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How to Expel a Demon

Form- and Tradition-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms

The extant portions of manuscript 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11) contain several psalms unknown before the Qumran finds and a slightly different version of Psalm 91.¹ The scroll has received a fair amount of scholarly attention that can be roughly divided into two spheres of interest, viz., the close reading of the Hebrew text and placing the psalms in the manuscript into the larger context of late Second Temple period Judaism.² But apart from studies dealing with the manuscript's version

¹ The reasons for the differences between the versions of Psalm 91 have been discussed in Mika S. Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm 91: A Structural Analysis," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitiola and J. Jokiranta; JSJSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 591–605.

² The amount of attention given to the close reading of the Hebrew text correlates with the amount of editorial work done on this manuscript by different scholars. The preliminary publication of the manuscript was made in two articles by Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg, "Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumrân," *RB* 72 (1965): 210–17; idem, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp^a)," in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt. Festschrift für Karl Georg Kuhn* (ed. G. Jeremias, H. W. Kuhn and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 128–39. The work on the scroll was carried on by Émile Puech who has thus far written three articles on 11Q11 with all of them having some differences in how he has read the text as well as the reconstructions he offers, see Émile Puech, "11QPsAp^a: Un rituel d'exorcismes. Essai de reconstruction," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 377–408; idem, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp^a IV 4-V 14," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 64–89; idem, "Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Pro-*

of Psalm 91,³ there has been very little work done on the individual psalms or on the compilation as a whole.⁴

There are two major theories concerning the content of 11QapocrPs. The first is that at least some of the psalms on 11Q11 are

ceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998. Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet (ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 160–81. Another edition of the entire manuscript was published by James A. Sanders just before the publication of the official DJD edition of the text, see 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. Vol. 4A, Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth and H. W. L. Rietz with P. W. Flint et al.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 216–33. The *editio princeps* of the manuscript was finally published in 1998 by Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam S. van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” in *Qumran Cave 11, II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (ed. F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude; DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 181–205.

An equal amount of attention has been given to the text in the manuscript in relation to its placement within the broader framework of late Second Temple period Judaism; see, e.g., 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* (ed. S. E. Porter and C. A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–37; Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Published in Honor of Joseph M. Baumgarten* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–436; 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 International Symposium of The Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000* (ed. E. G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); David Lincicum, “Scripture and Apotropaism in the Second Temple Period,” *BN* 138 (2008): 63–87.

³ Cf. Hermann Lichtenberger, “Ps 91 und die Exorzismen in 11QPsAp^a,” in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and D. K. F. Römhald; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 416–21; Matthias Henze, “Psalm 91 in Premodern Interpretation and at Qumran,” in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: W. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 168–93; Pajunen, “Qumranic Psalm,” 591–605; Corinna Körting, “Text and Context – Ps 91 and 11QPsAp^a,” in *The Composition of the Book of Psalms* (ed. E. Zenger; BETL 238; Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 567–78.

⁴ But note Mika S. Pajunen, “The Function of 11QPsAp^a as a Ritual,” in *Text 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), 50–60; idem, “The Use of Different Aspects of the Deuteronomistic Ideology in Apocryphal Psalms,” in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period* (ed. J. Pakkala, M. Marttila, and H. von Weissenberg; BZAW 419; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 347–67.

meant to exorcize demons. The second is the identification of the scroll as *the* four songs to be sung over the stricken that are mentioned in the large psalms manuscript from Cave 11 among a list of psalms that David wrote (11QPs^a 27:2–11).⁵ The second theory seems quite unlikely to be correct. According to my recent investigation on this subject, the identification is problematic both in terms of 11QPs^a and 11QapocrPs. The mention of the four songs in 11QPs^a is intended as a reminder that David wrote exorcisms that were to be sung on the four intercalary days.⁶ In terms of 11QapocrPs, the theory is problematic both in terms of the number of psalms and the identification of all of these with David.⁷

The first theory in turn serves as the starting point of this investigation. It was recognized early on by Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg that at least some of the psalms included on this scroll were anti-demonic in nature, that is, their purpose seemed to be to drive out evil spirits.⁸ Émile Puech has further developed this theory and argues that the scroll constitutes a ritual of healing made up of psalms of exorcism.⁹ While this hypothesis seems likely to be correct in light of the extant text on 11QapocrPs, it is striking that very little has been done to establish the boundaries of the individual psalms by textual, form-critical, and tradi-

⁵ Both theories were first formulated by van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 129, and were later further elaborated by Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 378–99. The identification of 11QapocrPs as the “four songs to be sung over the stricken” mentioned in 11QPs^a has been supported, for example by Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 216; Alexander, “Wrestling against Wickedness,” 326; Lange, “The Essene Position,” 380. The exorcism function of most or all of the psalms on the scroll has thus far been widely accepted. For the edition of 11QPs^a, see James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).

⁶ Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381* (JAJSupp 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 55–61. Cf. Jonathan Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years. Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 51–52; Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 83–84.

⁷ Cf. Eileen M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 14; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 183; Bohak, *Ancient Jewish*, 109.

⁸ Van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 129.

⁹ Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 378–99. This claim has been widely accepted by scholars, see, e.g., Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 216; Alexander, “Wrestling against Wickedness,” 326–27; Lichtenberger, “Ps 91 und die Exorzismen,” 420; Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community* (STDJ 60; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 167.

tion-critical criteria. Similarly, it has not been investigated how the individual psalms function as parts of the overall ritual.

There have thus far been two form-critical studies of psalms dealing with demons, but neither one has concentrated on 11QapocrPs and the studies have not utilized one another's results. Bilhah Nitzan compared 4Q510-511 *Songs of the Sage* that derive from the Qumran movement with later incantations mostly preserved in Aramaic and found that they had the same basic elements.¹⁰ The results of Nitzan's study have not yet been utilized for research on 11QapocrPs, but many of the elements common to the later Aramaic magic bowl inscriptions and the *Songs of the Sage* can also be found in the psalms of 11QapocrPs.

Esther Eshel in turn analyzed the psalms and prayers dealing with demons preserved in the MT book of Psalms and among the Dead Sea Scrolls and she was able to make an important distinction between two different kinds of psalms, viz., incantations and apotropaic prayers.¹¹ Incantations are meant to expel demons from a person thought to be possessed by them whereas apotropaic prayers are used to provide protection from the attacks of demons. Eshel's categorization is adopted in this study and thus the central form-critical terms of the study are: exorcism, incantation, and apotropaic prayer. For the latter two terms the above definitions based on their function are used, and exorcism is understood as the overall act of expelling a demon, which might be accomplished by a simple incantation or might require a complex ritual consisting of both incantations and apotropaic prayers and possibly other kinds of material as well.

This study provides a form- and tradition-critical assessment of 11QapocrPs that will allow for a greater appreciation of the nuances of the individual psalms and the ritual they make up. Nitzan's and Eshel's studies will be utilized, but there is also comparative material that their studies did not treat that is much closer to the probable time when the

¹⁰ Bilhah Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran—4Q510–4Q511," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 53–63.

