 296; David Hamidović, "Illness and Healing Through Spell and Incantation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Demons and Illness from Antiquity to the Early-Modern Period,* 99.

[432] Joseph Naveh, "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran," *IEJ* 48.1–4 (1998): 252-261 257, 260.

[433] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE* 2:1117.

[434] Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 647; Puech, DJD 37, 301.

and to expel demons. The mention of *who* is casting out the demons, however, is slightly obscured in both the manuscript tradition *and* translations of those manuscripts. Whiston bases his translation on the Loeb edition and Benedikt Niese's critical edition of Josephus and translates it as follows: "and he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, *by which they drive away demons*, so that they never return" (καί τρόπος ἐξόρκωσις καταλείπω, ὅς ὁ ἐνδέω ὁ δαιμόνιον ὡς μηκέτι ἐπανέρχομαι ἐκδιώκω; emphasis added).[435] Begg and Spilsbury translate the passage following a different reading: "and left behind exorcistic practices *with which those binding demons expel them* so that they return no more" (καὶ τρόπους ἐξορκώσεων κατέλιπεν οἶς οἱ ἐνδούμενοι τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μηκέτ᾽ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώξουσι; emphasis added). Begg and Spilsbury's translation, however, obscures the connection between the verb and the subject. The nominative participle οἱ ἐνδούμενοι is the *subject* of the *verb* ἐκδιώξουσι. Thackeray's 1934 work, therefore, is the most accurate in its translation of this connection: "and he left behind forms of exorcisms *with which those possessed by demons drive them out*, never to return" (emphasis added).[436] It is not an anonymous 'they' carrying out the exorcism. Rather, the ones possessed or "bound" (οἱ ἐνδούμενοι) by the demons seem to enact the rite on themselves.[437]

The second piece of evidence comes from a possible interpretation of 11Q11 V, 4-5. In this text, an incantation is supplied that can be spoken at any time when a demon "comes" (בוא) to the victim at night. The victim and the speaker of the demonic attack are identified as the same

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[435] William Whiston. *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1987); Benedikt Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera Recognovit Benedictvs Niese,* 7 vols. (Berolini: apvd Weidmannos, 1888). Niese supplies a note in the critical apparatus that reads: "*κατέλειπεν M οἱ ἐνδούμενοι] ἐνδούμενοι MP ἐναδόμενα, α finale ex οι corr. S ἐνδούμενα E *obstricti* (*daemones*) Lat." The note explains how codex Gr. no. 381, in the Marcian Library in Venice (c. 13th century) contains the reading ἐνδούμενοι and that ἐναδόμενα is corrected by a scribe to ἐνδούμενοι in the c. 11th century manuscript, histor. Gr. no. 20, once belonging to Sambucus, stored now in the Viennese Imperial Library. Lastly, the note explains how the reading ἐνδούμενα can be found in the *Epitome* of Josephus's *Antiquities*, of which there are very many codices. Niese, *Works of Flavius Josephus*, 2:186.
[436] H. St. J. Thackeray and R. Marcus, *Jewish Antiquities* (London: Heinemann, 1934).
[437] Dennis C. Duling, "Solomon, Exorcism, and the Son of David," *HTR* 68.3/4 (1975): 241; Hamidović, "Illness and Healing Through Spell and Incantation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 101.

individual. If the verb בוא is understood to refer to the spirit taking over and possessing the individual, this may be yet another example of self-exorcism among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Our last piece of evidence for a "self-exorcism" comes from a possible interpretation of 4Q560 itself. According to 4Q560 1 II, 5-6, an anonymous "I" is said to adjure the spirit afflicting an individual. David Hamidović argues that a self-exorcism interpretation is possible, though uncertain. He cites as evidence a Greek exorcistic text by Pibechis of Egypt (PGM IV, 3007-86) and notes similar ambiguity in the text about the person conducting the ritual. This includes verbal forms of "I conjure" or "I adjure" and parallels to 4Q560 1 II, 7 ("on earth, in cloud") and Pibechis's charm which calls upon the heavens for aid. Additionally, he notes that the later Aramaic Incantation Bowls use the same verb for adjuration in 4Q560 that also share ambiguous features about who exactly is enacting the ritual.[438]

Fragment 2[439]

1 […] (?)יִכֹּלֹן [ל]תֹכֹ[לה …] [
2 […]שֹׁנין ושנין תחֹול ות○[…] [

1 […] and he will be able / and he will defeat [to] str[ip] (?) […]
2 […] year after year you will turn/dance/writhe in pain/threaten/be strong and *t* […]

This fragment contains the remnants of some kind of anti-demonic ritual. Line 1 possibly mentions the defeat of an enemy by God or the ritualist.[440] Puech translates the reconstructed word [ל]תֹכֹ[לה as "dépouiller" from the root תכל.[441] He suggests that this verb is connected with childlessness ("être sans enfant"), situating the ritual within an apotropaic framework of

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[438] Hamidović, "Illness and Healing Through Spell and Incantation in the Dead Sea Scrolls" 101–105.
[439] Translations are my own.
[440] The Aramaic word יְכֹל does sometimes has this meaning (Dan 7:21).
[441] Puech, DJD 37, 302.

protecting the woman from such ills.[442] Besides instructing the individual performing the ritual to "speak" ((ממ]לל(ין; 4Q560 II, 4), there is now also mention of חול (4Q560 2 2) which can mean to turn around, to dance, or to be threatening (Puech: "être menaçant"), among other possibilities. This second person singular verb is found within the context of the phrase "year after year" (שְׁנִין ושנין). Several possibilities to the meaning of this verb in this context are as follows:

1) If חול is meant to be understood as "turning," its proximity to "year after year" could be place it within an astronomical/astrological context, in which the speaker is reminding the evil spirits of God's power over creation, presumably the movement of the sun, moon, and stars. Alternatively, this may be a command or description to the evil spirits that year after year they will "turn" from afflicting the target. This interpretation is especially possible if 4Q560 2 1 is reconstructed as with a negative particle, meaning that the speaker is saying that the evil spirit "will not be able to bereave/complete (תכל) [their task against]" the victim any longer.

2) חול could be understood as a ritualistic dance. This instruction may be for the afflicted individual to perform themselves on a yearly basis to continually ward off the evil spirits. The remains of a ו and ת at the end of 4Q560 2 2, could possibly be reconstructed as ותקיף ("and prevail over/be strong"), either referring to an effect of the dancing (i.e., prevailing over the evil spirit) or perhaps a call for the individual to "turn" from their sins and "be strong" in the strength of God, a common motif in apotropaic literature. Most likely the dancing would not have been done by the pregnant woman, not only because of physical limitations, but also because of the masculine verb תחול instead of תחולין.

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[442] Puech, DJD 37, 302.

3) חול can also have the meaning of writhing in pain, such as during labor, which seems to be the context of the ritual itself (comp. Jer 4:31; Job 39:1; Isa 51:2).

4) חול could be understood as "threaten" or perhaps "intimidate." If this is an apotropaic instruction, this ritual may be intended to frighten the evil spirits so they leave the pregnant woman alone. This kind of tactic would be similar to the apotropaic curses previously analyzed or the praise found in 4QSongs of the Sage.

5) Another possibility is that חול should be read as חיל. Instructions and the ability to "be strong" against evil spirits, as demonstrated above, are typical of apotropaic instructions. Thus, this fragment may be instructing the individual to "be strong year after year" so that they will not be effected by evil spirits that either attack during her pregnancy or enter her through during the delivery of a baby.

4.1.1 Conclusion

Whether this incantation was originally exorcistic or apotropaic is difficult to know. If this work was used for copying out and producing amulets, however, this would certainly point towards an apotropaic function. Column I simply consists of a description of various kinds of evil spirits and the type of afflictions they can cause, but nothing about whether the individual is seeking to protect themselves from an unexpected attack or remedying an already existing malady. If a pregnant woman is the intended target, it is possible that this incantation was apotropaic, attempting to ward away any evil in her time of vulnerability. Column II contains language that could be interpreted as exorcistic, but without any further context, it is not clear whether this is a separate incantation for another purpose or whether such adjurations are meant

to threaten the evil spirits to leave a possessed individual or to keep them at bay. Due to such ambiguities, this work should probably be labeled apotropaic/exorcistic.

If 4Q560 contains the instructions to speak and possibly to dance before the human target, the assumption seems to be that simply doing these actions at a distance will not be effective. The ritualist must be present in order for them to be effective. If, however, the ritualist and the victim are the same person, the instructions to do these things "before him" may refer to them doing it when the evil spirit comes upon them, similar to what is found in 11Q11 V, 5. If so, the physical proximity of the ritualist to the victim is a non-issue and it is only that the evil spirits distance from the target that is in view. In my opinion, it is best to interpret fragment 2 as the remains of an apotropaic ritual that is either performed during the pregnancy or *afterwards* so that the woman is kept safe from postpartum complications.

4.2 4QAramaic Levi^b (4Q213a 1 I, 10-18)[443]

<div dir="rtl">

10[...]אמרת מרי אנתה
11[... א]נתה בלחודיך ידע
12[... א]ׄרחת קשט ארחק
13[... ב]איש֯ וזנותא דחא
14[... ח]כמה ומנדע וגבורה
15[... לא]שכחה רחמיך קדמיך
16[...]דׄשפיר ודטב קדמיך
17[... ו]אׄל תשלט בי כל שטן
18[... ע]לׄי מׄרי וקרבני למהוא לכה

</div>

10] I said 'O Lord
11 y]ou alone understand
12] paths of truth. Make far
13 e]vil [] and fornication turn away
14 w]isdom and knowledge and strength
15 to f]ind favour before you
16] that which is pleasant and good before you.
17] let not any satan have power over me
18 up]on me, my Lord, and bring me forward, to be your …

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[443] Aramaic and English texts are from Michael Stone and J.C. Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," in *Qumran Cave 4. XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*, 28-29 and Stone and Greenfield, "The Prayer of Levi," 225–256.

This Aramaic manuscript has been dated to the middle of the first century BCE.[444] This prayer offered by Levi is preserved more fully in the later Greek version of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,* which Michael Stone and Jonas Greenfield have attempted to compare.[445] This prayer requests God to "make far" (ארחק) "e]vil" (ב[איש]) and fornication, which is juxtaposed to God granting the speaker wisdom, knowledge, and strength.[446] In the Greek text, the speaker also asks for God to give him a holy spirit. Stone and Greenfield reconstruct lines 12-13 based on the Greek text to read "Make far from me, O lord, the unrighteous spirit, and evil thought and fornication, and turn pride away from me."[447] Since the contrasting attributes are wisdom, knowledge, and strength, it makes sense that "evil" here is probably to be understood as a particular disposition or sway towards evil and not an external spiritual being. Line 17, however, requests God to not let "any satan" (כל שטן) have power over him. This is most naturally understood as a reference to a demonic being, of which "satan" is a generic

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[444] Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 3; Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 194 identified this work as either sectarian or authored by a member of the "broader movement from which the sect sprung." Additionally, he notes that this prayer is especially important as evidence for the existence of private prayer in the Second Temple period (p. 195).

[445] Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 31-32; idem, "Prayer of Levi," 247–266.

[446] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayer," 197 understands these lines as a midrashic paraphrase of Ps 119:133b: "let all iniquity not rule over me," with "iniquity" being substituted for Satan. Knowledge plays a role in the non-sectarian apotropaic scrolls. In Ps 155, the speaker asks God to "build up" (בנה; 11Q5 XXIV, 5) his soul and not to judge him because "no-one living is just in your presence" (כול חי כי לוא יצדק לפניכה; 11Q5 XXIV, 7). Because of this deficiency, the speaker asks God in 11Q5 XXIV, 8 to "Instruct me, yhwh, in your law, and teach me your precepts" (הבינני יהוה בתורתכה ואת משפטיכה למדני). The expressed purpose of God teaching the speaker is so that "many may hear your deeds and nations may honour your glory" (וישמעו רבים מעשיכה ועמים יהדרו את כבודכה; 11Q5 XXIV, 9). A combination of God teaching the speaker, as well as purifying him from sin, is the context in which the speaker asks God not to allow the נגע רע to return to him. The purification of the נגע רע apparently requires the need for the speaker to petition God not to let it return, which in part must be facilitated through God's dispersion of knowledge. Indirect connections between knowledge and apotropaism can be found in Tobit and *Jubilees* as well. Tobias receives the instructions for the apotropaic ritual from Raphael, as does Noah through the mediation of angels, suggesting that this knowledge is heavenly. Knowledge seems to be a necessary component of the apotropaic Prayer of Levi as well. In this petition, Levi asks for "w]isdom, knowledge, and strength" (ח[כמה ומנדע וגבורה; 1 I, 14) so that he might find favour with God and do "what is pleasant and good" (ל̇שפיר ודטב) before God (1 I, 15-16). In order that Levi remain obedient, he therefore petitions God not to let any satan have power over him. The combination of knowledge and strength points toward a typical trope in the apotropaic texts from Qumran, where the individual needs God to continually sustain them in order that the evil spirits or their own inclination do not take over.

[447] Stone and Greenfield, "Aramaic Levi Document," 31.

classification, thus the appearance of כל.[448] The Greek version retains the reading "let not any satan have power over me, to make me stray from your path." To stray from God's path refers to the act of evil spirits tempting Levi to be disobedient.

4.2.1 Conclusion

Since the request is posed against future attack (ו]אֹל תשלט), this makes the request apotropaic.[449] Lange argues that since *Plea for Deliverance* mentions "satan" in parallel with "spirit of impurity" that Levi is asking for a "different mental attitude, i.e., 'a spirit of faith and knowledge.'"[450] Benjamin Wold, however, argues that *Plea for Deliverance* and *Prayer of Levi* are petitions against the cause of the sin, that is, the demons. Morris points out that it is not the "desire for a different internal orientation" that is explicitly addressed in the prayer, thus an anti-demonic reading is more appropriate.[451] Moreover, for any satan to not "have power" over Levi is reminiscent of the apotropaic prayers of *Jub*. 1:20-21, 10:3-6, 12:19-20, and 19:26-29, which all petition God not to let evil spirits "rule over" human beings. Thus, this work is most appropriately labeled as apotropaic.