¹¹ Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88.

ritual in 11QapocrPs was compiled. The scroll 11Q11 is among the latest manuscripts found at Qumran according to paleographical dating, dated to c. 50-70 C.E.¹² The ritual may naturally be older than that, but it is also a possibility that this might be the original compilation. Josephus preserves several stories of exorcisms situated to the first decades C.E. and the New Testament provides many accounts of both incantations and apotropaic prayers and their usage in a first-century C.E. Jewish context and nearly always written by a person brought up as a Jew.¹³ Especially the gospels record multiple incantations allegedly uttered by Jesus as well as descriptions of settings where such prayers were used (e.g., Mark 9:14–28, Matt 8:28–32). While apotropaic prayers are not as plentiful in the New Testament as incantations, even the Lord's Prayer functions as one when it reads: *καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ*; “And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one” (Matt 6:13 NRSV).

This study will proceed first with an analysis of the individual psalms by a close reading of the Hebrew text, by establishing the boundaries and movement of the psalms with the aid of textual and form-critical evidence, and by evaluating their primary function(s). Then the complete ritual is scrutinized in the light of the individual parts it consists of and their order. Finally, what the possible settings of the ritual could have been in view of the available traditions will be explored.

¹² García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 184.

¹³ While it is generally acknowledged that there was no early parting of the ways between what later became known as Rabbinic Judaism and Christianity, such an idea nevertheless frequently plays an unnecessary and perhaps partly unconscious role in the selection of relevant source material.

The Individual Psalms of 11QapocrPs

It is difficult to ascertain how many psalms there originally were on the complete scroll or even how many there are now among the surviving parts since especially the beginning of the scroll is so damaged.¹⁴ There are remains of five columns (II–VI) on the opened scroll and additional fragments that belong to at least two previous columns (frgs. 1, 2 and I). The fragments probably come from a separate sheet from columns II–VI, as the opened scroll does not have any visible ruling but the fragments do. There is no indication as to the original length of the scroll. The remaining fragments probably come from the final seven columns, but it is probable that there were columns preceding the remaining ones. Sheets with just two columns are quite rare and it would be even odder to have such a short sheet followed by an unusually long one with five columns. This makes it probable that there was material preceding the extant fragments. Although what remains are psalm compositions, the possibility cannot be entirely discounted that the beginning of the manuscript might also have held prose text describing the ritual or its setting (cf. 1QS).

¹⁴ Puech has distinguished exactly four psalms from the manuscript, which conforms to his thesis about the scroll consisting of exactly the four Davidic psalms to be sung over the stricken mentioned in 11QPs^a. Puech, “Les Psaumes,” 160–81, separates the psalms as follows: psalm 1 columns 01 and I, psalm 2 col. II 1–V 3, psalm 3 col. V 4–VI 3a and psalm 4 (Ps 91) col. VI 3b–14. Note the length of the first two psalms compared to the last two.

The Fragments that Preceded the Extant Scroll (frgs. 1-4 and col. I)

Fragment 1

15]וה[1
 16]מב[2
]הא[3
]סםע[4
 17]דסא[5
]סוכות[6
]לםו[7

Translation

1]*wh*[
 2]*mb*[
 3] *b*ʾ[
 4].*m* ʾ[
 5]*dm* .[
 6]booths .[
 7]*lm* and[

¹⁵ The letters visible on the scroll have been read with the aid of PAM photographs and the Dead Sea Scrolls electronic reference library, but the original manuscript has also been consulted at the facilities of the IAA in 2005 and 2012 to ascertain the readings. For reasons of space the letters seen differently from some of the other scholars are not discussed here if someone else has read them the same way. The readings that have an impact on the interpretation of the text will be argued as will the letters read differently from everyone else. Puech has in his editions filled almost all the lacunas with textual reconstructions and while it is a possible way of seeing the text, a more minimalistic approach has been chosen here. The reconstructions, with a couple of exceptions that will be noted, come from the editions of van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau”; Puech, “11QPsAp^a”; idem, “Les Psaumes”; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs.”

¹⁶ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 188; Puech, “Les Psaumes,” 176, read the first extant letter as *kaf*. However, a close examination of the original fragment shows that the letter is a *mem* with a partly abraded sloping stroke. The beginning and end of the stroke are clear and distinct enough for the letter to be recognized as *mem* even without the abraded portion.

¹⁷ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 188, mark the last letter as unidentifiable, and Puech, “Les Psaumes,” 176, reads it as *waw*. The letter is *alef* because both the downward slanting leg and the hand branching from it are observable on the original fragment.

Fragment 2

Column i

[1

סה[2

ת[3

שיד[4

Column ii

ב] 5

את] 6

שבעים] 7

לֹם] 8

Translation

Col. i

1]

2].*b*3]*t*4]*syk*

Col. ii

5 *b*[6 *t*'[

7 seventy[

8 *l*[

Fragment 3

]ֹם[1

] למים [2

] אחת[3

Translation

1].[

2] to water [

3]one[

Fragment 4

]ת[1

] יריק [2

*Translation*1]*t*[

2] he emptied [

Column I

וּבֹכֶהוּ[	2
שְׁבוּעָה[	3
]בִּיהוּה[	4
]תִּנֵּן אֵ[	5
¹⁸]ת האו[	6
]מִשְׁבַּ[	7
]אֵת בִּ[	8
]הַזֹּאֵת[	9
]אֵת הַשֵּׁד[	10
]וּשְׁבַ[	11

Translation

- 2 [...]and weeps for him
 3 [...]oath
 4 [...]in YHWH[...]
 5 [...]serpent ↑[...]
 6 [...] *t h'w*[...]
 7 [...] *mšb*[...]
 8 [...] *ʾ b*[...]
 9 [...]this[...]
 10 [...] *ʾ demon*[...]
 11 [...]and *šb*[...]

Unfortunately the beginning of the scroll is damaged so badly that the average count of less than one whole word per line does not allow for more than speculation on its contents. Whether the extant fragments come from two or three columns cannot be decided conclusively and therefore the fragments are presented here according to their numbering in the DJD edition,¹⁹ not as parts of columns 01 and I as they appear in Puech's latest article.²⁰ The fragments come from at least two columns as is evident on fragment 2. Fragments 3 and 4 can be situated in nearly

¹⁸ The last letter is probably not *resh* (so van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau," 130; Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 397; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 218; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 188) as there is no sign of the horizontal stroke or the angle beginning it. The shape of the head shows it to be *waw*.

¹⁹ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 185–88.

²⁰ Puech, "Les Psaumes," 176–77.

any lacuna on the scroll so they are treated in this section only to make the list of fragments complete, not as a suggestion about their placement, which cannot be made with any confidence.

The most that can be said about the content of these fragments is that the mention of a demon(s) (I 10) and serpent (I 5) in column I point, in light of the other songs, to the possibility that at least one of the compositions preceding the opened scroll is an incantation or an apotropaic prayer. The number of columns (at least two) suggests that there was more than one psalm in them, but this cannot be shown with certainty.