4.3 4QPrayer of Enoch? (4Q369)[452]

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[448] The Aramaic bowl spells, for example, refer to "all mighty satans" (על כל סטנא) as a class of demons that need to be dealt with (Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae,* 123), as does a Cairo Genizah amulet: "I adjure you all spirits and harmful spirits, and all satans" (Naveh and Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae,* 222-223); Alexander, "Demonology of the DSS," 341–344; Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 260–262; Stuckenbruck, "Pleas for Deliverance," 59; For satan in the Hebrew Bible, see especially Peggy L. Day, *An Adversary in Heaven: satan in the Hebrew Bible* HSM 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988) and Antti Laato, "The Devil in the Old Testament," in *Evil and the Devil,* 1–22.

[449] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 82–83.

[450] Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 262; See also Wold, "Apotropaic Prayer," 106.

[451] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 83.

[452] Transcriptions and translations from H. Attridge and J. Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enoch," in *Qumran Cave 4.V111: Parabiblical Texts: Part 1*, eds. Harold Attridge, et al., DJD 13 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 353–62. An earlier version of it appeared in B.Z. Wacholder and M. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead*

This text, designated as a *Prayer of Enosh* by the DJD editors, contains a prayer directed towards God for protection and the fulfillment of God's promises. The manuscript consists of ten fragments and dates to the Herodian period.[453] Attridge and Strugnell understand this prayer to be an elaboration on Gen 4:26, which *Jub.* 4 expands on, giving the prayer Enosh spoke when he called "on the name of the Lord."[454] While Attridge and Strugnell identified Enosh as the praying figure of fragment 1, they have suggested fragment 2 is actually the prayer of a second figure, namely Enoch. Kugel disagrees with this assessment, suggesting instead that the figure in fragment 2 ought to be identified as Jacob.[455]

Fragment 1, Column I

1[...] ○ ולכול
2[...] ל[שׁ]לומכה מלאך ... לרזין[...]
3[...] ○ בֹּינון ... עד]אֹשר יאשמו
4[...] וֹני כול מֹ[ו]עֹדי]הֹם בקציהם
5[...] ץֹ פלאכה כי מאז חקקתה למו
6[...] מֹשפטו עד קץ משפט נחרצה
7[...] לֹ[...]בכול תעודות עד

1] and to all
2]to the mysteries [angel of] your peace
3 un]til they acknowledge their guilt
4] all their fes[tivals] in their periods
5] of your marvel, for from of old you have engraved for them
6] his judgment, until the ordained time of judgment
7] in all the eternal commands

Craig Evans, following the DJD editors, reconstructs 1 I, 2 as "the angel] of your peace" (מלאך [שׁלומכה).[456] This suggestion is warranted on the basis of ומלאך שלומכה in 4Q369 1 II, 9 as well as parallels in 3Q8 1 2 (מלאך שלו[ם]) and 4Q474 8 (מלאכי שלום).[457] In the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,* the "angel of peace" (ἄγγελος τής εἰρήνης) is mentioned as a protector for

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Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave 4 (Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–92) 2.233-236. Other fragments (4Q499 48 + 47) have been suggested as part of this work, see Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, "4Q499 48 + 47 (par 4Q369 1 ii): A Forgotten Identification," *RevQ* 18.2 (1997): 303–306.
[453] Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 353.
[454] Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 355.
[455] Kugel, James. "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation." *DSD* 5. 1–3 (1998): 119.
[456] Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 354.
[457] Elgvin, DJD 36, 458–459, though the text is unclear.

Israel (*T. Dan* 6:5; *T. Benj.* 6:1) while in *1 Enoch* the angel of peace acts as an interpreter for

Enoch as he guides him through various celestial landscapes (e.g., *1 En.* 40:8, 52:5, 53:4,

56:2).[458] Line 3 mentions a temporal period "[un]til they acknowledge their guilt" which Evans

suggests is restorative: "The text may be saying that the angel of God's peace (or well-being)

will aid Israel in gaining understanding, acknowledging (or atoning for) their guilt, and

observing all of the prescribed feasts."[459] This prayer may be petitioning God to protect Israel

through the angel of peace, which would certainly be apotropaic. A temporal indicator is also

given in line 6: "until the ordained time of judgement" (עד קץ משפט נחרצה). This predestined time

is connected with the remembrance of God's "wonders" (פלאכה; line 5), which serve as a

reminder to Israel to be faithful. That God has decreed a time of judgement ensures that evil will

be abolished, from which the angel of peace may currently protect them.[460]

Fragment 1, Column II

1 שמכה פלגתה נחלתו לשכן שמכה שמה] ... [
2 היאה צבי תבל ארצכה ועליה שע] ... [
3 עינכה עליאה וכבודכה יראה שם ל] ... [
4 לזרעו לדורותם אחזת עולמים   וכו]ל ... [
5 ומשפטיכה הטובים בררתה לו ל◦] ... [
6 באור עולמים ותשימהו לכה בן בכו]ר ... [
7 כמוהו לשר ומושל בכול תבל ארצ]ה [... [
8 ע]טרת [ש]מים וכבוד שחקים סמכת]ה עליו ... [
9] ... [ומלאך שלומכה בעדתו   וה◦] ... [
10] ...]לו חוקים צדיקים כאב לב]ן ... [
11] ... [◦ אהבתו   תדבק נפשכה לע] ... [
12] ... [◦ה כי בם כבודכ]ה שמת]ה ◦] ... [

1 your name you have divided his inheritance so that he may establish your name there[
2 It/She is the glory of your earthly land, and upon it/her [?you will set?]
3 your eye on it, and your glory will appear there for [?to give it?]
4 to his seed for their generations an eternal possession, and al[l
5 and (by) your good judgments you purified him for[
6 in eternal light, and you made him a first-bo[rn] son to you[

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[458] Evans, Craig A. "A Note on the 'First-Born Son' of 4Q369." *DSD* 2.2 (1995): 195.

[459] Evans, "A Note on the 'First-Born Son'," 195

[460] Evans, "A Note on the 'First-Born Son'," 196 states that פלא is sometimes used in the context of revelatory information, which in this context makes sense, since in line 7 there is mention of "eternal commdments," possibly a reference to God granting Israel his precepts.

7 like him, for a prince and ruler in all your earthly land[
8 [the] c[rown of the] heavens, and the glory of the clouds you have set [on him
9] and the angel of your peace in his congregation and [
10] him righteous laws, as a father does a s[on
11] his love, your soul cleaves to [
12] for by them you [have established] your glory[

The prayer continues with a series of biblical allusions. God's name is to dwell in the land (Deut 12:11; 14:23; cf. llQTᵃ 60:13- 14), possibly a reference to Jerusalem specifically (e.g., Ps. 135:21). Line 9 states that the "angel of your peace [is] in his congregation (בעדתו)," but whose congregation is unclear. It could refer to the congregation of the first-born son mentioned in line 6, or the angel's congregation. It cannot be God's congregation, since it is being contrasted with the "angel of *your* peace" (ומלאך שלומכה), which means that the third person pronominal suffix must refer either to a human being or the angel. 4Q369 8 4 preserves the remains of צבא רוֹ which may be translated as "host of spi[irits]," a reference to the angelic assembly. Since, however, angels are elsewhere attested at Qumran to be in worship with the assembly, it is best to interpret the suffix as referring to a human congregation.[461] No specific petition for protection is given, though mentioning the presence of the angel seems to presuppose divine protection.

<div align="right">

Fragment 2

1 [...] וֹמשמר מלאך אבות שׁ◌[...]
2 [...]ורתכה וֹלחם בכול ארֹ[צות ...]
3 [...]◌ לכה בם שלומים לֹ[...]
4 [...]וֹ[מ]שפטיכה בם הפ◌[...]
5 [...]לֹ כ]וֹל מֹעֹשֹׂיֹ[כֹ]הֹ[...]

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1] and prison [or: protection][462] of an angel of intercessions [
2] your [stren]gth[463] and to fight against all lan[ds
3] to you in them requitals [
4] and your [ju]dgments on them [

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461 Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 359; Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation," 123, 136.
462 García Martínez, *DSSSE*, 2.731.
463 Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 359, do not include the translation "your [stren]gth" (גב]ורתכה), which García Martínez, *DSSSE*, 2.731, reconstructs.

5 a]ll [you]r works [

In this passage, another possible reference can be found to apotropaic protection in the phrase "the protection of the angel of intercessions" (ומשמר מלאך אבות; line 1).[464] Three elements of this passage must be considered: 1) the identity of the מלאך אבות, 2) the meaning of משמר, and 3) the reconstruction of the final word in line 2 (אר]צות).

The identify of the מלאך אבות may be connected with the angel of intercession that protects humans against demons in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*. In *T. Dan* 6:2*, "the angel that intercedes for you" (τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῷ παραιτουμένῳ) protects Israel.[465] This angel is mentioned in the context of a warning to "be on guard against Satan and his spirits" (προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ καὶ τῶν πνευμάτων αὐτοῦ; 6:1). The angel's function is also given. It is to "stand in opposition" (σπουδάζει) against the enemy's kingdom (6:3) and "strengthen Israel so that it will not succumb to an evil destiny" (ἐνισχύσει τὸν Ἰσραήλ, μὴ ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τέλος κακῶν; 6:5). Similar protection from evil spirits is associated with the angel of peace (mentioned in 4Q369 1 I, 2 and 1 II, 9) in *T. Ash.* 6:3-6 and *T. Benj.* 6:1. These angels are probably synonymous both in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and 4Q369. The מלאך שלום appears in 3Q8 1 2, surrounded by the words "defeat" (מכות), "melt" (ונמס), and possibly "tu[mult" (ר]גשו). These fragmentary remains could be describing an eschatological battle or the visitation of God, perhaps describing the angel of peace as the protector of the righteous.[466] 3Q8 2 1 may

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[464] Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 360, suggest that this might be describing an eschatological scenario. This seems to be behind the reason why they translate ומשמר as "prison," supposedly a reference to the prison that the wicked are contained in and the angel watches over. Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation," 121 n.9, translates אבות as "patriarchs." On this matter, see P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (Leiden: Brill, 1957), 53–54.

[465] Evans, "A Note on the 'First-Born Son'," 200, suggests that the themes present in fragment 3 and parallels in 1QM 17 with the archangel Michael might best explain the presence of the angel in fragments 1–2.

[466] The non-sectarian texts contain the fewest references to the eschaton. 4Q369 1 I, 6 preserves the phrase "until the ordained time of judgment" (עד קץ משפט נחרצה). 4Q369 2 1 mentions "prison/protection" (ומשמר) and 4Q369 2 4 "your [ju]dgements" (שפטיכה[מ). All four of the apotropaic petitions found in Jubilees involve a plea for God to preserve the individual until eternity.

also be reconstructed as "grope" (גשש) or "participate" (יגשו). The word גשש is connected with

the righteous in CD I, 9, describing them as "those who grope for a path" (וכימגששים דרך; cf.

4Q306 1 12). If an eschatological framework is in mind, the "angel of peace" may be protecting

the righteous. One other occurrence of the שלום מלאך has been suggested in 1QHᵃ XXIV, 11.

Baillet cites this as an example in his reconstruction of 3Q8.[467] Schuller, however, reconstructs

מלאכי שמֿ[ים, which seems to be correct. Since clouds and wind are mentioned in the same line,

the spatial term "heavens" ought to be supplied.

The meaning of משמר is also unclear. The word can be variously translated as "prison,"

"protection," or "service." "Prison" seems unlikely, although the word "judgements" (שפטיכה[מ)

does appear in line 4, which could mean that the angel watches over the prison of the souls of the

wicked. "Service" could fit, since the angel intercedes on behalf of human beings, perhaps in the

heavenly temple. "Protection" is also likely, since line 2 says that God will strengthen some

unknown group to fight" (והלחם) against some unknown enemy. The one doing the fighting could

be human beings or the angel of intercessions, in which case, protection seems to be a more

appropriate translation of משמר.

Line 2 has often been reconstructed צות[אר ("lands"), but other options also exist. One

possibility is to reconstruct חם[אר ("their ways"), a reference to the evil ways of human beings

(comp. Dan 4:34, 5:23).[468] Alternatively, the word יכם[אר ("their faithlessness") could fit, again

referring to the deficiency present in human beings to obey the commandments (comp. Ezra

4:14).[469] . One other option exists and that is to reconstruct ם[אי ("terror/dead"). Attridge and

Strugnell note that ר is barely visible, and that the letter could be a י.[470] These words have their

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[467] Baillet, DJD 3, 100.
[468] *HALOT,* אֶרַח, 1824.
[469] *HALOT,* אֲרִיךְ, 1825.
[470] Attridge and Strugnell, "The Prayer of Enosh," 359.

drawbacks. Firstly, they are quite rare, and the definition of each word is debated. Also, the context of lines 3-4 may suggest that physical fighting against enemies is in view, not ethical predispositions. Without the remains of the lines, however, we cannot be certain.

4.3.1 Conclusion

Identifying this prayer as an apotropaic petition is difficult and relies on a number of unknowable variables. The purpose of the angel in the *T. Dan* may be the same as the angel in 4Q369.[471] Both angels strengthen Israel (though in 4Q369, the second person suffix probably refers to God's strength, perhaps through the angel?).[472] Additionally, משמר is best translated as "protection" or "service," rather than "prison." What the human or angel fights against is also uncertain, as it could refer to physical battles (against nations) or a battle against an inclination to sin. Petitioning an angel for help from evil in general can be considered apotropaic, but whether we should infer some anti-demonic element is uncertain.