A Solomonic Psalm with a Celestial Trial (II 1–III 13)

Column II

21	01	[שֹׁמֵן]	1
		[שְׁלֹמֶה וִיקָרֵא]	2
		[הָרוּחוֹת וְהַשְּׂדִים]	3
		[אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם בָּשָׁן]	4
		[שֶׁרֶץ] [לֵאמֹר] [תִּהְיֶה]	5
		[לִשְׁׁוֹן] [הַגִּדִּי] [אֶל־זֶה]	6

²¹ Columns V and VI show that the manuscript originally had at least fourteen lines. It is possible that there were even more lines as there is no extant upper margin, but at least fourteen lines should be assumed for all the columns as Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 386–87, has done.

²² The first letter after the lacuna is *bet*, *kaf* or *gimel*. The third letter is not final *mem* (read by Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 386 and Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 220) because the lower stroke bends too much and is too long to be the lower stroke of final *mem*. The letter is also higher in comparison with the preceding letters than final *mem* usually is in this manuscript. The letter is *kaf*, medial *mem* or *pe* of which medial *mem* is the most likely.

²³ The last letter of the line is not *he* (read by van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 130; Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 386; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 220; García Martínez, Tigheelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 189) as the crossbar is between the vertical strokes not on top of them and over them as *he* should be. Therefore, the letter is probably *khet*.

²⁴ There is a word division between *taw* and *he*. If they were part of the same word they would be much closer to each other (cf. column III 1).

7	][◦◦]	[עמי ת◦◦◦ רפאה
8		על [שמך נשען וקה]ל ²⁶
9		יש[ראל החזק
10		[את השמים
11		]◦[הבדיל]
12		]◦[עד]
13		

Column III

01		
1	[תה]	[את הימ] ²⁷
2	להארץ וע]	[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[מזרים]
5	[וא]ת כול זר[ע הרשע]	אשר יושבו ²⁸ לפני]ו ויעיד א]ת
6	[כול הש]מים ו[את כול]	הארץ] בהם [אשר יעש]ו על
7	[כול אי]ש חטא ועל כול א[דם]	הם יודעים
8	[או אשר אינם]	]ה אם לוא
9	[מלפני יהוה ל◦]	]להרוג נפש

²⁵ A tentative reconstruction based on the following lines (and perhaps the previous as well) being a direct speech to God.

²⁶ The last visible letter on the line is probably not *resh* (read by van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 130; Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 386; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 220; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 189). If the letter were a *resh* there should be more of the vertical stroke visible, since it is usually not straight, but slants to the left. The ink trace fits *alef*, *he*, or *tsade*. The tentative reconstruction would fit well into a parallel clause with “Israel” that is found on the next line.

²⁷ Others have read the letters before the final lacuna as parts of the same word (cf. van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 132), but there is a clear word division between *taw* and *he*. The first letter is not the *he* suggested by Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 387 and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 191, as the vertical stroke slants from left to right. The legs of *he* are either straight or slant the other way from this trace. The only letter that has this kind of a stroke is *alef*. The penultimate letter can be either *waw* or *yod*, but the shape is more in line with *yod*.

²⁸ The first three letters of this word are very hard to decipher. The third letter is not *tsade* as read by Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 387; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 222; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 192, as the small line on the top of the left hand of *tsade* should be visible and there is not enough space for the baseline stroke. The trace seems to be the top of a vertical stroke and thus it fits *sin* or *khet* best. Of these two *sin* is more likely. There are also traces of two preceding letters and both of them fit best with the shape of *waw/yod* although the minute traces leave open other possibilities as well.

יהוה ויירא[ו את המכה ה]גדולה הזוא[ת	10
וירדף א[חד מכם א]לף[מעבדי יהוה]	11
ג[דולה ו]ת[	12
	13

Translation

II 01 – 1 [...] *šm* [...] 2 [...] Solomon and he will cry for h[elp ...] 3 [... spi]rits and demons [...] 4 [...] These are [the de]mons *bš*[...] *mḥ* 5 [...] *šr* [...] [...] *l* [...] *t b* [...] *k* 6 [...] *š* [...] *hgd* [...] my [Go]d 7 [...] [...] with me *t*... a cure 8 [...] relying [upon] your name and the assem[bly] 9 [...] Is]rael. Support²⁹ 10 [...] the heavens 11 [...] *r* separated [...] 12 [...] until [...] 13 – III 01 – 1 [...] *tb* [...] *t hym* [...] 2 to the earth and '[...]earth. Who m[ade these miracles] 3 and wond[ers on the] earth? He, YHWH [is the one who] 4 made t[hese through] his [strengt]h, who compels the b[astards] 5 [and] all the see[d of evil]that have been set before [him], to take an oath. [And he calls] 6 [all the hea]vens and[all] the earth [as witnesses against them]who committ[ed]upon 7 [all me]n sin and against all pe[ople ...] *hm* they know 8 [...] *w* which they do not [...] *b* if not 9 [...] from before YHWH *l* [...] killing the soul 10 [...] YHWH and [they] will fear tha[t] great [blow.] 11 [And o]ne of you [will put to flight] a tho[usand ...] of the servants of YHW[H] 12 [...] g]reat and [...] *r t* [...] 13 –

The mention of Solomon's name (col. II 2) means that it is probable that a new psalm begins either on that line or the one preceding it. Solomon is known in several sources as having composed incantations against evil spirits (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 8.45). Therefore, it is likely that this psalm is ascribed to him.³⁰ Apparently what follows (II 4–5) is a list of demons (cf. 4QShir^a 1 5–6). According to Nitzan's study, the mention of evil spirits usually comes near the beginning of exorcisms, making it more likely that the psalm begins where suggested.³¹ The psalm continues with a direct speech to God (II 5?, 6–9) that has apparent

²⁹ The second person (sg.) is taken as referring to God, not a human as others have done (cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocrPs," 191). In light of the previous lines it is more probable that the second person (sg.) would still be used for God. For the meaning "sustain/support," cf. Lev 25:35; Isa 42:6, 45:1.

³⁰ Puech's ("Les Psaumes," 109) suggestion of this being a Davidic psalm having an incantation in the name of Solomon is unlikely to be correct as there is, as far as I am aware, no other known composition that had a comparable title.

³¹ Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 53–63.

pleas for a cure and support. The 2nd person (sg.) is used for God and the speaker is referred to with the 1st person. What follows (II 10–III 2) is next to impossible to decipher, but it appears that God is referred to in the 3rd person (sg.) and his works of creation are expounded upon (as in III 2–4).³² After this the scene changes to one of a celestial trial (III 4–10) where God acts as the judge.³³ The evil spirits are the accused (referred to with the 3rd person plural). They are set before the judge and heaven and earth are called as witnesses (III 5–6).³⁴ Then apparently the charges (III 6–8) are given and finally the verdict (III 9–10). After the scene of the trial there is likely another first person speech where God is referred to in the 3rd person (sg.) and an audience/congregation in the 2nd person (pl.). The remnants of line 11 probably belong to two parallel colons that express the audience's power as the servants of YHWH over the demons. It is emphasized that even one of them is able to chase away a thousand demons (cf. Josh 23:10).³⁵ It is likely that the psalm ends soon after because the sentence for the evil spirits has been passed and the power of the audience and the speaker over the demons has been established.