4.4 *Plea for Deliverance* (11Q5 XIX, 1-18)[473]

13 ... סלחה יהוה לחטאתי
14 וטהרני מעווני רוח אמונה ודעת חונני אל אתקלה
15 בעויה אל תשלט בי שטן ורוח טמאה מכאוב ויצר
16 רע אל ירשו בעצמי

13 Forgive my sin, YHWH,
14 and cleanse me from my iniquity. Bestow on me a spirit of faith and knowledge. Let me not stumble
15 in transgression. Let not Satan rule over me, nor an evil spirit; let neither pain nor evil purpose
16 take possession of my bones.

Plea for Deliverance, a previously unknown hymn found in the eleventh cave at Qumran,[474] preserves an apotropaic petition for protection against demons and/or illnesses.[475]

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[471] See Kugel, "4Q369 'Prayer of Enosh' and Ancient Biblical Interpretation,"135.
[472] On whether this fragment is speaking about a future eschatological time or is referring back to the previous fragment, see Evans, "A Note on the 'First-Born Son'," 199.
[473] Transcription and Translation are from García Martínez, *DSSSE*, 2:1175.

This compilation of hymns is thought to have been compiled in the first half of the second century BCE.[476] Unlike the *Prayer of Levi* in 4QAramaic Levi[b], which petitions God to not let "any satan" (כל שטן) rule over the speaker, *Plea for Deliverance* contains petitions for protection against the singular שטן, though both texts likely are utilizing the title to denote a classification of demonic beings.[477] The main reason for accepting a demonic interpretation is its proximity to "evil spirit" (רוח טמאה) in the same line.[478] However, "evil spirit" is also in juxtaposition to "spirit of faith and knowledge" (comp. 1QH[a] VI, 36; 4Q444 1 3; 4Q510 1 6; 6Q18 5 3), which may indicate that the "evil spirit" is meant to denote a disposition towards evil.[479] If this were the case, however, the reference to "Satan" seems out of place, and the sense may be that the "evil spirit" is a pneumatic entity that can *cause* the victim to fall prey to evil inclinations (comp. 1QGenAp XX, 16; 4Q511 1 6; 4Q197 4 I, 13). The petition for God to not let any Satan "rule" of the individual has parallels to the apotropaic prayers of *Jub.* 1:20-21, 10:3-6, 12:19-20, and 19:26-29, all of which contain petitions for God not to allow evil spirits to "rule" over the righteous. Lines 15-16, which continue the plea, read: "let neither pain nor evil purpose take possession of my bones." The proper interpretation of these lines is dependent on a number of ultimately unknowable variables, including: 1) a natural or supernatural understanding of מכאוב and יצר רע; 2) the semantic sense of ירש; 3) the parallelism between תשלט and ירשו.

On the nature of מכאוב and יצר רע, the following interpretations have been offered:

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[474] For a detailed discussion on the purpose of this collection of psalms, see Armin Lange, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit: Zur Bedeutung der nichtessenischen Weisheitstexte aus Qumran für die Auslegnng des protomasoretischen Psalters," in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum,* ed. E. Zenger, Herders Biblische Studien 18 (Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 101–136.

[475] Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish 'Apotropaic' Prayers," 194–205

[476] Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 259.

[477] James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11,* DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendaon Press, 1965), 76: "Here also are found Satan and the Evil Inclination of rabbinic literature rather than *Belial* and the *Spirit of Wickedness* of Qumran; and the *Spirit of Faithfulness* rather than *the Spirit of Truth*."

[478] Stuckenbruck, "Pleas for Deliverance," 58; idem, "Protect them from the Evil One," 149; Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 261; Sanders, DJD 4, 76; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 85.

[479] Brand, *Evil Within,* 209.

1) The terms are illnesses with no demonic affiliation. This reading separates the demonic beings from the illnesses, having them constitute two separate categories for which the speaker is petitioning protection from. This interpretation is unlikely, seeing as illnesses are often linked to evil spirits elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism;[480]

2) According to Ida Frölich, מכאוב and יצר רע are perhaps the names for demonic beings. Morris sees this explanation as inadequate because i) "pain" is too general a name for a demon and ii) there are no examples of "evil inclination" being the name for a specific demon in the Qumran corpus. Morris's counterarguments are not convincing for a few reasons. Firstly, there are no "rules" on how specific illnesses or afflictions must be in order to constitute a demonic personification (e.g., "death" is quite generic but "Mot" is still understood as a demon). Secondly, his argument against the "evil inclination" is an argument from silence. In fact, his position is slightly refuted within his own section on the topic. He cites the following fragmentary passage from *Barkhi Nafshi*: "evil inclination (יצר רע) [you] have rebuked (גע[רתה)" (4Q436 1 I 10) which contains the exorcistic term גער;[481]

3) These are symptoms caused by the satan and evil spirits. This interpretation is possible, but its plausibility is at the same level as that of option 2.[482]

The word translated as "possess" is from the verb ירש, or perhaps רשה ("to acquire, have control/power over").[483] Its parallelism to the verb שלט in line 15 suggests that they have the

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[480] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 86; Brand, *Evil Within,* 213–215.

[481] Ida Frölich, "Theology and Demonology in Qumran Texts," 106; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 86 n. 123, 88; E. Tigchelaar, "The Evil Inclination in the Dead Sea Scrolls, with a re-edition of 4Q468i (4QSectarian Text?)," in *Empsychoi Logoi: Religious Innovations in Antiquity; Studies in Honour of Pieter Willem van der Horst,* eds. A. Houtman, A. de Jong, and M. Misset-van de Weg, AJEC 73 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 352; Brand, *Evil Within and Without,* 44, 65–66; Ishay Rosen-Zvi, *Demonic Desires, "Yetzer Hara" and the Problem of Evil in Late Antiquity,* Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2011), 44–64.

[482] Alexander, "Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 345–348; Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 86.

[483] Jonas C. Greenfield, "Two Notes on the Apocryphal Psalms," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon,* eds. M. Fishbane and E. Tov (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 311.

same general semantic meaning, but that meaning is unclear. The verb שלט is used of spirits having persuasion over a human being's ethical decisions (4Q544 1 12; 4Q177 III, 8), but the idea of "demonic possession" is not really ever in view.[484] At least three possible options exist to understand lines 15-16 in terms of the word ירש / רשה:

1) מכאוב and יצר רע constitute natural diseases and the speaker is petitioning God to protect him from illnesses that may "possess" his bones, meaning to disrupt his natural bodily functions;

2) מכאוב and יצר רע are the names of specific demons, meaning that ירש / רשה may infer some kind of demonic infiltration if not possession, thus the need for an apotropaic petition;

3) מכאוב and יצר רע are the names of demons, but they do not "possess" the individual in the sense of controlling their physical or mental faculties, but simply that they disrupt the moral decision making of the victim.

4.4.1 Conclusion

It is possible that this petition covers all of the above options, as it is uncertain what was in the mind of the speaker when reciting this prayer. The imputed meaning could have changed depending on one's needs. Natural disease and demonic attack were likely intertwined in the mind of the speaker, covering all prophylactic needs. Whether מכאוב and יצר רע are demons or not, the terms "Satan" and "evil spirit" were probably understood pneumatically, designating this text as properly apotropaic in terms of demons.

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[484] Y. Yadin, J.C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni, and B.A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 82–83, note that the verb ירש means "have control over" in the context of some Aramaic deeds.

4.5 Psalm 155 (11Q5 XXIV, 11-13)[485]

11חטאת נעורי הרחק ממני ופשעי אל יזכרו לי

12טהרני יהוה מנגע רע ואל יוסף לשוב אלי   יבש

13שורשיו ממני ואל ינצו ע[ל]יו בי

11 The sins of my youth cast far from me and may my transgressions not be remembered against me.

12 Purify me, O Lord, from (the) evil scourge, [and] let it not turn again upon me. Dry up

13 its roots from me, and let its le[av]es not flourish with me.

Psalm 155, of which the earliest copy was a twelfth century CE Syriac manuscript, was discovered at Qumran in 11QPsalms[a], which was compiled in the first half of the second century BCE.[486] This hymn petitions God to forgive the speaker and to purify him, and notably to not let any "evil scourge" (נגע רע) "turn again upon me" (ואל יוסף לשוב אלי). The nature of נגע רע has been variously explained, either as a demonic being or as a sinful inclination. The word נגע can be translated in various ways, including "plague,"[487] "scourge,"[488] or "affliction."[489] The speaker asks God to "purify" (טהרני) them, which has more exorcistic connotations than apotropaic. The request for it not to "turn again" upon the speaker, however, is a request for protection against future evil, which can be designated as apotropaic. Whether this apotropaic utterance ought to be understood as anti-demonic, however, is a different question. Flusser does not interpret the נגע רע as a demonic entity, but connects it with later rabbinic terms for general harm.[490] Eshel interprets the psalm as "protection against evil forces," but does not discuss נגע רע specifically.[491] Morris concludes that נגע רע should not be understood as a demonic entity, since the mention of

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[485] Hebrew and English from Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 77 and Sanders, DJD 4, 71.

[486] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 77; Flusser, "'Apotropaic' Prayers," 201; Lange, "Spirit of Impurity," 259.

[487] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE,* 1177.

[488] Sanders, DJD 4, 71; Flusser, "Apotropaic Prayers," 201.

[489] Brand, *Evil Within and Without,* 38.

[490] Flusser, "'Apotropaic' Prayers," 201.

[491] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 77.

purification is best understood as a "personal feature (i.e., sin)."[492] Additionally, he notes that the language of roots and leaves in lines 12-13 should be interpreted as a metaphor for sins grasp on a person.[493] His conclusion that "without an anti-demonic element, Ps 155 cannot be classified as either exorcistic or apotropaic," however, in my view, is incorrect.[494]

4.5.1 Conclusion

One's judgement about whether the work is "anti-demonic" or not does not necessarily affect whether it is apotropaic or not. If נגע רע is interpreted as either a physical disease or an inclination to sin, the worldview of the Qumran community may have facilitated an anti-demonic interpretation of this phrase, since these afflictions were thought to be initiated by evil spirits. Additionally, the petition for the נגע רע not to "return again" is a common characteristic of apotropaic petitions (*Jub*.1:20-21, 10:3-6, 12:19-20, 19:26-29; CD XVI, 2-6; *Ant.* 8.45). Moreover, נגע has been interpreted as a demonic entity in 1QH[a] XXII, 23[495] as well as an activity of demons in a possible reconstruction of 11Q11 II, 3.[496] It is possible, therefore, that this hymn had an anti-demonic purpose. In any respect, this psalm ought to be understood as apotropaic, since there is an explicit request for God to deter the return of a kind of evil.

4.6 4Q147 (4QAmulet?)[497]

In 2019, a preliminary reconstruction, translation, and commentary of 4Q147 was supplied by Ariel and Faina Feldman. This work had been previously catalogued as a Tefillin by

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[492] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 92.
[493] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 92.
[494] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 92.
[495] Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 83.
[496] Puech, "Un ritual d'exorcismes," 386–387.
[497] Transcription and translations from Feldman and Feldman, "4Q174: an Amulet?," 1–29.

J.T. Milik, who was unable to decipher the work on account of the handwriting which he described as "pratiquement indéchiffrable."[498] The work contains the remains of language reminiscent of other apotropaic works found at Qumran and therefore has been suggested to be the remains of an amulet. The work consists of 12 leather fragments in various states of preservation. Fragments 1 and 2 contain the most well-preserved content, though the relationship between the two is debated, since the handwriting differs. Feldman and Feldman point out that "While it is still likely that both fragments [frag. 1 and 2] were produced by the same scribe, this minor difference in script may suggest that we are dealing with two discrete texts."[499] Fragments 11-12 also "differ considerably from the rest of 4Q147."[500]

Fragment 1

3] יֹרְויֹוֹן כֹּי בֹּצל כנֹפֹיך יֹחֹסֹיוֹן בֹּדֹשֹׁן בֹּיֹתֹך ◦ בֹּמ

3]. they will drink their fill, for in the shadow of your wings they will take refuge.

This passage appears to be an allusion of several Psalms, notably Ps 17:8, 36:7, 57:1, and 63:7. The primary influence is from Ps 35:7, based on the presence of יֶחֱסָיֻן and the context of drinking (תַשְׁקֵם) in v. 8 which is paralleled here in line 3. Feldman and Feldman take this as a reference to the Israelites living in the promised land based on line 2's possible dependence on Deut 1:8.[501] God's wings, like the wings of a bird, are meant to be a symbolic illustration of the way in which God protects his people. It is unclear what the protection is meant for, as the only mention of enemies is found in lines 5 and 9.

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[498] Milik, DJD 6, 37.
[499] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 3, 12.
[500] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 3.
[501] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 13.

Several clues in the fragment may be interpreted as anti-demonic. Line 5 mentions how God will "surround them for they will be smitten" (יְסֹובֹבֵם כִּי יִנָּגֵפוּ). Feldman and Feldman interpret this to mean that the righteous will be surrounded (i.e., protected) by God after being smitten because God knows that afterwards "they will return" (וְשָׁבוּ) to him.[502] This seems to mean that God is the one inflicting the smiting. While נגף is typically used in the Hebrew Bible in reference to God striking Egypt with plagues (e.g., Exod 7:27) or with victory in a military battle (e.g., 2 Sam 10:15), it is worth considering that this might be a reference to being smitten by evil spirits. 4Q511 18 III, 9 lists הַתְּנַגְּפִים as either a kind of evil spirit *or* as those suffering from the affliction of evil spirits.