In line III 4 of the psalm the word **משביע** is used for the first time in the extant compilation. This word is used as a technical term in (especially later) incantations in Hebrew (and Aramaic), such as the Aramaic magic bowl inscriptions, and in Greek as well where the corresponding term is $\delta\rho\kappa\iota\zeta\omega$.³⁶ Eshel remarks that the term is used in incantations meant to banish evil spirits, but not in apotropaic pray-

³² The Deuteronomistic word pair **אותות ומופתים** is typically used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the wonders God performed in Egypt, but are here instead used about the acts of God in the Creation.

³³ For the use of the root **ישב** in a court context, see 1 Kgs 21:9–10, where the accused is set before the court (cf. Mic 6).

³⁴ The notion of heaven and earth acting as witnesses in a trial is taken from Deuteronomy (cf. Deut 30:19; 31:28).

³⁵ For details on how the psalmist has used Deuteronomistic military oration in lines 10–11, see Pajunen, "The Use of Different Aspects," 354.

³⁶ For examples of this usage, see Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 56–57. Cf. Eric Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism in the New Testament and Early Christianity* (WUNT II/157; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 132–33.

ers.³⁷ Therefore, it is important for the genre of the psalm to know what the meaning of the word is here (and in column IV 1 where it occurs again). The meaning of the term in the Hebrew Bible relates to taking an oath in court or otherwise (cf. Josh 2:17–20; 1 Kgs 2:42; 22:16) and the subject is always a human whereas in the later Aramaic incantations it is used as a *terminus technicus*. In the NT, which falls in between these text corpora, the term is used twice (Mark 5:7, Acts 19:13), in the first case the word is used in the sense of the Hebrew Bible, but in the second it is clearly used in the technical sense it has in incantations. As there is no one clear usage of the term at least in the first century C.E., the meaning must be based on the context. In this column of 11QapocPs the word seems to start a scene of judgment and it should be interpreted in the meaning the term has in the Hebrew Bible, i.e., taking an oath. There is no need to mention the oath itself; the term is enough; cf. 2 Kgs 11:4. This makes better sense of the clause especially as now there is no need to assume that the action adjured to be taken is introduced by the אשר sentence, which would be awkward. As this is a court setting, the persons taking the oath are the accused and thus they are likely not the angels reconstructed in the lacunas by most other scholars.³⁸ Therefore, it is best to fill the lacunas with the alternative reconstructions offered by the DJD editors, viz., מְזוֹרִים and זָרַע הָרָשָׁע.³⁹

If the beginning and end of this psalm have been correctly judged it would seem to make a unified whole. It has several components found in incantations, i.e., a list of evil spirits, the use of God's name for protection, and the works of Creation as a way of explaining/praising God's power over the spirits.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the personal forms are used in a similar way all through the psalm. The psalm seems to be directed against evil spirits as a "species" or at least giving power over multiple different categories of them (the more powerful demons

³⁷ Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 85–87.

³⁸ Cf. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocPs," 194.

³⁹ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11QapocPs," 194.

⁴⁰ For the use of these in exorcisms and for examples of the use of the creation motifs, see Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 55–62.

like Satan do not appear in the list in the psalm nor in the similar one in 4QShir^a, which seems to indicate a need for a specific psalm to banish them).⁴¹ It seems likely that the psalm is to be categorized either as an incantation meant to work in banishing many different “lesser” spirits or as an apotropaic prayer meant to provide protection from them. The psalm has no direct address of a demon, which Eshel connects with incantations,⁴² but there is a mention of a cure (II 7) as well as power over demons (III 11), which do point toward an incantation. Another point to be made is that as this psalm is to be used against many different demons the absence of a direct speech might relate to that instead of marking the genre of this particular psalm. The issue cannot be decided conclusively with the fragmentary text that is preserved, but both options remain viable.

An Incantation for Exorcizing a Demon (IV 1–V 3)

Column IV

1	[ו]גדול]	[משביע]
2	והגדול ב]	[מלאך]תקיף ור]
3	כול הארץ]	[השמים ו]
4	יככה יהוה מ]	[כה גדול] ה אשר לאבדך]
5	ובחרון אפן]	[ישלח]עליך מלאך תקיף]
6	[רו אשר]	[בלוא]רחמ[ים] עליך אש]
7	[על כול אלה אש]	[יוריד]ך ⁴³ לתהום רבה
8	[ולשאל] התחתיה ומי]	[כב וחשך

⁴¹ In this connection see also Mark 9:38–39.

⁴² Eshel, “Apotropaic Prayers,” 69–88. She did not use the NT in her study, but it is easily observable that direct address of the demon(s) is characteristic of incantations in the NT too.

⁴³ The reconstruction is taken from García Martínez, Tigheelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 197, as it fits well in the context. However, they have reconstructed the word in the plural because of the preceding אלה, but it is likely that it is not used here to refer to a new plural entity, but is rather used as a bridge connecting the preceding sentences to the following, i.e., in addition to the things mentioned before, the angel will do the following. Thus, the 3rd person singular form has been reconstructed since one less *waw* does not make the reconstruction too short for the lacuna.

9	כה מואדה]	הד ⁴⁴ בארץ
10	עד עולם וא	בכללת האב]
11	הרון אף י ⁹ הוה	חושך בכ]
12	תעניות]	מתנתך]
13	ל]	ה ל
14		

Column V

1	]]]	דב ⁴⁵]	כו ⁴⁶]
2	אש	הפגוע	]
3	נד בוא ⁴⁷]	אל שלם ⁴⁸]	סלה vacat

Translation

IV 1 [and] great [...]adjoining[...] 2 and the great b[...] powerful [angel] and r[...] 3 all the earth[...] the heavens and[...] 4 YHWH will smite you with a [grea]t b[low] to destroy you[...] 5 and in his wrath[he will send] against you a powerful angel[...] 6 [...]rw who [will not show] merc[y] to you, wh[o ...] 7 [...] who will, in addition to all this, [take] you [down] to the great abyss 8 [and to the] deepest [Sheol] and my[...]kb and dark 9 [...]kh greatly [...]hd on the earth 10 [...]forever and [...] with a curse h'b[...] 11 [...]anger of

⁴⁴ The first trace after the lacuna is the tip of a horizontal stroke that best fits *dalet*, *he* and *resh* but the *waw* read by Puech “11QPsAp^a,” 387; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 224; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 196; cannot be entirely ruled out.

⁴⁵ The second letter is likely *bet* as the characteristic bit that crosses over to the right side of the vertical stroke is visible. Moreover, the vertical line is too straight to belong to *qof* as suggested by Puech “11QPsAp^a,” 387, and Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 226.

⁴⁶ The first letter after the lacuna is probably *kaf* not *bet* as read by Puech “11QPsAp^a,” 387 and Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 226, because the vertical stroke is curved and the horizontal stroke does not cross the vertical as in *bet*. There is a trace of a letter after *kaf* that might belong to a *waw* or *yod*.

⁴⁷ There is no clear division between words to be found and thus van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 135, reads these five letters as one word. However, García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 200, correctly argue that there probably should be a division and place it between *waw* (which they read as *yod*) and *alef*. If there is a word division that was meant by the scribe that is definitely not the place for it. The only space between these five letters that is slightly wider than might be regularly expected inside one word is between *dalet* and *bet*. The penultimate letter can just as well be a *waw* as a *yod* (cf. the same word in column V 4).

⁴⁸ The reconstruction רפאל שלם [R]aphael has healed them” offered by Puech (“11QPsAp^a,” 387) is a good possibility (although there is no trace left of the final letter) and probably correct if the colon refers to healing, but it could also point to the completion of the command(s) given by God to the powerful angel and in that case a more plausible reconstruction that would fit the remaining traces of the first letter just as well would be מלכאל שלם [M]ichael has completed it/them.”

Y[HWH ...]darkness *bḵ*[...] 12 [...]humiliation [...] your gift 13 [...] / [...] *h*
b. [...] 14— V 1 [...] [...] *db* [...] *kw* [...] 2 who [...] stricken [...] 3 depart, go
 away [...]. *ʔ* completed [...] *Selah* *vacat*

The most marked difference from the previous psalm is that this one is directed against a single demon instead of a myriad of evil spirits. The exact starting point of the psalm is not evident, but if the word מַשְׁבִּיעַ is used here in the sense it has in incantations, the psalm would start either on IV 1 or the line preceding it, as incantations usually begin with this term.⁴⁹ After the adjuration it seems that there follows a list of things YHWH will do to the evil spirit either directly or by sending a powerful angel to do his bidding (IV 2–5). In this section the 3rd person (sg.) refers to God and the 2nd person (sg.) to the demon. After this the actions of the powerful angel against the demon are listed and the 3rd person (sg.) refers to the angel (IV 6–10). The lines after that are hard to decipher, but it looks like further punishment of the demon carried out by YHWH or the powerful angel is enumerated (IV 11–V 2). The final line begins with two commands probably meant to accomplish the final banishment of the demon (cf. Mark 9:25–29) and after that the success of the incantation is referred to (V 3).

This seems to be a clear incantation to exorcize a specific demon. Unfortunately, the surviving wording does not divulge the identity of this entity. The psalm is characterized by the direct speech to the demon, which, as already noted, is to be associated with incantations meant to banish demons.⁵⁰ To whom this incantation is ascribed is also unfortunately now lost. Puech reads this incantation as part of the preceding psalm but as established here and in connection with the previous psalm the form-critical evidence derived from other incantations strongly favors reading them as separate psalms. The two psalms share some vocabulary and motifs, like YHWH striking the demon with a great blow, but none of this terminology is truly distinctive. Furthermore, shared vocabulary is more helpful for considering a shared origin

⁴⁹ Cf. Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 55–57.

⁵⁰ Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88.

or genre than distinguishing particular psalms. For example, the *Hodayot* psalms or the *Barkhi Nafshi* hymns share a considerable amount of vocabulary between the individual psalms, but the psalms are still obviously separate compositions. A case in point is the use of אשר-clauses in three of the psalms in 11Q11. The word is hardly used at all in poetic texts because it is so awkward in poetry and most of all part of narrative texts, but here such clauses are nevertheless found in three consecutive psalms. Yet, in spite of this distinct feature that is so rare in poetic texts these three psalms are all still separate psalms, and this shared feature plausibly relates either to the provenance of these psalms or their genre.

A Davidic Incantation to Exorcize Satan (V 4–VI 3)

Column V

4 לְדוֹיד עֵל שָׁטָן⁵¹ לַחֲשֵׁם יְהוָה
5 אֵל הַשָּׁטָן⁵² כְּאֶשֶׁר⁵³ בֹּאֵא אֵלֶיךָ בְּלִי לָהּ וְאֵל מִרְתָּהּ אֵלֶיךָ

⁵¹ The reconstruction שָׁטָן “Satan” is based on this psalm probably being an incantation to banish Satan (see the next line). The partly reconstructed words are taken from Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 381.

⁵² The second letter of the word is clear, but the first and third are harder to read. The traces of the first letter fit either *resh* (as read by van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 135) or two *waws/yods*, but the second option is not viable because the space between the two would be too wide. However, there is abrasion on the left hand portion of the letter, which means that the letter can also be *taw*, *khet* or the *he* read by Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 381; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 226; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 198. The third letter cannot be *mem*, as read by Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 381; Sanders, “A Liturgy,” 226; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 198. It is either the *pe* read by van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau,” 135; or a *tet* since it can be clearly observed on the original that the upper horizontal stroke bends into a short downward stroke that fits only these two letters. The identification can also be made with only the photo. The baseline stroke is not parallel to the line as in *pe*, but at an angle as in *mem* and *tet*. The visible vertical stroke makes *tet* the more probable as it is longer than in the *mems* on the scroll. Thus *tet* is practically the only possible reading of the traces. A word that fits both the ink traces and the context is הַשָּׁטָן “Satan.”

⁵³ The reconstructed word should probably render the temporal sense “when”; see Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 381 and García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “11QapocrPs,” 200. The אשר reconstructed by Puech is rare in temporal use as is the כִּי offered by García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, which is furthermore a bit short for the lacuna. However, the preceding letters were read differently from the others and hence the only letter

The penultimate song is the only psalm in this manuscript that is clearly ascribed to David (V 4). After the title comes an opening formula mentioning Satan.⁵⁶ It also states that the following psalm acts as an incantation to banish Satan through the power of God's name. The power of God's name is the primary force used in incantations to compel the evil spirits to obey. Thus, in 11Q11 it is the fundamental power the incantations draw upon (V 4), and it is what the people asking for aid rely upon (II 8); the name itself acts as an invocation of a refuge (cf. VI 4 and 9) and because of the power connected to the actual name of God, the Tetragrammaton is frequently employed in these psalms.

What follows the introductory statements is two speeches (V 5–11 and V 11–?) to be used against Satan. The second speech is too damaged to give a sense of its movement, but the first speech aims to deny the power of Satan (V 6–7) and describes how YHWH will punish him (V 7–11). The last words of the psalm mention the “sons of Belial” (VI 3), which is quite a rare combination of words⁵⁷ and probably refers

⁵⁶ Satan and Belial are names used for the same entity, but seem to belong to separate strands of tradition. The Hebrew Bible uses only Satan as a proper name, but the name is hardly attested at all in the “non-biblical” manuscripts from Qumran. The only texts using Satan as a name with certainty are the *Plea for Deliverance*, *Jubilees*, and perhaps the *Aramaic Levi Document*. Belial, on the other hand, is a name used frequently and the one preferred in the writings usually associated with the Qumran movement. When Greek translations are consulted, the picture remains largely the same. The New Testament uses Satan (it is translated in the Septuagint as *diabolos*, the term which is frequently connected with Satan in the New Testament as well) with only one attestation of Beliar, the Greek term for Belial (in 2 Cor 6:15 in a passage either inserted into the text as a separate tradition or a later addition). Taking all sources together there are apparently only two texts that have both Satan and Belial as personal names: *Jubilees* and the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*. Thus, the names probably come from two different strands of tradition that rarely mingled. For more on the attestations of Satan, see Armin Lange, “Satanic Verses: The Adversary in the Qumran Manuscripts and Elsewhere,” *RevQ* 24 (2009-2010): 35–48.