4Q147 1 9 further preserves that an unknown group "will oppress us" (יְעַנּוּנוּ).[503] The word ענה has the meaning of "humble" and "humiliate," and if situated within an apotropaic context, could be related to the period of humiliation mentioned in 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b]. Feldman and Feldman also attempt to reconstruct another word before the mention of יְעַנּוּנוּ, which they have tentatively transcribed as נוֹ°. This reconstruction is, however, very uncertain.[504] Additionally, Feldman and Feldman insert the object of subject of line 9 "for (we are) as a shadow before you" (כִּי כַצֵּל לְפָנֶיךָ), which implies that it is the Israelites who are in view.[505]

7] סוד אלוהי רום ו°י°°°°°נֹודֹבֹב °] [°בֹיהיו ובֹיֹדֹו ירפֹא וחֹיֹוֹ]
8] °°°° וֹיֹתֵּנֹךְ עוֹז רֹב ויברֹכֹך [ ] לֹבֹו יהיו בדרכך תֹלֹךְ °°° *vac*]

7] council of lofty God and..[]… …[   ].. (they) will be. And by his hand he will heal and they will live
8] … and he will give you great strength and he will bless you ..[ ]. his heart (they) will be. You will walk in your path …. *vac*

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[502] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 13.
[503] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 14 argue against reconstructing "he will reply" (יַעֲנִינוּ).
[504] According to Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 10: "There is a long vertical stroke which we were unable to identify. The second letter might be a cursive *bet*, a cursive medial *kaph* or a medial *nun* followed by a *vav/yod*. The third letter is probably a *vav/yod*."
[505] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 14–15 argue that a human being is most likely in view, due to "shadow" expressing the "shadow-like transient human existence (cf. Ps 102:12; 144:4; Job 14:2; Eccl 8:13; 1 Chr 29:15).

The "council of lofty God" (סוד אלוהי רום) may be a reference to angels, since the word

סוד is often used in both the Hebrew Bible and at Qumran for the angelic council (e.g., Ps 89:8,

4Q511 10 11).[506] Based on the previous lines of the fragment, it may be that human beings are

blessing God amongst the heavenly host. There is a break in the fragment at this point which is

picked up with the mention that "by his hand he will heal" (וֹּבְיֹדוֹ ירפֿא). What kind of healing is

envisaged here is unclear. Feldman and Feldman connect this healing with Deut 32:39 due to the

proximity of רפא and חיה in both texts.[507] This may be the case, since line 3 mentions the

righteous enjoying the "fatness" (בדֹשֶׁן) of God's house, whereas Deut 32:38 chastises the

Israelites for partaking in the "fat" (חלב) of idols. After this healing, God is said to "give you

great strength" (וֹּיתֶּנְךָ עוֹז רֹב), a typical feature of God sustaining people so that they might be

obedient, notably in apotropaic contexts.[508] The last section of line 8, "You will walk in your

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[506] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 14.

[507] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 14.

[508] Obedience plays a role in the non-sectarian apotropaic texts. According to *Plea for Deliverance*, "those who stumble" in sin are only able to give praise to God upon the condition that he "make known your kindness to them," and that he "instruct" them (XIX, 2-3). Thus, the speaker's petition for God to grant him "a spirit of faith and knowledge" so that he might "not stumble in transgression" makes sense. Only by God dispensing knowledge can one properly be obedient. A "spirit of faith" likely refers to God's granting a disposition towards perpetual faithfulness in obeying the law, which may be viewed as essentially synonymous in function with the Spirit of Holiness. The speaker of this hymn identifies himself as one of those "loving his name" (XIX, 6) or one of the "devout ones" (XIX, 7), which appears to mean that the speaker obeys God. Due to this obedience, the speaker says he has "found refuge" in God's shelter (XIX, 12). For the speaker to then petition God to not let "Satan rule over me, nor an evil spirit," seems to be apotropaic. For someone to praise God requires him to give knowledge, which leads to obedience. Since the speaker could be influenced by evil spirits, he petitions God to continue to grant him knowledge and faith so that they will be warded away. Again, knowledge is the progenitor of obedience and apotropaism. Likewise, according to 4QAramaic Levi[b] 1 I, 12-13, Levi prays for God to remove evil and fornication away from him and for God to give him wisdom, knowledge, and strength. In the Greek version, Levi also petitions God for a holy spirit. The holy spirit in this prayer seems to refer to a disposition towards holiness, which wisdom, knowledge, and strength are a part of. This strength (וגבורה), a common feature of apotropaic petitions, is probably meant in a metaphorical sense, as in, strength to resist evil. This makes sense, given that the Greek version of 4QAramaic Levi[b] 1 I,17 includes the request to not let "any satan have power over me, to make me stray from your path." Thus, asking God for a holy spirit is necessary to resist the temptations of evil spirits.

Within the narrative texts considered in this chapter, two petitions from Tobit and *Jubilees* may show evidence of obedience as a prerequisite for God's apotropaic protection as well. If Stuckenbruck is correct about the *Post-Eventum* prayer in Tobit being apotropaic, this may also signal that obedience is part of the prophylactic requirements. According to Stuckenbruck's intermediate recension of Tob 8:7, part of the reason that Tobias gives as to why God ought to protect him and Sarah is because he has not taken her out of lust, but "according to the righteous decree of your law." The assumption is that had Tobias taken Sarah as his wife out of lust, he would have

path" (יהיו בדרכך תֹלֹך) is admittedly confusing, but may point towards a belief in predestination.

That is, a person will walk in the path that they are designed to walk in, as a result of God

healing and transforming the individual.[509]

<div align="center">Fragment 2</div>

1[ס٥٥٥٥٥٥ٞבֹנוֹ כֹֹ שלט בֹ]
2[ۣۣۣۣۣٞٞٞٞٞٞٞٞٞ٥ن חיליאל יאֹֹסֹרוֹٞ]
3[٥٥٥ רפאל יפֹחֹידן וֹ٥٥٥]
4[٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥ ֹפֹו כי יר ٥]

2]……… for (he) had a power over[
3]…….and Ḥ(e)iliel will bind them[
4]…Raphael will frighten them and …[
5] … …….. for …[

There are a number of options for who has power (שלט) in line 2. They include God, an

unknown angel, an evil spirit, or even a ritualist of some kind. It is most natural to read this is as

the action of an unnamed angel, perhaps having power over evil spirits. Evil spirits are the most

likely target, since the two angels are meant to "bind" (יאֹסרן) and "frighten" (יפֹחידן) them, typical

expressions used against evil spirits elsewhere in our study. It is not uncommon in early Jewish

incurred the same punishment of death from Asmodeus. Since Tobias was specifically legally obligated to take Sarah as his wife, however, this is why he was given the apotropaic ritual to fulfill his duty.
    In one of the apotropaic petitions from the book of *Jubilees*, obedience also seems to be one of the reasons why evil spirits are warded away. According to *Jub*.10:3-6, Noah reminds God that he acted mercifully towards him and to remember this reason why he should repel the demons afflicting his grandchildren. The reason why God was merciful to Noah in the flood is because he had not "corrupted [his] way" and "because his heart was righteous in all of his ways just as it was commanded concerning him. And he did not transgress anything which was ordained for him" (*Jub*. 5:19). This declaration about Noah's righteous nature occurs within the same passage where God is said to impart a new righteous nature on humanity so that they might not sin (*Jub*. 5:12 ff.). One of the reasons why Noah probably believes God should repel the demons is because according to *Jub*.6:10-18, he and his children make an oath to obey the laws God commands them and so God ought to sustain them in this endeavor. God listens to Noah's prayer, presumably because of his righteous character, and tells the angels to instruct him about the apotropaic function of the herbs. The reason why the knowledge of herbs is given to Noah and subsequently passed on to his children is stated as being because "they would not walk uprightly and would not strive righteously" (*Jub*.10:10). *Jub*. 6:18 tells the reader that after Noah died, his children corrupted the covenant and ate blood. Thus, the reason why the herbs were given is because God knew that his children would continue in sin (comp. 4Q213 3+4 6-12). Thus, righteous conduct alone could not ward off the evil spirits since they were likely to be susceptible to disobedience, whether from demonic influence or their own hearts. See VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees*, 1:281–282; Comp. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London: Black, 1902), 44.
[509] This section is immediately followed by a vacat. See comments by Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 14.

texts to have lists of angels and their respective responsibilities listed one after another (comp. *1 En.* 20; 11Q5 XIX, 7).[510]

The angel Ḥ(e)iliel is mentioned in the later mystical text *Sepher ha-Razim* as an angelic servant to one of three princes named DLQY'L in the third firmament. DLQY'L, and by extension Ḥ(e)iliel are in charge of igniting and extinguishing fires.[511] Feldman and Feldman suggest that line 3 may be reconstructed to read רזיאל ("Raziel") instead of Ḥ(e)iliel.[512]

4.6.1 Conclusion

These fragments may contain language situated around apotropaism and evil spirits. If 4Q147 is the remains of an amulet, its function is apotropaic, worn by someone or placed somewhere in a home to ward off the attacks of evil spirits. God protects the wearer by his power, heals them by his hand, and the evil spirits are warned against intrusion by the threat of angelic beings threatening to bind and terrify them.

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[510] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 17.

[511] Michael A. Morgan, trans., S*epher Ha-Razim: The Book of the Mysteries* (Atlanta: SBL, 1983), 64.

[512] Feldman and Feldman, "4Q147: an Amulet?," 16; Louis Ginzberg, Henrietta Szold, and Paul Radin, *Legends of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 90. According to *Sepher ha-Razim,* Raziel delivers a book of heavenly secrets to Noah. In *Sepher Raziel ha-Malak,* Raziel delivers a book to Adam. Zohar I, 55b retells the story about the book, where it records that Raziel received the book back from Adam by the hands of Raphael when Adam repented. (comp. Yerushalmi Shebiʿit 9, 39d; BR 79.6; Koheleth 10.8; PK 10, 88b; Esther R 1:9). Raziel's position near Raphael would make sense if this tradition has an ancient origin, but this cannot be established, and Raziel is not identified with any anti-demonic themes in other literature. Ḥ(e)iliel, however, who is later ascribed power over fires, may be connected with anti-demonic elements. For example, Eph. 6:16 tasks Christians to "take the shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows (βέλη…πεπυρωμένα) of the evil one (τοῦ πονηροῦ)." Elsewhere, Belial's powers are described as being fiery. For example, 1QHᵃ XI, 30 "the torrents (נחלי) of Belial pour over all the steep banks in a devouring fire."

4.7 Tobit[513]

The composition of the book of Tobit is dated between the fourth and second centuries BCE and was composed originally in either Hebrew or Aramaic.[514] Fragments of this work were discovered at Qumran in both Aramaic (4QpapTob[a], 4QTob[b-d]) and Hebrew (4QTob[e]). The book of Tobit follows the story of an Israelite family from the tribe of Naphtali who have been deported to Nineveh in the eighth century BCE and a woman named Sarah who is plagued by a demon named Asmodeus.[515] While travelling along the river Tigris, a fish attempts to swallow Tobias's foot and Raphael instructs him to capture it and remove its heart, liver and gall bladder for use in an apotropaic or exorcistic ritual. In the end, the demon is fumigated, Tobit's sight is restored, and Tobias and Sarah are married in accordance with God's predetermined plan.[516]

The first apotropaic element of this narrative is the fumigation of the demon Asmodeus.[517] Asmodeus is first mentioned when Sarah is accused by one of her maidservants to

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[513] English translations of GI and GII are taken from the NETS translation of the Septuagint. Unless explicitly stated, all other translations are from the NRSV.

[514] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *Tobit*, CEJL (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002), 19.

[515] Pierce notes that "the precise nature of Asmodeus is unclear as to whether he is an angel, evil spirit, etc." He does not explain this differentiation, and based on the text of Tobit it seems very clear that Asmodeus is a demon (synonymous with an "evil spirit"). He cites Fitzmyer's commentary on the matter, but Fitzmeyer does not give any indication that Asmodeus should not be viewed as a demon. Stuckenbruck shows that later traditions viewed Asmodeus as the offspring of the fallen angels. Chad T. Pierce, *Spirits and the Proclamation of Christ: 1 Peter 3:18–22 in Light of Sin and Punishment in Early Jewish and Christian Literature,* WUNT 2/305 (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 154 (n. 357); Fitzmyer, *Tobit,* 150-151; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "Prayers of Deliverance from the Demonic," in *The Changing Face of Judaism, Christianity, and other Greco-Roman Religions in Antiquity: Presented to James H. Charlesworth on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, eds. I. Henderson and G. Oegema, JSHRZ (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2006), 161.

[516] Tobias is accompanied by a dog mentioned in 5:16 and 11:4. Dogs have been connected with anti-demonic characteristics, but its presence in the book of Tobit plays such a little part that its relevance to the study of apotropaism is minute. See Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 80–81, n. 103.

[517] Despite Asmodeus's characteristics as a malevolent spiritual force in the book of Tobit, his activities result in the righteous conduct of Tobias, Raguel, Sarah, and even the unfortunately murdered fiancés. Their righteous conduct all centers around the predetermined plan of God for Sarah to marry Tobias in addition to upholding a particular interpretation of the Mosaic Law. According to the book of Tobit, Tobias has the inherited right to marry Sarah before any other male (Tob. 6:12).517 Raguel is compelled to give Sarah to Tobias in marriage lest he incur the death penalty "according to the decree of the book of Moses." Evidently no such law exists in the Pentateuch and so the book must be drawing on some unknown halakhic teaching based probably on Num 27:1–11, 36:5–9. Ida Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," 36–37 states: "Paradoxically, the demon is God's means of preventing Sarah from making a non-endogamic match—that is, to prevent her from being married to the "wrong" person who is not her match in an endogamic system which the narrative considers ideal." See also Eric Sorensen, Possession

be the one who is killing her fiancés (3:7-9).[518] Upon hearing this, Sarah contemplates suicide, but due to her unwillingness to disgrace her father, prays to God for relief. Her prayer is answered through the mediation of the angel Raphael "by giving her in marriage to Tobias son of Tobit, and by setting her free from the wicked demon Asmodeus" (3:17). After Sarah's father, Raguel, agrees to give his daughter to Tobias in marriage, Tobias uses the fish innards to repel the demon which in turn flees.[519] According to Tob 6:8, Raphael tells Tobias that "the fish's heart and liver, you must burn them to make a smoke in the presence of a man or woman afflicted (נגיעי; ὀχλῇ) by a demon or evil spirit, and every affliction will flee away and never remain with that person any longer." Later, in Tob 8, Tobias puts the ritual into practice: "he took the fish's liver and heart out of the bag where he had them and put them on the embers of the incense" (8:2). The results of burning the fish are slightly different in the two major Greek recensions. According to GI "Now when the demon smelled the odor, it fled to the uppermost

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and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity, 55 (n. 42); On endogamy in the book of Tobit, see T. Nicklas, "Marriage in the Book of Tobit: A Synoptic Approach," in *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology: Papers of the First International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books*, eds. G.G. Xeravits and J. Zsengeller (Pápa: Brill, 2004), 139–154. See Moore, *Tobit*, 204; K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer Ergänzungsband* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 134–47; idem, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer Band 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 172-86; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in *Qumran Cave4 XIV: Parabiblical Texts, part 2*, eds. Magen Broshi, et al., DJD 19 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 2:1–76; J.A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Fragments of Tobit from Qumran Cave 4," *CBQ* 57 (1995): 655–675.