⁵⁷ In the Hebrew Bible the pair occurs several times (e.g., Deut 13:14; Judg 19:22; 20:13), but meaning “worthless men.” In the Qumran writings it is attested in 4QFlor 1-2i, 21, 8; 4QBer^a 7a ii, b-d, 6; and 4QPsEzek^b 1ii 3, and as a possible reconstruction in 4QBeatitudes 25, 2. At least the first three texts are fairly certainly to be associated with the Qumran movement. The word pair is also attested in Greek as a mistranslation, or an intentional interpretation of the translator, in Judg 20:13 and likely a similar case in *Jub.* 15:34. These translations demonstrate that the word pair was known by others and is not to be judged as only a Qumran specialty.

here to the demons whose casting out/binding has now been completed together with Satan.

This psalm seems to be another incantation directed against a single demon,⁵⁸ but this time the name of the demon is preserved, viz., Satan. Similarly as in the previous psalm there is again a direct speech addressed to the demon, and the punishment awaiting it is one of the main points of emphasis. The purpose of the psalm seems to be to banish Satan. The more didactic approach when compared to the previous psalm might be related to Satan as an entity since the power related to that demon is temptation to transgress God's commandments. Unlike demons inflicting a sickness on the victim that the victim cannot do anything about, the struggle against Satan is more internal. He is the accuser and tempter who tries to lead the righteous astray. Thus, expelling him is also dependent on the victim as is struggling against him in the future.

The way God's name is used in this psalm as the incantation's source of power is typical of Jewish invocations and this is where a clear difference from the New Testament can be observed. This is a point that has not yet been sufficiently appreciated by scholars, and, for example, Eric Sorensen considers the apparent use of Jesus' name in incantations to be similar to the use of Solomon's name.⁵⁹ However, there is a very important difference in these usages. For example, when Josephus relates the story of an exorcist who utilizes an incantation that was apparently ascribed to Solomon to dispel a demon, nowhere is it said that Solomon's name itself would carry the power to banish demons. On the contrary, the incantation was apparently thought of as Solomonic, but as 11Q11 demonstrates the power to expel the demon did not come from the name of Solomon or David but from God. Therefore, when the gospels state that the disciples of Jesus and even other Jews use the actual name of Jesus to cast out demons, it is a statement

⁵⁸ Bohak, *Ancient Jewish*, 303-5, notes a parallel to part of this psalm found in the Cairo Genizah, and he also imparts the information that there are apparently several even more direct parallels to the same psalm found in still unpublished magic bowl texts.

⁵⁹ Sorensen, *Possession and Exorcism*, 143-44.

that instead of God's name they used Jesus'. This usage of the name is a very significant claim about the status of Jesus and would have been an incentive for potential discord. If Jesus and his followers do not use God's power through the use of the divine name to banish demons as others do, then whose power do they use? This reveals the true depth of some of the disputes found in the gospels, like the Beelzebul debate (Matt 12:22–30), which is usually read as a dispute concerning the authority of Jesus in relation to other exorcists. But if read against this background, it demonstrates a true concern behind the questions, whose authority and power is behind the name of Jesus? Does it derive from Satan or God? Jesus himself is said to answer the scribes and Pharisees by logical reasoning and claiming to use the Spirit of God (not the name) for dispelling demons. He thus claims the source of power to be basically the same, but the means to be different from before, and hence a sign of the coming of God's kingdom (Matt 12:28). This short excursion into the New Testament traditions demonstrates how much more can still be done by exploring the Qumran material and the New Testament traditions together.

Qumranic Psalm 91 (VI 3–13)

Column VI⁶⁰

3 יושב [בסתר] עליון בצל שדי
 4 [יתלונן] האומר [יהוה מחסי] ומצודת[י אלוהי] מבטח [אבטח] בו
 5 [כי הו]אה יצילך מ[פח יקו]ש מדבר הו[ות ב]אברתו יסד[ך לך] ותחת
 6 [כנפ]יו תשכון חסד[ו ע]לך צנה וסוחרה אמתו סלה vacat לוא תירא
 7 מפחד לילה מחץ יעוף יומם מקטב ישוד[צ] הרים מדבר[בא]פל
 8 יהלך יפ[ו]ל מצדד אלף ור[בבה מי]מינד אל[יד לו]א יגע רק[תב]יט
 9 בעיניך ותרא[ה] שלום רשע[ים קר]את מח[סד היי]ת מחמדון [לוא]
 10 תרא[ה] רעה ו[לוא] יגע [נגע באהל]יד כ[י מלאכיו]יצוה לך
 11 לשומ[רך בדרכי]ך על כפיים[ישאונ]ך פן[תגוף בא]בן רגל[ך על]

⁶⁰ For notes on the Hebrew text, see Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm," 593–97.

12 פתן [ושחל תד] רוד תרמו[ס כפיר] ותנין [ביהוה ח] שקתה ו[יפלטד]
 13 ו[ישגבד ויר] אד בישוע[תו סלה] vacat[] vacat[]
 14 ויע[נו אמן אמן] סלה [] vacat[] vacat[]
 61[] vacat[] vacat[] 15

Translation

VI 3 [He that dwells] in the shelter [of the Most High, in the shadow of] Shaddai 4 [he passes the night]. He who says: ["Yahweh is my refuge] and [my] fortress, [my God] is the security [I trust!]" 5 [For h]e (God) will deliver you from [the net of the fowl]er from the dea[dly] pestilence. [With] his pinions he will cover [you], and under 6 his [wings] you will reside. [His] kindness will be your buckler and his truth your shield. *Selah*. *vacat* You will not fear 7 the terror of the night or the arrow that flies by day or the plague that rages at [n]oon or the pestilence 8 that stalks[in the d]ark. A thousand may f[a]ll on your left, ten th[ousand at] your [ri]ght side, but it will [no]t touch [you]. Just [look] 9 with your eyes, [and you will se]e the retribution of the wick[ed]. You have [call]ed upon [yo]ur refu[ge] and you have [been] precious to him.⁶² 10 You will [not] se[e evil nor] will [a pestilence] touch your [tent]s. Fo[r his angels] he will command about you, 11 to gua[r]d you on] your [ways], on their hands [they will carry] you, lest [you strike your] foot [on a s]tone. [Upon] 12 an adder [and a lion you will t]read, you will tramp[le a young lion] and a serpent. You have lov[ed YHWH] and [he will rescue you, 13 protect you and sh]ow you [his] salvation. [*Selah*]. *vacat* [] *vacat*[]
 14 And they will ans[wer: Amen, Amen]. *Selah* [] *vacat*[] *vacat*[] 15 [] *vacat*[] *vacat*[]

⁶¹ There is an extant handle attached to the end of the scroll. It was believed to be a wooden handle, the only one found among the Qumran scrolls; see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judaean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 116–18. However, the conservationist Elena Libman after examining the handle under a microscope was able to conclude that the handle is not wood, but tightly rolled up leather tied up with strings. A close examination of the handle with a microscope shows Libman to be correct in her assessment.

⁶² I have suggested that the term *מחמד* means “precious/greatly beloved,” in accordance with the feminine form of the same root in the Book of Daniel (9:23; 10:11, 19), and the verb conveys the idea that the person is a dear person to God.

The Qumranic⁶³ version of Psalm 91 has a relatively large number of small variants to the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of the Psalm. Most of these variants between the versions are minor in the sense that they do not change the actual meaning of the text. There are many types of variations (transpositions of colons and word order, different words used to convey the same thought, etc.). In many cases, the Qumranic version is clearly later than the others. The reason for most of these later variants is to be found in the structure of the Qumranic version, which is characterized by the use of concentric structures and other poetic devices.⁶⁴ Their use is the work of an editor who has thus pointed out his interpretation of the movement and focal points of the Psalm that can be observed in a broad thematic arrangement of the Psalm's structure.

First stanza

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| A | 1–2 | Fivefold image of God as a place of protection |
| B | 3 | Promise of salvation |
| A | 4 | Fourfold image of God as a protective device shielding the body |

Second stanza

- | | | |
|---|-------|--|
| A | 5–6 | Fourfold image of dangers facing man that he need not fear |
| B | 7–8 | Description of God's protection of the righteous |
| C | 9 | Believer's action that evokes this Godly protection |
| B | 10–12 | Description of God's protection of the righteous |
| A | 13 | Fourfold image of dangers facing man that he need not fear |

Third stanza

- | | | |
|---|-------|----------------------|
| A | 14–16 | Promise of salvation |
|---|-------|----------------------|

A strong image of God as the protector and savior arises. The focus of this Psalm is obviously not on the dangers presented, but on the protec-

⁶³ The word "Qumranic" is meant to designate the place of discovery—not the composer or even user—of this Psalm. It is merely used here as a means of differentiating it from other versions of this psalm.

⁶⁴ For a more thorough presentation of the Qumranic Psalm 91 and its features, see Pajunen, "Qumranic Psalm."

tion. The dangers are just a side note. Their function is to encompass life's threats in full. The idea of divine protection is common to all versions of the Psalm. What is new in the Qumranic version is the explicit inclusion of the three requirements for obtaining this protection and future salvation. The first two (confession that God alone is the shelter to be relied upon and being among those precious to him) may be implicitly present in the Masoretic version, but the editor has made them explicit by his interpretation of the first two stanzas given in verse 9. The third requirement (loving God) is present in both versions.

The Psalm's relation to demons and exorcism is therefore not self-evident. It is certainly not an incantation meant to banish an evil spirit as it lacks the structural parts common to such invocations described in Nitzan's study.⁶⁵ Also absent is a direct speech to a demon, which Eshel's study has shown to be an integral part of such an incantation.⁶⁶ The Psalm is first and foremost a psalm of protection, and it could have been used as a shield against life's dangers. Evil spirits were prominent among those dangers, so Eshel is quite right in suggesting Psalm 91 could also have been used as a protective song against demons.⁶⁷

The Movement of the Ritual and Its Possible Settings

The psalm compilation on 11QapocrPs consists of several incantations and one or more apotropaic prayers that together form a ritual of exorcism.⁶⁸ Even though the compilation is identifiable by its content as a ritual of exorcism, it is not clear what it was actually used for. There is no description of how the ritual was performed as far as gestures and such are concerned. Josephus (*Ant.* 8.46–49) tells of a man named

⁶⁵ Nitzan, "Hymns from Qumran," 55.

⁶⁶ Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers," 69–88.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 84–86. Cf. Ida Fröhlich, "Invoke At Any Time ...," *BN* 137 (2008): 41–74, esp. 44; Lincicum, "Scripture and Apotropaism," 75–76.

⁶⁸ The internal and external indicators for the ritual use of 11Q11 have been analyzed in Pajunen, "The Function," 50–60.

Eleazar who banishes a demon with a Solomonic incantation and pulls the demon out through the nostrils of the afflicted, and specific magical gestures and words used during healing rites are also attested in the New Testament (e.g., Mark 7:31–35, which relates Jesus' healing of a deaf man with a speech impediment by placing his fingers in the man's ears, spitting and touching the man's tongue, and uttering the word *Ephphatha* "be opened"). There is no indication in the extant scroll as to whether such things were also done in connection with this ritual. The only thing that can be readily observed is the general way the recitation proceeds, which enables at least two different settings for the use of the ritual depending on whether the ritual is seen more in concrete or metaphorical terms, i.e., dealing with an actual observable attack by an evil spirit (sickness) or as a safeguard against possible (but not evident) demonic intrusion. The two settings are not mutually exclusive and the ritual could have been actualized according to the situation, or the usage might have varied over time. These settings inferable from the text of the ritual itself correlate well with the two settings of an exorcism ritual known from the sources: healing a person afflicted by a demon and entrance into a religious community.

The first and perhaps the most self-evident use of such a ritual would be the healing of a person stricken by an evil spirit.⁶⁹ This kind of usage is described in the Hebrew Bible, New Testament, Josephus, and Qumran material such as the *Genesis Apocryphon*. In this case the ritual would be an answer to an acute situation when it is observed (according to the contemporary knowledge) that someone is possessed by an evil spirit. The Solomonic psalm (II 1–III 13) would be used either to provide protection from many different categories of demons or more likely, in light of the following two psalms, to banish them. It is also noteworthy that in this psalm there is a plea to God for a cure and support (II 6–9) as well as a response to this, that is, the granting of power over the demons (III 11). These are aspects that are not found in the other psalms, but which of course are by the use of this psalm also

⁶⁹ Suggested as the setting of the ritual by Puech, "11QPsAp^a," 400; Sanders, "A Liturgy," 216; Alexander, "Wrestling," 326; Lichtenberger, "Ps 91," 420; Arnold, *The Social*, 167.

granted for the rest of the ritual. The next psalm (IV 1–V 3) is meant to banish a specific demon whose name is now lost and the penultimate psalm expels Satan (V 4–VI 3). It seems that the “lesser” demons were cast out first and the most powerful was left as the last. The final part of the ritual is made up of the Qumranic Psalm 91 (VI 3–13), which gains a different emphasis as part of this scroll than as an individual Psalm. The actual casting out of the demon(s) has already been accomplished by the previous psalms. In Psalm 91, the healed person confirms his faith in God (v. 2) and is granted the promise of divine protection against further demonic attacks. It gives an assurance of peace for the person who was healed, i.e., you were cured and since you have relied on God he will watch over you also in the future so you need not fear the return of the demon/affliction. Psalm 91 thus acts as a release at the end of the healing ritual.