[518]Asmodeus is understood to possess his own will and the ability to express emotion. This is evidenced by his emotional attachment to Sarah in Tob. 6:15 (GI; comp. 4Q197 Frag. 4 ii:9): "for a demon loves her." Ego describes Asmodeus as a love-sick demon, and Owen goes as far as to say that Asmodeus's behavior "bespeaks, "If I can't have her no one will."" Owens finds Ego's interpretation that Sarah requires a "divorce" from Asmodeus unconvincing. Rather, "the meaning and emphasis are on healing and marriage, not divorce from a demon." Fröhliche contends that the demon belongs to a system of "relative dualism" and does not in fact have its own free will, but is subject to God. See Fröhlich, "Evil in Second Temple Texts," 38. B. Ego, "Textual Variants as a Result of Enculturation: The Banishment of the Demon in Tobit," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures,* eds. W. Kraus, and G. Wooden, SBLSR 53 (Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 371–378; J. Edward Owens, "Asmodeus: A Less Than Minor Character in the Book of Tobit: A Narrative-Critical Study," in *Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2007 Angels: The Concept of Celestial beings—Origins, Development and Reception*, eds. Friedrich V. Reiterer, Tobias Nicklas, and Karin Schopflin (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2007), 279; Owens, "Asmodeus," 281 (n. 16).

[519] Parallels to this binding in Egypt can also be found in *1 Enoch* where the watcher Azazel is bound "hand and foot and [thrown] into darkness," (10:4; 4Q255 2 II, 13). That Asmodeus must be bound by the angel Raphael presumes that Asmodeus will incur some manner of eschatological judgment. Mastema seems to suffer the same fate as Asmodeus and Azazel. See Micah D. Kiel, *The "Whole Truth:" Rethinking Retribution in the Book of Tobit,* ed. Lester L. Grabbe, JSPS 82 (New York/London: T&T Clark, 2012), 145.

part of Egypt, and the angel tied it up" (8:3). GII, however, reads "And the odor of the fish became a hindrance (ἐκώλυσεν), and the demon fled into the upper parts of Egypt. But Raphael went and bound him there hand and foot and tied him up at once" (8:3). This ritual can be viewed as exorcistic (the demon either being expelled from Sarah or from the bridal chamber). GrII translates Raphael's activity in Tob 3:17 as being "sent out…to loose Asmodeus, the evil demon, from her," while GrI only reads "to bind Asmodeus," disregarding Sarah from the equation. Dion has argued that the Aramaic term פטר may be behind GII's use of λυω, "where the exorcist claims to pronounce the divorce between the demon and its victim." [520] Nothing in the text, however, demonstrates that Sarah is being taken over and controlled, nor that the spirit comes out of her, rather it seems that Asmodeus simply resides within the bridal chamber.[521] The smoke of the fish contains an apotropaic component, since according to Tob 6:8, the evil spirit will "flee away and never remain with that person any longer." Thus, the ritual, while exorcistic (probably expelling the demon from a geographical location), still acts apotropaically (ensuring that the demon is unable to enter that area again). The exorcistic quality is straightforward – the demon is fumigated like a pest in order that it leave the area. The apotropaic quality, however, is less clear. Asmodeus is specifically bound after the ritual, which could be the reason why it is simultaneously apotropaic (the demon cannot interfere anymore because it has been bound in a nebulous prison).

Another element that has been interpreted as apotropaic by Loren Stuckenbruck is a "*Post-Eventum*" deliverance plea in Tob 8:4-8. Upon Asmodeus being sent away from the area,

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[520] Eve, *The Jewish Context of Jesus' Miracles,* 227; See also R.H. Pfeiffer, *History of the New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: 1949), 271; Otzen notes that some commentators have suggested reading this as "to loose her [Sarah] from Asmodeus" Benedikt Otzen, *Tobit and Judith*, ed. Michael Knibb (London/New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 47; Paul-Eugene Dion, "Raphael l'exorciste," *Bib* 57 (1976): 404–406 (quoted in Otzen, *Tobit and Judith,* 47).
[521] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 80.

Tobias tells Sarah to "get up and let us pray and beg our Lord to grant us mercy and deliverance [σωτηρίαν]" (8:4; Codex Sinaiticus). Stuckenbruck gives an "intermediate" or "third" recension of the text which he renders 8:7 as "Now, Lord, you know that I am taking this woman of mine not out of lust, but according to the righteous decree of your law, so that we may be shown mercy, Lord, she and I, *and that you put a curse on the unclean demon*, even giving us children, Lord, and blessing."[522] Based on this intermediate recension, Stuckenbruck interprets the instructions given to Tobias by Raphael in 6:8 as finding their efficacious fulfillment in this latter prayer.[523]

Morris disagrees with Stuckenbruck's interpretation. First, he notes that the presence of σωτηρίαν in 8:4 does not have any anti-demonic connotations within the context of the prayer, but rather probably σωτηρίαν has the meaning of God's general guardianship over the marriage.[524] Second, Morris states that Raphael's instructions about the apotropaic qualities of burning the fish is what is sufficient for the ritual to be effective. Thus, the prayer offered at the end of the ritual (which is also mentioned by Raphael in 6:18, but not in an anti-demonic context), is not part of the anti-demonic ritual itself.[525]

4.7.1 Conclusion

The anti-demonic features of Tobit can be confusing. Scholars have either stated that the ritual is exorcistic *or* apotropaic, but the reality is that it is *both*. Tobias performs an exorcism with the result that an apotropaic side-effect takes place.

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[522] Stuckenbruck, "Pleas for Deliverance," 70.
[523] Stuckenbruck, "Pleas for Deliverance," 72.
[524] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 78.
[525] Morris, *Warding Off Evil,* 78.

4.8 *Jubilees*[526]

The Book of *Jubilees* contains a purported revelation given to Moses on Mount Sinai. It is typically categorized in the genre of "Rewritten Bible/Scripture" and recounts events from Genesis 1 – Exodus 12. *Jubilees*, like *1 Enoch*, exists in its entirety only in Ethiopic Ge'ez. The Ethiopic text appears to be a translation of an earlier Greek text, which in turn was based on a Hebrew text. *Jubilees* is also preserved partially in some fragmentary Greek manuscripts, as well as a quarter of it in Latin, and some portions in Syriac.[527] Fourteen Hebrew copies of *Jubilees* were at Qumran. The oldest manuscript (4QJub[a]) dates paleographically to c. 100 BCE. *Jubilees* is used by the author of the Damascus Document (CD XVI, 2-4),[528] and the author(s) were aware of *1 Enoch*. *Jub.* 4:17-24 refers to a text that Enoch is said to have written regarding "the signs of the heaven according to the order of their months, so that the sons of man might know the (appointed) times of the years according to their order, with respect to each of their months." *Jubilees* is most likely referring to a text known as The Astronomical Book (*1 Enoch* 72-82). Fragments of this Astronomical Book have been found in Cave 4. The earliest copy of the book (4QEnastr[a]) is dated paleographically to around the third century BCE, serving as a *terminus post quem* for the writing of *Jubilees*.[529]

The first apotropaic petition found in *Jub.* 1:20-21 occurs during a conversation that Moses has with God. The Lord reveals to him that the people of Israel will stray from his commands, worship other gods, and kill the prophets that he sends to warn them of their

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[526] Translations from VanderKam, *Jubilees.*

[527] James C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula MT: Scholars Press, 1977), vi.

[528] VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees,* 14–15, 215–216. It seems probable that CD may serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the production of Jubilees Compare, however, Stegemann's early dating of Jubilees to the second or third century; Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 91–92.

[529] Józef Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 7–8.

impending judgement (*Jub*. 1:7-18). In response to this revelation, Moses petitions God to be merciful and to create an "upright" or "just" spirit within them (*Jub.* 1:20). The creation of an upright spirit is contrasted with the rule that Beliar (comp. *Jub.* 15:33) has over the people of Israel, which is described as his ability to "ensnare" Israelites "from every path of righteousness," actions which lead to being "destroyed from before your face" (*Jub.* 1:20). Beliar is described in language similar to Zech 3:1, where Satan accuses the high priest Joshua before God. In *Jubilees*, however, Beliar accuses Israel based on his own rule over them. In other words, if Beliar continues without God's intervention, he will be able to accuse Israel before God based on his own influence over their ethical conduct. God's response to Moses is that the people of Israel must first confess their sins and turn to him, at which point God will then "circumcise the foreskin of their hearts and the foreskin of the heart of their seed," and will "create in them a holy spirit," which has the result that they will not "turn away" from God from that day on (*Jub*.1: 23).

God's creation of a new spirit for the Israelites is the mechanism by which Beliar's rule over the people is either minimized or extinguished. According to CD XVI, 4-6, when a person returns to the law of Moses, Mastema "will turn aside from following him," on the condition that a person continually obeys God's commands. In *Jubilees*, a person who confesses their sins and returns to God is imputed a new spiritual disposition that facilitates their ability to maintain perpetual obedience. Unlike CD XVI, 4-6, which links obedience to the activation of an apotropaic benefit, *Jubilees* never makes this connection. Rather, Beliar's efforts are thwarted on the basis of God changing the fundamental nature of a human's inclinations, which leave Beliar's abilities to tempt Israel ineffective. From a narrative perspective, however, Moses's

initial prayer is also an apotropaic petition, asking God to remove Beliar from the equation so that Israel might be obedient and not be destroyed.

The second apotropaic petition is found in in *Jub*.10:3-6. Before Noah's death he becomes aware of "polluted demons" afflicting his grandchildren. The activities of the demons are listed as "leading astray, binding, and killing" (10:2). Noah calls on God to bind these evil spirits, petitioning him to "shut them up and take them to the place of judgement," so that they might not "cause corruption" any more and that they will not "rule" or "have power over" the righteous (10:3-6).[530] God commands his angels to go forth and bind the demons (10:7); However, Mastema (who is equated with Satan in 10:11) pleads with God to let him control of one tenth of the demons, because without them he will be unable to "exercise the authority of [his] will" (10:8). God listens to Mastema's request, but also gives Noah a series of magical herbs by which to ward off future evil spirits. The nine-tenths of the demons that were not spared for Mastema are sent into "the place of judgement" (10:9). God instructs his angels to teach Noah about how to heal the afflictions of the demons because "he knew that they would not walk uprightly and would not strive righteously" (10:10). The meaning of this appears to be that if the demons are not warded away via the herbs that Noah is instructed about, that his grandchildren, by default, will continue in disobedience, since they are subject to their rule. The herbs that Noah is instructed to use to ward off the spirits are said to be for "all their illnesses together with their seductions" (10:12). The seductions most likely refer to the temptation to sin, which the herbs

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[530] Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic,* 98, claims that this prayer is exorcistic. He does not, however, look at this prayer within the context of the other three clearly apotropaic prayers found in Jubilees. Asking for the spirits to be brought to the "place of judgement" *can* be exorcistic, but the point of the prayer is to not let the spirits "have power over" Noah's offspring. Since it is never stated that the evil spirits are possessing anybody, this prayer seems best classified as apotropaic, not exorcistic.

are meant to remedy, perhaps through fumigation. Noah's petition is best classified as apotropaic, wherein he asks God to "not let the evil spirits rule over them" (10:3).[531]

A third apotropaic petition appears in *Jub*.12:19-20. After burning his household idols and departing for Haran (12:12-15), Abraham stays up one night to observe the stars and make astrological predictions about the weather patterns of the coming year (12:16-17). After realizing that his methods are in vain (12:18), he offers a prayer for protection against evil spirits because they "rule over the heart of man," and "lead…astray" (12:19). The major concern in this petition is the spirits' ability to tempt human beings away from obeying God's commands. Abraham's prayer requests God to "establish" him and his seed "forever," repeating again at the end of the prayer that they not go astray "henceforth and forever" (12:19). As with *Jub*.1:20-21 and 10:3-6, part of the equation of these apotropaic petitions is for the human being to be perpetually obedient, which requires God's sustaining power in their lives to accomplish this.

The final apotropaic petition occurs in *Jub*.19:26-29. This passage records a blessing given to Jacob and his offspring by his father Abraham. The prayer differs in that God is addressed in the third person and Jacob in the second, a change to be expected in a blessing formula of this nature. The blessing involves petitioning God to cause the blessings promised to Abraham "to cleave to you and your seed" and for "the spirit of Mastema" not to "rule over" Jacob and his descendants. This petition follows the typical apotropaic prayers found elsewhere in *Jubilees*, asking for God to preserve the human being from disobedience, which is connected with limiting Mastema's power to "remove" someone from "following" God.