The second possible setting of the ritual is related to one of the particularly interesting details concerning the ritual as described in 11Q11. The available sources tell only of individual exorcists who cure afflicted people with incantations.⁷⁰ However, this seems to be a complex ritual, which might actually have been used by a liturgical community. Evidence pointing to such a practice is found in the use of personal forms and the term *selah*. Although the use of personal forms varies a bit between the individual psalms the “characters” stay constantly the same. There is a reciter (explicitly present in II 6–9 and possibly III 11), the afflicted person (in the last two psalms: V 5, 11; VI 5–13), a larger community (III 11; VI 14), evil spirits (addressed in the 2nd person singular in the two clear incantations in IV 1–VI 3 and otherwise in a more general way) and God (direct address in II 6–9, otherwise more general references). The whole text is built so that one person can recite it addressing the afflicted, the demons, the community and God in turn. The first of the communal references speaks about God granting the community power over demons. The second occurrence is the ending of the whole ritual, which is written distinctly apart from the rest of

⁷⁰ Sometimes several of these are traveling together; cf. Mark 6:7, Acts 19:13–16.

the text: “And they shall answer: Amen, Amen. *Selah*.” Although the phrase is partly in a lacuna, there are no convincing alternative reconstructions.⁷¹ Thus, the verb is most likely a plural, which would indicate a community that participates in the ritual at least in this way. Amen, Amen is attested in many texts (e.g., Pss 41, 72, 89, 4QBer^{a,b,d}, 4QDibHam) and there are at least two texts that narrate a ritual that has a congregation responding in this way, viz., Neh 8:6, (see also 5:13) and 1QS 1:18–2:26.⁷² The term *selah* in turn is used consistently in this manuscript as a division marker (VI 3, 6, 14 and a likely reconstruction in V 3; VI 13). This use of *selah* does point to a recital of consecutive psalms and furthermore towards an audience being present as the use of *vacates* would have been enough to mark the divisions for a reader. Therefore, it is quite plausible that this ritual might have been a communal one.

This is quite remarkable in the sense that as people thought to be afflicted by demons were essentially impure they would have been shunned by other people, not welcomed into a communal gathering to be cured. Even if some sources do describe people being present during an exorcism there is no indication that they might have participated in the actual act in any way. This makes it likely that such a communal ritual would have been used only by a close-knit assembly with a cohesive group ideology that could have connected the communal use of an exorcism ritual to a struggle against the forces of darkness as representatives of the impure and sinful world outside the movement.

⁷¹ Alexander, “Wrestling,” 326, argues that the ritual is not a communal one, and the only persons enacting the ritual are the “healer” and the afflicted person. Therefore, Alexander reconstructs “he shall answer” instead of “they shall answer.” This is not possible as the *he* would make the word too long for the lacuna. The *waw* needed for the reconstruction of “they” does not really take much extra space as it is largely written on top of the *nun*, but *he* would require a space of its own. “They shall answer” fills the lacuna perfectly, but fitting “he shall answer” would require the scribe to write in a tighter script than elsewhere and there is no reason to assume this. Furthermore, while Alexander is correct about the afflicted being referred to in the second person singular throughout (although present only in the last two psalms) he fails to note that the audience is likely present already in III 11 and not just at the ending nor does he explain why the 2nd person singular address of the afflicted would preclude an audience also participating in the ritual.

⁷² See also Deut 27:15–26.

Related to such a viewpoint is another, more metaphorical, use of the ritual, which would be to use it when new members are admitted into a movement.⁷³ In this case the ritual would be used as a safeguard to prevent possible demonic intrusion for which there is no visible evidence in the admissible members. Sectarian movements drew strict boundaries between the impure outside world and the pure insiders. Demons were the embodiment of impurity.⁷⁴ Moreover, they afflict people with diseases causing ritual impurity, as well as tempt them into acts that generate moral impurity. Thus it would stand to reason that it was made certain that they did not enter among the pure people of such a community. It is also worth noting how the wording of the ritual would have affected the community members enacting it. It would have strengthened group cohesion as a way of partitioning the chosen pure insiders off from the outside world at the mercy of the demonic powers.⁷⁵ If used in such a context, the exorcisms would banish any possible evil spirits from the person entering the movement guaranteeing his compatibility with the pure community members, and in Psalm 91 the person would then confirm his faith in God (v. 2) after which he is granted the promise of protection from all evil among those precious to God (vv. 9 and 14–16). Unfortunately there is nothing more concrete

⁷³ The individual psalms in 11Q11 are not from the Qumran movement. Puech, “11QPsAp^a,” 402–3; Eshel, “Apotropaic,” 69; and Arnold, *The Social*, 166, have argued that the psalms are non-sectarian with Puech dealing with the issue more thoroughly than the others. 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, *Ancient Jewish*, 303–5, is correct that there are unpublished long parallels to the penultimate psalm, such parallels might be able to shed further light on this question.

⁷⁴ Frequently also referred to as unclean spirits in the New Testament, but also several times in Hebrew (e.g., Zech 13:2; 11QPs^a 19:15). For an analysis of the Hebrew (and Aramaic) texts, see Armin Lange, “Considerations Concerning the ‘Spirit of Impurity’ in Zech 13:2,” in *Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of their Environment* (ed. A. Lange, H. Lichtenberger, and D. K. F. Römhelt; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 254–67.

⁷⁵ It is important to distinguish between the function of a text and how it might have affected people if used in a particular setting. For the way the *Hodayot* psalms could have affected people of the Qumran movement, see Carol Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

to base this suggestion on (except anachronistic early Christian rituals), but purely from the sequence of the psalms/thoughts it is a possibility. Furthermore, it has to be borne in mind that the Christian initiation ceremonies that used incantations might have had precursors in other Jewish movements. The communal character of the baptism is one possible connecting detail between these rituals and it is striking that Jesus is baptized in the gospels directly before being tempted by Satan and Psalm 91 is utilized in this narrative. If baptism/other communal initiation rites were thought to give a person the power to deny Satan and fight against the intrusion of other demons as well, it might explain why the temptation follows the baptism narrative so closely. But as intriguing as this second possible usage of the ritual of exorcism in 11Q11 is, the most plausible usage for it would still be the curing of an afflicted person. Whichever option is chosen as the setting of the ritual (or even if both of them are applicable) it is important to note that in a sense, regardless of the setting, a ritual of exorcism is at the same time also a ritual of purification.⁷⁶

Conclusions

This study has shown how beneficial it can be to use all the available traditions concerning a religious practice, not just those closest to one's own scholarly discipline. It has taken into account not only the Qumran evidence, but the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, the accounts of Josephus and even slightly later Jewish incantations. In the future the horizon should probably be expanded even further by taking into account other ancient Near Eastern cultures and Greek evidence as well, but even utilizing only the available Jewish source material allows for a fuller appreciation of the nuances in the texts. This study has concentrated on analyzing the ritual of exorcism in 11QapocrPs, first by a close reading of its individual components and their form-critical ele-

⁷⁶ These observations coincide well with Arnold's placement of this ritual under the category of rites of affliction; see Arnold, *The Social*, 159–61, 167.

ments in their tradition-critical background, and then exploring the extant ritual in its entirety. The ritual consists of five or more incantations and apotropaic prayers and was meant to expel demons from a person. The ritual might have been used to cure persons actually thought to be afflicted by demons, or it could have been utilized as a cleansing act followed by the establishment of a protective shield against demonic intrusion that would allow a person to be admitted among a community particularly concerned about warding off the outside world and its dangers. The sources used in this study have proven to be very helpful for furthering our understanding of 11Q11 but it has been a two-way street and there is much that 11Q11 and its contemporary traditions can teach us concerning exorcism practices in the last decades of the Second Temple period. This treasure trove is yet to be fully appreciated and utilized by scholars working on New Testament exorcisms, but this study can hopefully play a small part in paving the way for more intensive collaboration between the scholarly disciplines working on this topic.

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