Two further apotropaic elements are worth investigating. The first is a general framework of the spirit realm that is given to us in Jub. 15. In the Damascus Document, apotropaic

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[531] VanderKam, *Jubilees,* 50, notes that Noah traces the lineage of the evil spirits back to the Watchers, something that the "God of the spirits" is obviously aware of. This may represent an apotropaic tactic in which showcasing the ritualists knowledge of the origins and nature of the evil spirits aids in the efficacy of the prayer.

protection is connected with knowledge through the law of circumcision given to Abraham and his descendants. According to CD XVI, 6, Abraham circumcised himself on the "day of his knowledge." This day is in reference to *Jub*. 15:11-14, 23-24, when God speaks to Abraham about the covenant and the sign of circumcision. *Jub*. 15:25-34 goes into greater detail about the importance of circumcision, noting that it is ordained and written in "heavenly tablets" and that "the nature of all of the angels of the presence and all of the angels of sanctification was thus from the day of their creation." Additionally, God sanctified Israel through circumcision in the presence of his angels so that "they might be with him and with his holy angels." It is unclear whether this is intended to be understood eschatologically (i.e., that upon death they might commune with the angels) or presently (i.e., that in some unknown way Israel might participate with heavenly beings, perhaps in worship). Circumcision, in the mind of the author of *Jubilees*, is directly connected with heavenly knowledge and the nature of angels. That the angels are understood to also be circumcised suggests that by undergoing circumcision one becomes *like* the angels, although the exact corresponding attributes are never directly stated. According to *Jub*. 15:30-32, God did not "draw near to himself either Ishmael, his sons, his brothers, or Esau," but chose "Israel to be his people" and "sanctified them and gathered (them) from all humanity."[532]   Part of this election process was that God "made spirits rule over" the other

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[532] Several non-sectarian apotropaic texts allude to predestination with terminology that is logically dependent on the concept or have strong affinities to the teaching found in the Hebrew Bible or Second Temple texts more generally. While the Hebrew version of Ps 155 found at Qumran does not preserve the last lines of the psalm, the Syriac version contains the final verse: "Save Israel, your elect one; and those of the house of Jacob, your chosen one" (v. 21). Additionally, while the Hebrew version does not contain any title, the Syriac title is as follows: "The prayer of Hezekiah When the Assyrians Surrounded Him and He Asked God Deliverance from Them." This reference to election seems to be corporate in scope, saving Israel from enemies during the Assyrian siege. Whether this title is original or not, Hezekiah's prayer could have been adapted by readers for their own personal issues, especially for healing of plague (or "leprosy" according to the Syriac version).

  Predestination also manifests itself as part of an apotropaic ritual in a roundabout way through the wider themes of the book of Tobit. Raphael makes it clear that Raguel knows that he needs to give Sarah to Tobias since "he knows that you, rather than any other man, are entitled to marry his daughter," (6:13). Sarah is also said to have been "set apart for you [Tobias] before the world was made" (6:18) and "it has been decreed from heaven that she be given to you" (7:11).532 The uniting theme behind these portions of Tobit are individual responsibility in upholding

nations. Of Israel, however, "he made no angel or spirit rule because he alone is their ruler. He will guard them and require them for himself from his angels, his spirits, and everyone, and all his powers so that he may guard them and bless them and so that they may be his and he theirs from now and forever." This understanding of the other nations seems to be based on an interpretation of Deut 32:8 (4QDeut^j) which states that God fixed the boundaries of the nations

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God's preordained plan in accordance with a particular interpretation of Mosaic Law. Human beings are understood both to be morally free creatures who are able to obey God's law or not, yet are subject to a predetermined conclusion (Sarah's marriage to Tobias). As part of God's plan, the demon Asmodeus protects Sarah's sexual purity, but must also be warded away so that their union can be complete. God's act of predeterminism does not in itself ward off the demon, rather the apotropaic or exorcistic activity in the narrative occurs as a necessary result of it.

     Three of the four apotropaic petitions in the book of *Jubilees* contain predestination and election as part of the prophylactic equation. Predestination as a concept in the book of *Jubilees* is evidenced especially by the presence of the frequent mention of heavenly tablets which, among other things, contain the deterministic chronology of history and the actions and judgements of certain groups and individuals (e.g., *Jub*.1:29, 5:13, 16:9, 23:32, 24:8, 30:22). According to *Jub*.1:20-21, Moses prays for protection against Beliar and specifically reminds God that Israel is "your people" and "your inheritance." This language is reminiscent of Deut 7:6 which describes Israel as God's chosen people and "his treasured possession" (סְגֻלָּה), but also of Deut 9:25-29, which VanderKam highlights as having significant linguistic parallels (VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees,* 1:157). Noah's prayer in *Jub*.10:3-6 emphasizes God's grace and mercy in saving him and his family from the flood. Based on this salvific act, Noah petitions God to also save them from the evil spirits plaguing his grandchildren. Notably, Noah asks God to not let the spirits have any rule over the "children of the righteous" (10:6), which are contrasted with the "children of perdition" in 10:3.532 That the wicked are designated with such a title suggests that they were predetermined for destruction, while the "children of the righteous" may serve as a designation for those who are predetermined to do righteousness (According to 1 Enoch, "the righteous" and "the elect" are one and the same (*1 En.* 1:8–9; 25:5; 38:1–6; 39:6–7; 45:1–6; 48:8; 51:1–5; 58:1–6; 70:4; 93:1–2; See VanderKam, *A Commentary on the Book of Jubilees,* 1:402, 404). *Jub*.19:26-29 also relies on God's election of Israel for its apotropaic protection. In the blessing given to Jacob by Abraham, a petition is made for protection from Mastema and his spirits so that they might not remove Jacob or his offspring from following God. As part of this protective blessing, Abraham petitions "may the LORD God be for you and for the people a father always and may you be a firstborn son" (19:29). This last part of the blessing harkens back to *Jub*.2:20 where God tells the angelic host that he has "chosen the seed of Jacob from among all that I have seen. And I have recorded him as my firstborn son, and have sanctified him for myself forever and ever." This passage itself a conglomeration of various themes found in the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Jer 3:4, 19, 31:9, Dt 32:6, Isa 63:16, 64:8, Mal 1:6, 2:10).

     The apotropaic petitions of Jubilees rely on God's election and predeterminate will as part of their efficacy. Confidence in God protecting an individual is predicated on the fact that God will guard them "henceforth and forever" based on them being his people, a designation that is expressed in a variety of ways shown above. Two of the prayers (*Jub.* 1:20-21 and 10:3-6) call upon God's mercy. This mercy is based upon God's previous dealings with the figures uttering the petitions (the Israelites' exodus from Egypt and Noah's salvation from the flood). These merciful acts were preordained by God, recorded in the heavenly tablets communicated to Moses by the angel of God's presence (*Jub*.1:29). It is important to note that, while *Jub*.1:20-21 and 10:3-6 share the same basic petitionary structure, one is effective, while the other is not. Moses's prayer is not answered because God has predetermined that Israel will be disobedient and succumb to the spirit of Beliar for an amount of time before returning to him. Due to this necessity (which, in part, has to do with the genre of Jubilees retelling events that have already occurred as if they are future), Moses's apotropaic prayer is not effective. Yet, that Moses expects his prayer to be answered based on calling upon God's past mercy is indicative of how an apotropaic prayer was thought to be answered, regardless of whether God actually answers in the affirmative. That Noah's prayer is answered is evidence that, for the author of Jubilees, the basic format of an apotropaic petition includes elements related to predestination and election as part of what makes the prayer effective.

"according to the number of the gods." Elsewhere, the gods of other nations are understood as demons (Jub. 1:11; 22:16-18).[533] In contrast to this, God is said to have not caused "any angel or spirit to rule" over Israel because "he alone is their ruler and will protect them" by means of his "angels" and "spirits." To be part of the covenant is to be circumcised, which was not offered to Ishmael or Esau. As a result, evil spirits have free reign over their lives. Thus, Israel's apotropaic protection stems from the knowledge given to Abraham concerning circumcision which is the only means by which one can enter the covenant and gain safety.[534]

Lastly, we must consider an apotropaic function of calendrical observances found in Jub. 49:15: "Now you order the Israelites to celebrate the Passover each year during their generations, once a year on its specific day. Then a pleasing memorial will come before the Lord and no plague will come upon theme to kill and to strike (them) during that year when they have celebrated the Passover at its time in every respect as it was commanded." This instruction was likely influenced by Exod 12:13: "The blood shall be a sign for you on the houses where you live: when I see the blood, I will pass over you, and no plague shall destroy you when I strike the land of Egypt." Here it is transformed so that it contains a yearly apotropaic effect.[535] Jub. 49:13 also records the curious statement that "There will be no breaking of any bone in it because no bone of the Israelites will be broken." This appears to be a further apotropaic dictum. By

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[533] VanderKam, *Jubilees,* 53.

[534] Perhaps in the mind of the author of CD XVI, 4–6, one who returns to the Law of Moses wards away the angel Mastema because, 1) they come into communion with the heavenly host as stated in *Jubilees*, or 2) they become like the angels in such a way that evil spirits are afraid of their likeness (see 3.2.3). In either case, the point of CD XVI, 4–6 is that when one comes to the knowledge of the Law, one should be like Abraham and immediately act upon it. This knowledge of the Law, however, can only be brought about through God's initial revelation to the community about its proper interpretation. To be obedient to the Law requires being freed from evil spirits, which is only possible through proper knowledge *about* the law. This proper knowledge is facilitated by the community's leadership and the new spiritual disposition of the Spirit of Holiness working together (see 3.1.3.1). Once knowledge is dispensed from God to the community, a person becomes preliminarily holy and thus able to decide to continue obeying the Law or not. Thus, knowledge is the progenitor of obedience, since one cannot be obedient without knowing what needs to be obeyed. Since obedience is tied to the apotropaic effect, it is also tied to God's dispersion of knowledge, which can only be grasped while in the community.

[535] See Cana Werman and Aharon Shemesh, *Revealing the Hidden: Exegesis and Halakha in the Qumran Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 2011), 308.

obedience to this command, Israelites are physically protected either from accident, God's wrath, or from enemies.[536] These apotropaic elements may be compared to what we find in CD XII, 2-6 where evil spirits attempt to dissuade Israelites from keeping the Sabbath. Should the spirits be successful in their endeavor, the Israelites will reap disastrous consequences. Thus, obedience to this command strengthens the resolve against evil spirits. Yet, as we have seen, additional apotropaic measures are necessarily put in place so that Israelites *will* in fact observe the Sabbath properly. Such an example may be found in 11Q11 V, 5 where an incantation may be spoken at night, perhaps during the Passover vigil (see comments above).

4.8.1 Conclusion

Jubilees contains at least four passages that can be considered as examples of petitions for apotropaic protection. The petitions share similar language and structure, which are highlighted in the chart below:

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[536] Baruch Bokser, *The Origins of the Seder: The Passover Rite and Early Rabbinic Judaism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 20.

Jub. 1:20-21	*Jub.* 10:3-6	*Jub.* 12:19-20	*Jub.* 19:27-29
May your mercy, <u>Lord</u>, *be lifted over your people*. Create for them a just spirit. **May the spirit of Belial not rule over them** so as to bring charges against them before you and <u>to make them stumble away from every proper path</u> so that they may be <u>destroyed from your presence</u>. They are your people and your heritage whom you have rescued from Egyptian control by your great power. Create for them a pure mind and a holy spirit. <u>May they not be trapped in their sins from now to eternity.</u>	"<u>God of the spirits</u> which are in all animate beings—*you who have shown kindness to me*, saved me and my sons from the floodwaters, and did not make me perish as you did to the people (meant for) destruction — because your mercy for me has been large and your kindness to me has been great: may your mercy be lifted over the children of your children; and **may the wicked spirits not rule them** <u>in order to destroy them from the earth</u>. Now you <u>bless me and my children</u> so that we may increase, become numerous, and fill the earth. You know how your Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, have acted during my lifetime. As for these spirits who have remained alive, shut them up and hold them captive in the place of judgment. <u>May they not cause destruction [or: corruption] among your servant's sons</u>, my God, for they are depraved and were created for the purpose of destroying. May they not rule the spirits of the living for you alone know their punishment; and may they not have power over the sons of the righteous <u>from now and forevermore</u>."	<u>My God, my God, God Most High</u>, You alone are my God. You have created everything: Everything that was and has been is the product of your hands. You and your lordship I have chosen. **Save me from the power of the evil spirits who rule the thoughts of people's minds**. <u>May they not mislead me from following you, my God</u>. Do <u>establish me and my posterity forever</u>. <u>May we not go astray from now until eternity</u>	"My dear son Jacob whom I myself love, may <u>God bless you from above the firmament</u>. May he give you all the blessings with which he blessed Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Shem. Everything that he said to me and everything that he promised to give me may he attach to <u>you and your descendants until eternity</u>—like the days of heaven above the earth. **May the spirits of Mastema not rule over you and your descendants** to <u>remove you from following the Lord who is your God from now and forever</u>. May the Lord God be your Father and you his firstborn son and people for all time. Go in peace, my son."

All four apotropaic petitions contain: 1) an invocation (broken lines), 2) a petition for God to not allow spirits to "rule" over human beings (bold), 3) a condition that God preserve and protect the speaker or his audience "henceforth and forever," (underlined), and 4) the recognition that these evil spirits cause one to stray into disobedience (spaced broken lines). Three of the petitions additionally contain a plea for God to preserve the speaker's "seed" or children (double underline). Two of the petitions contain both 1) the destructive result of being tempted by the demons (wavy underline) and 2) mentions of God's mercy (*italics*). All of these petitions may be classified as anti-demonic apotropaism.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation I have set out to make four main contributions. Firstly, I have argued that the most effective method for classifying a text as either apotropaic or exorcistic is to use the criteria of proximity and time initially noticed by Philip Alexander. In my analysis of all the relevant texts from Qumran, I have attempted to demonstrate that, at the most basic level, the differences between apotropaism and exorcism are 1) the timeframe during which the ritual is meant to be effective for the target, and 2) the proximity of evil to the human being. Apotropaic rituals existed to protect human beings *before* evil approached. Exorcistic rituals were utilized only *after* evil had invaded. While this temporal aspect cannot always be demonstrated from the texts, the criterion of proximity is another useful tool for classification. Apotropaic rituals attempt to deal with external forces that seek to affect humans. Exorcistic rituals, however, coax evil to leave spaces that they have already infiltrated.

Secondly, I have offered a more accurate taxonomy for classifying texts by introducing a new category for analyzing apotropaic rituals, based on the evil being either spiritual or ethical in nature. This new category, anti-peccable, indicates that a ritual is meant to ward off the effects of the evil inclination or desires of the world from a human being. Most texts that are anti-peccable are also anti-demonic, but the language in the relevant texts is such that the primary focus is avoidance of sin, not demonic infiltration.

Thirdly, I have argued that a number of works not previously categorized as apotropaic contain otherwise-neglected apotropaic material: 1QSb, 4QMMT, 4QPrayer A?, 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a-b], 4QPrayer of Enosh?, 1Q70[bis] (1QHe Who Brings in the Sheep), 1QHymns (1Q36), and 4QHymnic Text B? (4Q468k). While many of these works are quite fragmentary, they contain

language reminiscent of other known apotropaic texts and ought to be considered when studying apotropaism at Qumran.

Lastly, I have noted that apotropaism is an especially foundational part of what it means to be part of a new community at Qumran. Outsiders are pictured as worshipping idols or other gods which are equivalent to demons in Second Temple Judaism.[537] Thus, protection from the havoc that demons can inflict on humanity is only allotted through covenant membership. Even then, obedience to God's precepts is typically necessary to reap the benefits of this membership. I would argue that one of the contributing factors to someone wishing to join the Qumran community may have been for apotropaic protection.

One suggested avenue for further research is the comparative historical study of apotropaic rituals found spread more broadly throughout the ancient medditeranean world. Additionally, a study of whether the use of the criteria of proximity and time are helpful in categorizing other ancient apotropaic works would be useful.

Below I have listed the passages examined in this dissertation and charted the categories they fall under. Passages can be a combination of apotropaic, exorcistic, anti-peccable, and anti-demonic. A question mark is used to indicate that it is possible but uncertain that a given passage falls into the designated category. Here I will relay some of the broad findings before turning to a more detailed analysis of some of the overlapping themes within the texts.

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[537] For an in-depth study of this relationship, see Rohintan Keki Mody, "The Relationship between Powers of Evil and Idols in 1 Corinthians 8:4-5 and 10:18-22 in the Context of the Pauline Corpus and Early Judaism" (PhD diss. King's College, University of Aberdeen, 2008).

Sectarian Text	Apotropaic	Exorcistic	Anti-Peccable	Anti-Demonic
1QS I, 16-19	X			X
1QS II, 1-4	X		X	
1QS II, 5-10	?			
1QS IV, 20-23	X	X	X	
1QSb I, 1-8	X		X	?
CD XII, 2-6	X	X		X
CD XVI, 4-6	X			X
4QMMT C 25-32	X		X	X
1QM IX, 14-17	X			X
1QM XIII, 1-18	X			X
1QM XIV, 8-10, 16-18	X			X
4Q510 1 1-9	X			X
4Q511 1 1-8	X			X
4Q511 2 I, 1-10	X			X
4Q511 8 4-12	X			X
4Q511 10 8-12	X			X
4Q511 35 6-9	X			X
4Q511 48, 49 + 51 1-8	X			X
4Q444 1-4 I + 5 I	X	X		X
1QHª IV, 33-37	X		X	X
1QHª XXII, 20-28	X			X
1QHa XXIV, 6- XXV, 33	X			X
4Q286 7 II, 1-12	X			X
4Q280	X			X
4Q449	X			X

The Sectarian passages from Qumran anaylzed above may be divided as follows: Of the 25 passages analyzed from 11 sectarian texts, all of them, with the possible exception of one (1QS II, 5-10), exhibit apotropaic qualities. Of these 25 apotropaic passages, 3 also exhibit signs of exorcistic language. Despite this, no sectarian text is solely exorcistic, rather all share both apotropaic and exorcistic qualities. 22 of the passages surveyed are anti-demonic in nature, while 5 are anti-peccable. Of the 5 that are anti-peccable, 3 may also contain anti-demonic elements.

Possible Sectarian Text	Apotropaic	Exorcistic	Anti-Peccable	Anti-Demonic
11Q11 Colum I	X	X		X
11Q11 Colum II	X	X		X
11Q11 Colum III	X			X
11Q11 Colum IV	X			X
11Q11 Colum V	X	X		X
6Q18	X			X
8Q5	X	X		X
4Q230	X	X	X	X
1Q70^{bis}	X			X
1Q36	X			X
4Q468k	X			X

The works designated as being of possible sectarian origin can be categorized as follows: 11 passages analyzed from 7 all demonstrate apotropaic qualities. Of these 11 apotropaic passages, 5 also exhibit signs of exorcistic language. Like the Sectarian texts, none of the texts analyzed in this grouping are solely exorcistic. All the texts are anti-demonic in nature, while 1 is possibly also anti-peccable.

Non-Sectarian Text	Apotropaic	Exorcistic	Anti-Peccable	Anti-Demonic
4Q560 1 I	X	X		X
4Q560 1 II	X	X		X
4Q560 2	X			X
4Q213a 1 I, 10-18	X		?	X
4Q369 1 I	X		?	?
4Q369 1 II	X		?	?
4Q369 2	X		?	?
11Q5 XIX, 1-18	X			X
11Q5 XXIV, 11-13	X		?	?
4Q147	X			X
Tob 6:8	X	X		X
Tob 8:4-8	X			X
Jub.1:20-21	X			X
Jub.10:3-6	X			X
Jub.12:19-20	X			X
Jub. 15	X			X
Jub.19:27-29	X			X
Jub. 49:15	X			X

Finally, 18 passages analyzed from 8 non-sectarian texts exhibit apotropaic elements. Of these 18 apotropaic passages, 3 also contain exorcistic language. Like the previous groupings, however, no non-sectarian text is purely exorcistic. 13 of these texts are anti-demonic in nature, while 5 may or may not be anti-peccable. Of those 5 that are possibly anti-peccable, 1 is also likely anti-demonic in scope.

In total, 54 passages from 26 texts have been analyzed. Of the 54 passages, 98% – 100% exhibit apotropaic qualities. 11 (20%) also exhibit signs of exorcistic language. Despite this, no text is solely exorcistic. 47 (87%) of the texts surveyed are anti-demonic in nature, while 11 (20%) may be anti-peccable. Of those 11 texts, 5 (9%) are also likely anti-demonic in scope.

While all three groupings studied in this dissertation exhibit apotropaic content, there are significant differences in the amount of exorcistic language used (Sectarian: 12%; Works of possible Sectarian origin: 45.5%; Non-Sectarian: 17.5%). A number of hypotheses might be offered to help explain this. For example, the majority of texts that contain exorcistic language are songs, the genre and function of which may have been more closely affiliated with exorcism than with apotropaic incantations (e.g., 11Q5 XXVII, 10). Additionally, Sectarian texts may have been less likely to contain exorcistic features, since there was an assumption in the sect that members were preliminarily protected from demonic possession via the Spirit of Truth and the protection allotted through law-observance (CD XVI, 4-6; comp. XII, 2-6). Lastly, the non-Secarian texts are mostly narratives. Thus, the presence of exorcisms in non-Sectarian texts is more akin to the Sectarian texts since most of the passages only discuss spirit-possession in the context of overarching narratives or instructions. As I have noted above, however, no text is solely exorcistic. Every text examined in this dissertation contains at least some element of apotropaism, which suggests that the primary concern of the communities producing these texts was protection.

Another significant difference can be found between anti-demonic and anti-peccable texts. For the anti-demonic texts (Sectarian: 88%; Works of possible Sectarian origin: 100%; non-Sectarian texts: 76%), the Sectarian and non-Sectarian texts each contain at least 5 anti-peccable texts. Yet, 3 of the 5 anti-peccable Sectarian texts are also anti-demonic, while 1 of the 5 anti-peccable non-Sectarian texts is also anti-demonic. The most notable difference between the texts of possible Sectarian origin is the general lack of anti-peccable material. This may stem, once again, from the purpose of music and song in Second Temple period Judaism. Interestingly,

4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] are consistently apotropaic in nature, suggesting that songs composed by or for the Maskil were mainly concered with facilitating community protection.[538]

There are several other shared features among these texts worth noting. Ideas of what would, in later theological discourse, be called predestination and election,[539] for example, are present in at least half of the texts considered as apotropaic.[540] Being "chosen" by God is explicitly stated as part of the reason why evil forces are repelled or removed from an individual in various apotropaic texts from Qumran.[541] The apotropaic petition found in 1QH[a] IV, 33, for example, states: "the one whom you have chosen (בחרתה) [you determi]ne his way and through

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[538] Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 2-6.

[539] Scholars use the terms predestined, predetermined, fatalism, and like terms in different ways. James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 2d ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 102-103 uses the words "determinism" and "predestination" among others synonymously.Compare, for example, Eugene H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns*, STDJ 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 15; Armin Lange, "Wisdom and Predestination in the Dead Sea Scroll," *DSD* 2 (1995): 343; E.O. Tukasi, *Determinism and Petitionary Prayer in John and the Dead Sea Scrolls: An Ideological Reading of John and the Rule of the Community (1QS)* (London: T&T Clark, 2008), 14.

[540] The sectarian texts, by and large, offer a clear connection with predestination and election as part of God's method for repelling evil. They use terms like "chosen" and "elect" or synonymous terms and concepts to express God's protection of the community. The reason behind this seems to be because the texts are *for* the benefit of community members. Thus, election terminology was helpful in reifying their place in the cosmic battle against evil, of which the community labors in God's strength to resist and fight against Belial and his minions. Of the texts that are of possible sectarian origin, two texts (11QApocryphal Psalms and 6QHymn) offer terminology that may be connected with election and predestination, but in an indirect manner. Other texts in this category are so fragmentary that it is difficult to determine whether such language exists. The two texts that *do* contain such language are songs for dealing with evil spirits. These songs, like 4QSongs of the Sage, were probably used for relieving Jews of demonic activity. If these songs originated in a non-sectarian setting, they may have been adopted by the Qumran community because of the rhetoric of election and predestination. The non-sectarian texts that allude to predestination and election include two narratives (*Jubilees* and Tobit), a hymn (*Plea for Deliverance*), and a prayer (4QPrayer of Enosh?). *Jubilees'* apotropaic statements are also in the form of prayers. Tobit is the only text in this grouping that has election and predestination stated as part of why God wards away Asmodeus, and this is only in a roundabout way.

[541] Philip S. Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, eds. J.M.G. Barclay and S.J. Gathercole; LNTS 335(London: T&T Clark 2006), 48 notes the issue of free will and predestination in the Qumran texts and the similar issues held in later Calvinistic Christian theology: "If all is foreordained, if who is elect and who is damned is predetermined by God, how can humans be regarded as moral agents, since moral agency depends on free will? And if humans are not free agents what is the moral basis of punishment and reward? These were questions with which the later Calvinists and their opponents were to wrestle mightily. They are not directly addressed, as far as I am aware, in Qumran literature." See, however, the recent article by Justnes who argues that the way scholars have understood predestination in the Qumran scrolls is fundamentally flawed and based on later theological trends. Årstein Justnes, "Predetermined for Predestination? On the Assumed Notion of Predestination in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *SJOT* 33.1 (2019): 82-94.

insight…".[542] This insight is one of the mechanisms used by God to make the speaker obedient and to therefore sustain the individual against possible demonic attacks. Similarly, in the eschatological removal of the "unclean spirit" found in the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*, those who are indicated as receiving this purging are "those God has chosen (בחר) for an everlasting covenant" (1QS IV, 22).[543] This same sentiment is shared near the beginning of 1QSb I, 2: "he chose̊ them for the eternal covenant" (ויבחר בם לברית עֹולם).[544] Predeterminism and election are also a driving force throughout the War Scroll and related curse formulae. According to 1QM XIII, 2, the priests and the Levites praise God on account of his "holy plan" (מחשבת קודשו). Language centered around election follows, including being God's "[inhe]rit[ance]" (XIII, 7), "survivors of your covenant" (XIII, 8), and "eternal nation" (XIII, 9). Predestination is also at the focal point of God's election of the people, since he caused them to "fall into the lot of light" (XIII, 9).

That this teaching proliferates in at least half of the texts is not surprising given the general theme of the Qumran community being the elect people of God throughout the Sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls.[545] There is a trajectory based on the available evidence that the more

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[542] Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination,* 12-13 argues that: "predestination is one of the chief doctrines in 1QH, if not the most prominent."

[543] Magen Broshi, "Predestination in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls*, ed. Magen Broshi (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 247 has argued that the very idea of predestination stems from Essenes, which is obviously manifested within the community covenant relationship.

[544] On a more general level, the sectarian designation of being a "son of light" seems to be an appellation for the elect. Thus, we see in 4QCurses that set apart the wicked and evil spirits from the "sons of li[ght" (line 1). The blessing of 1QSb is afforded to people on the basis that God "chose them" (ויבחר בם; 1QSb I, 2). God's election ensures that, as a result, obedient community members will be "sustained" (ומחזקי; 1QSb I, 2) by the Holy Spirit.

[545] In the case of the scrolls that do not feature language referencing predestination and election, the following comments can be made: 1) 1QHymns, 4QCatalogue of Spirits, 4QExorcism, 4QPrayer A?, 4QHymnic Text B?, and 8QHymn are too fragmentary and do not contain any readily identifiable content that betrays predestination or election as part of the ritual; 2) *Plea for Deliverance* may contain two passing references that are connected with election. According to XIX, 6, God has heard the voice of "those who love his name" (אוהבי שמו). This phrase appears at only one other place in the Hebrew Bible (Ps 69:36) in the context of God saving Zion and the children of "his servants" inheriting the land. Additionally, in XIX, 7 the term "his devout" (חסידיו) is used. This phrase appears throughout the Psalms and in some instances (e.g., Ps 85:9, 148:14) may be connected with election. These passing statements play little role within the actual apotropaic petition and therefore should probably not be read as contributing to the significance of the ritual; 3) 1Q70[bis] may be situated within the broader framework of election

"impersonal" the document is, the less terminology focused around election and predestination occurs. The sectarian texts are being utilized by the Qumran community and thus attempt to ingrain a sense of protection based on God's special covenantal promises with them. On the other hand, those texts of possible sectarian origin only mention election and predestination in the contexts of songs, likely a feature that is reliant on mimicking the language of certain Psalms. Their incorporation into the Qumran library, therefore, may have depended on their use of predestination/election language. The non-sectarian texts are even less direct (aside from Ps 155). Tobit does not specifically connect God's election/predestination of Tobias and Sarah with the removal of Asmodeus. *Jubilees'* apotropaic sections, however, are contrary to the above-mentioned trajectory. This makes sense, since *Jubilees* is attempting to recapitulate the narrative of God's dealings with his chosen people.

Additionaly, according to more than half of the texts reviewed above, the knowledge[546] that God dispenses to individual members or leaders in the community is important for both obedience and, by extension, protection from either evil spirits or a generalized evil.[547] The

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and predestination by use of the term "sheep" in lines 2 and 5, but the work is too fragmentary to know this definitively; 4) 4QMMT only uses the term "chosen" of the location of Jerusalem as God's holy city (4QMMTᵃ 8, IV, 10-11); 5) 4Q444 contains the phrase "ri]ghteous ones" (צ[דיקים), but this could be a reference to obedience, not necessarily election; 6) 4QPrayer of Enosh? contains language that may be read as election rhetoric. According to 4Q369 1 II, 6, God is said to have made someone "a first-bo[rn] son to you" (ותשימהו לכה בן בכו]ר).

[546] In commenting on 1QS IV, 22 Ithamar Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism: Studies in Apocalypticism, Merkavah Mysticism and Gnosticism* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1988), 78 defines knowledge as follows: "the word דעת ('knowledge') may be taken to imply every aspect of divine wisdom: historical and ethical on the one hand, and cosmological and 'scientific' on the other."

[547] The early survey on the topic of knowledge in the scrolls completed by Davies is still of practical use. William D. Davies, "'Knowledge' in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Matthew 11:25–30," *HTR* 46 (1953): 113–39. In terms of direct statements versus indirect statements regarding knowledge, the following trends can be seen: The Sectarian texts contain 5 direct statements (1QHᵃ IV, 33-37; CD XVI, 6; 4Q511 18 ii 7-10; 4Q511 28 +29 2-3; 4Q511 48, 49 + 51) and 9 indirect statements regarding knowledge (1QS II, 1-4; 1QSb I, 3-4; 1QHᵃ XXII, 20-28; 1QM IX, 14-17; 4Q444 1, 1; 4QCurses; 4QBerᵃ 7 11, 12; 4Q511 16 4-5, 4QPrayer A? 1 4). These indirect statements are based upon God teaching or instructing human beings by revealing either the law or characteristics of who he is. Texts of possible sectarian origin contain 1 direct statement (6Q18 5 3) and 6 indirect statements (4QExorcism, 4Q147; 4QCatalogue of Spirits;11Q11 II, 7; 1QHymns 15 3; 4QPrayer of Enosh? 1 II, 10). These indirect statements are inferred based on the presence of lists of evil spirits. They are categorically different than those indirect statements found in the sectarian texts. Non-sectarian texts contain 1 direct statement (Prayer of Levi 1, I, 15-16) and 2 indirect statements (11Q5 XXIV, 5-9; Tobit). These indirect statements refer to knowledge given by an angel and God

ability to be perpetually obedient is often attributed to being dispensed knowledge or a spirit of knowledge.[548] According to 4Q444 1 1, for example, the speaker is said to "belong to those who fear God," which is based on the premise that God has placed in the heart of the speaker a "spirit of knowledge and understanding" in order to be "strong (ותתחזק) in the precepts of God and in battling against the spirits of iniquity" (4Q444 1 3-4). Another connection between knowledge and obedience can be found in the apotropaic hymns of 4QSongs of the Sage. The Maskil states that he detests "all deeds of impurity" on the basis that God has "made the knowledge of intelligence shine in my heart" (4Q511 18 II, 7-8).[549] 1QS II, 1-4 likewise mentions God's warding away of evil alongside him illuminating the heart "with the discernment of life" and "eternal knowledge."[550]

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instructing the reciter of a psalm regarding truth and the law. In total, 7 direct statements are made about knowledge in the apotropaic texts from Qumran, while there are 17 indirect statements made. The sectarian texts contain the most direct statements, which is consistent with those observations found in the previous section regarding predestination and election.

[548] On the relationship between being a covenant member and receiving knowledge, see Elliot R. Wolfson, "Seven Mysteries of Knowledge: Qumran E/Sotericism Recovered" in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, eds. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman, JSJSupp 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 200-201.

[549] On the use of knowledge in 4QSongs of the Sage, see Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience," 6-12.

[550] 1QHᵃ IV, 33-37 also connects knowledge, obedience, and possibly apotropaism. It is "through insight" (ובשכל) that God is able to make human beings resilient against sin (IV, 33-34). In the fragmentary prayer offered in 6Q18 5 3 the speaker claims that "they will] be steadfast (חזקו[י) through the spirit of knowledge." That both 4Q444 and 6Q18 use the term חזק in connection with the spirit of knowledge may suggest that it is either a metaphorical way to express being diligent in keeping the commandments or of remaining strong in the assurance that "they will not be destroyed" (6Q18 5 4), perhaps by evil spirits. These, of course, are not logically exclusive of one another. Being strong in the commandments has the result that the obedient are not destroyed. The "spirit of knowledge" is a reference to the messianic passage in Isa 11:2. Here, the shoot from the stump of Jesse is described as being adorned with various spirits, including "the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the LORD." The spirit of knowledge is connected with fearing God, which is another way of communicating obedience and right relationship between the creation and the creator (e.g., Hos 2:20). In Ps 155, the speaker asks God to "build up" (בנה; 11Q5 XXIV, 5) his soul and not to judge him because "no-one living is just in your presence" (כול חי כי לוא יצדק לפניכה; 11Q5 XXIV, 7). Because of this deficiency, the speaker asks God in 11Q5 XXIV, 8 to "Instruct me, YHWH, in your law, and teach me your precepts" (הביני יהוה בתורתכה ואת משפטיכה למדני). The expressed purpose of God teaching the speaker is so that "many may hear your deeds and nations may honour your glory" (וישמעו רבים מעשיכה ועמים יהדרו את כבודכה; 11Q5 XXIV, 9). A combination of God teaching the speaker, as well as purifying him from sin, is the context in which the speaker asks God not to allow the נגע רע to return to him. The purification of the נגע רע apparently requires the need for the speaker to petition God not to let it return, which in part must be facilitated through God's dispersion of knowledge. Knowledge seems to be a necessary component of the apotropaic *Prayer of Levi* as well. In his petition, Levi asks for "w]isdom, knowledge, and strength" (ח[כמה ומנדע וגבורה; 1 I, 14) so that he might find favour with God and do "what is pleasant and good" (דשפיר ודטב) before God (1 I, 15-16). In order that Levi remain obedient, he therefore petitions God not to let any satan have power over him. The combination of knowledge and strength points

Presumably, knowledge is selectively given to the community, thus outsiders are unable to reap any apotropaic effects, since they are unable to be obedient.[551] The importance of knowledge in the apotropaic texts from Qumran is considerable.[552] It peremeates the beginning stages of initiation into the sect, sustains members' obedience to God's laws, and provides valuable tools to members and apparently the leadership of the sect.[553] The revelation of God's divine attributes and character as well as information about evil spirits in general (e.g., their names and characteristics) are used as weapons against evil and provides the basis for most of the rituals examined throughout this dissertation.

Further, in many of the apotropaic texts from Qumran, obedience to God either enacts or sustains the apotropaic effect *or* it is the necessary component required for God to respond to an apotropaic petition. The most obvious example is the deterrence of Mastema through obedience in CD XVI, 4-6. The apotropaic effect wards away demons, yet evil spirits or a person's own heart may still influence them to sin. Sin removes the apotropaic protection, which requires the person to repent of their iniquity and return to a state of perpetual obedience. To remedy the possibility that one might lose this apotropaic protection, the texts reveal that one should petition God to "sustain" them so that the possibility of disobedience will be minimized or abolished.[554]

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toward a typical trope in the apotropaic texts from Qumran, where the individual needs God to continually sustain them in order that the evil spirits or their own inclination do not take over.

[551] William H. Brownlee, "The Ineffable Name of God," *BASOR* 226 (1977): 40-42 understood the title "God of Knowledge" in the *Serekh* texts to be an indicator of God's ordaining of the cosmos. A similar view is held by Michael Segal who views the title as a term reflecting predestination. Michael Segal, "1 Samuel 2:3: Text, Exegesis and Theology," *Shnaton* 13 (2002): 83-95.

[552] For a helpful survey of some texts using the epiphet "God of Knowledge" and its interpretive importance and options, see Arjen Bakker, "The God of Knowledge: Qumran Reflections on Divine Prescience Based on 1 Sam 2:3," *RevQ* 26.3 (2014): 361-374.

[553] Gruenwald, *From Apocalypticism to Gnosticism*, 83: "Knowledge brings salvation, and, *mutatis mutandis,* salvation leads to knowledge."

[554] The sectarian texts exhibit frequent use of obedience as a method and qualification for apotropaism (1QS, 1QH^a, 1QM, CD, 4QSongs of the Sage^a-b, 4Q444). The non-sectarian texts also contain similar rhetroric or concepts (*Plea for Deliverance,* 4QAramaic Levi, *Jubilees*, and Tobit), though they are all in the context of prayers. Only one text from those of possible sectarian origin (11QApocryphal Psalms) contains language centered around obedience. Such a large discrepancy may be attributed to the fragmentary nature of those scrolls of possible sectarian origin. We

Finally, half of the texts analyzed refer to concepts such as eschatological blessing or punishment. Threats of eternal punishment directed towards evil spirits was a common tactic employed for apotropaic protection at Qumran. In the prayer spoken by the high priest in 1QM XV, for example, he states that during the last battle, God will raise his hand against "all the wic[ked] spirits" (רוחי רש[עה כול; XV, 14) and that he will "remove Belial" (להסיר בל[ֹיעל; XV, 17). XV, 18 also mentions "at his destruction" (באבדונו), which means that Belial will be destroyed. Likewise, in 4QBer[a] 7 II, 4-6, Belial and the spirits of his lot are damned to the "everlasting pit" (לשחת עולמים) and "until their annihilation" (עד תוממה). The curse is structured in such a way so as to ensure that the evil spirits will reap eschatological punishment, indicated by the use of עד. Additionally, the promise of eschatological rewards and transformation allowed community members to reify their status as covenant members. This further protected them through an emotional impulse to continue in obedience to the law and to imagine the ultimat defeat of Belial and his minions. Interestingly, the majority of the eschatological content in the apotropaic texts from Qumran comes from liturgical material (4QBerakhot[a], 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b], 11QApocryphal Psalms, 6QHymn, 1Q70[bis], 1QHymns, 4QCatalogue of Spirits[a]).[555] One reason for this may be because the songs were produced in sectarian and/or apocalyptic settings where the end of the world was thought of as imminent, leading the writers to produce anti-demonic works with an eschatological focus. With such a focus, the concept of cosmic battles

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might expect that since other hymnic works such as the Hodayot and 4QSongs of the Sage[a-b] contain connections between obedience and apotropaism, that these other works may have also originally contained similar sentiments. The only exceptions are 4QBerakhot[a] and 4QCurses.

[555] This is not surprising since, as Newsom points out, one of the main objectives of the liturgical practices at Qumran were to participate with the heavenly host. The logical link between angels and apocalypticism likely helped shape the eschatological elements found within the apotropaic texts examined. See Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*, HSS 27 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985) 17-18, 19, 53, 64-65, 71-72.

between evil spirits and angels were readily available to center liturgical material around.[556] Eschatological expectations are also linked to pereptual obedience (e.g., 1QS IX, 11) and looking forward to the consummation of the present evil age when the human will and mind would be so altered that demonic interference and sinful inclinations were thwarted.[557] 1QM XIII, for example, states that God's lot is "for everlasting light" (XIII, 6) and he established a covenant with Israel's offspring "for time[s] eternal" (למוע[ד]י עולמים; XIII, 8) to be an "eternal nation" (עם עולמים; XIII, 9) for "everlasting service" (למעמד עולמים; XIII, 16). To be "for everlasting light" appears to be an idiomatic way of expressing obedience.

In summary, God imparts special revelation to those he has predestined in the apotropaic Dead Sea Scrolls. This revelation is a combination of knowledge regarding God's character, the nature of the universe (including the spiritual world), and methods for dealing with the problems of evil. This knowledge also allows human beings to be taken over by a new spiritual disposition, allowing them to obey God's commands, albeit imperfectly.[558] It is this obedience that tends to identify the human agent as part of God's lot and thereby activate the apotropaic effect. This protection, however, is not perfect, and human beings are still able to fall into sin either due to the prompting of evil spirits *or* the temptation of their own evil hearts. Because of God's protection in the life of the obedient follower, they are promised eschatological security should they continue in obedience according to their predetermined lot. This assurance of eschatological salvation, however, has an additional benefit in that it helps both reify the follower's

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[556] On the general idea of the eschatological age at Qumran, see John J. Collins, "The Expectation of the End in the Dead Sea Scrolls" in *Christian beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, eds. John J. Collins and Craig A. Evans (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2006), 74-90.

[557] See Paul E. Hughes, "Moses' Birth Story: A Biblical Matrix for Prophetic Messianism," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* eds. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 12.

[558] See Barry D. Smith "'Spirit of Holiness' as Eschatological Principle of Obedience," in *Christian beginnings and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 75-100.

commitment to be obedient to God's law *and* to terrify evil spirits because of the coming

judgement and subsequent glorification of the human.

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